EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India

Volume Three

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FOREWORD

Since the publication of the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Social Work* nineteen years ago, under the guidance of Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh herself a dedicated pioneer and a great social worker, vast changes have taken place in India's social scene Under the impact of growth of population, industrialisation and urbanisation, and the weakening of traditional institutions and the care and protection they offered to the old and the young, the weak and the indigent, new social problems have come to the fore and many old social problems have become more intense and complex Altogether, strains and pressures on individuals and families have tended to increase without commensurate growth in the capacity of local communities and groups to find answers to their problems

On the other side, thanks to the development of greater social and political awareness and concern, Governments, both at the Centre and in the States, have accepted new responsibilities and have initiated new policies and measures in many new areas They are now more committed than ever before to grappling with a wide range of social problems with their many economic, sociological, psychological and other ramifications, and to working closely with voluntary associations and community groups in alleviating suffering and improving the quality of life. Something has been achieved and there are significant indications of social progress, but much more remains to be done and, in far too many directions, the nation is still in the early phases of widespread social action

The extensive changes which have occurred over the past two decades, both in the nature of social problems and in public policy, made it necessary for the Ministy of Welfare to arrange for an altogether new set of contributions for the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Social Work*. While this was in itself a prolonged and arduous undertaking, in turn, it has made it possible for the distinguished contributors to this edition of the *Encyclopaedia* to take a fresh and up to date view of their respective themes, to point to lessons from earlier experience, and to stress new directions and priorities in social policy. This wider and forward-looking approach has gone a long way to enhance the value of the *Encyclopaedia* as a work of reference and a tool for research and,

equally, as a record of progress achieved and of tasks still remaining to be accomplished I have every hope that the *Encyclopaedia* will be of considerable practical value not only to students of social problems and to social workers, but also to social planners and administrators and to those engaged in public affairs

I wish to express my gratitude, first, to the authors of various contributions to the *Encyclopaedia*, for the great pains they took in preparing their articles Much sustained service was given by the Ministry's own Project Unit headed by Dr A.B. Bose, Director (Research), and Dr A M Kurup, Joint Director (Research) A large number of the contributions were carefully reviewed by individual members of the Editorial Committee In this connection, I wish specially to thank Professor K D Gangrade, Professor V Jagannadham, Dr K.G. Krishnamurthy, and Dr D Paul Chowdhry who spent much time in reviewing the contributions and offered valuable suggestions Finally, most of the contributions were personally reviewed by the Chairman of the Editorial Committee, Shri Tarlok Singh, former Member of the Planning Commission

I have great pleasure in recording my own gratitude and the gratitude of my Ministry and the Government of India to the authors and to the Chairman and Members of the Editorial Committee

DR RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI
MINISTER OF WELFARE

INTRODUCTION

The first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India* was a pioneer undertaking which broke much new ground In presenting it to the country in 1968, as Chairman of the Editorial Committee, Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh had expressed the hope that the publication would be revised periodically, perhaps every five years

The task of preparing a new edition of the *Encyclopaedia* was taken up by the Ministry of Social Welfare in 1976 An outline plan of revision was drawn up and an Editorial Committee constituted What was envisaged was a new set of contributions and not merely updating and revision of earlier contributions The social welfare scene had been changing in many directions and there was need for a broader perspective Therefore, in keeping with the developments of the sixties and the seventies, the new *Encyclopaedia* sought to cover a wide-ranging set of themes These included the setting for social welfare, social policy and development, social services, labour welfare, welfare of special groups, youth welfare, social work education and training, social work methods and administration, voluntary efforts, plans and policies, research and evaluation, and several other aspects of social work and welfare

In the period between the two publications, problems of social welfare and development have become an integral concern of the process of planning and development at the national, state and local levels Many new institutons and agencies have come into existence In many parts of the country, there have been numerous innovative social efforts through the initiatives of voluntary organisations and voluntary leaders as well as of public agencies In every field, earlier assumptions have been questioned and gaps in policy and implementation have come to be identified more precisely Social challenges loom larger than before They are more than social in their nature, for economic, political and other elements are inextricably bound up with them The texture becomes increasingly complex and every aspect of social welfare takes on a multi-disciplinary dimension

The present edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India* is, thus, a new work Even themes dealt with in the earlier volumes have a markedly

changed character and have been treated afresh In the intervening period, many new social problems and social concerns have come to the fore In this sense, a work like the present *Encyclopaedia* marks a stage in the growth of understanding of basic social problems It may be seen as an effort to assess and analyse so as to pave the way for a renewed endeavour to find adequate answers to outstanding social issues Since no problem stands alone, it is hoped that the *Encyclopaedia* will also help students of society and social workers to see interrelationships between different facets of the social reality and appreciate how a variety of constructive advances are needed in several directions at the same time

The present *Encyclopaedia* comprises 138 specially prepared contributions arranged alphabetically in three volumes The fourth volume is devoted to the description of organisations and agencies which are engaged in or are serving the cause of social work and welfare They include Government organisations, institutions and agencies, organisations of the United Nations, leading national voluntary agencies, and international voluntary organisations working in India The selection of organisations to be dealt with in the fourth volume of the *Encyclopaedia* was made after extensive consultations In several cases, the articles were prepared by the staff of the Project Unit of the Encyclopaedia on the basis of material obtained from the concerned organisations and then referred back to them for updating and verification

In view of the publication *Handbook on Social Welfare Statistics (1986)* by the Ministry of Welfare, Social Statistics as such have not been treated in the *Encyclopaedia*

The preparation of a new *Encyclopaedia* covering a wide range of subjects is a difficult and long-drawn effort which can only be carried through with cooperation and help from a large number of individuals, institutions and organisations. It is specially a pleasure to record with deep gratitude the willing and generous support received from the authors of the various contributions as well as from a large number of official and non-official organisations

Work on the *Encyclopaedia* has been undertaken with guidance from an Editorial Committee which was set up at the inception of the Project, but whose composition changed in some part for unavoidable reasons Throughout its tenure, the Committee had the benefit of the advice of several distinguished scholars They included Professor M S Gore, who had served as Honorary Director of the *1968 Encyclopaedia,* Professor V Jagannadham and Professor K D. Gangrade. The Planning Commission was represented

throughout by Dr K G Krishnamurthy On behalf of the Central Social Welfare Board, successive Chairmen (Shrimati Sarojini Varadappan, Shrimati Leela Moolgaokar and Shrimati Sushila Rohtagi) served on the Editorial Committee The National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development was represented by its Director, first by Shri B Chatterjee and subsequently by Dr D Paul Chowdhry The office of Chairman of the Editorial Committee was filled initially by three Secretaries of the Ministry of Social Welfare (Shri P N Luthra, Shri S Y Ranade and Shri Saran Singh) From July 1978 to March 1981, the late Shri J P Naik served as Chairman When Shri Naik's health declined, I was asked to take up the responsibility The Editorial Committee had throughout the advantage of the services of Dr A B Bose, Director(Research) in the Ministry of Social Welfare as its Member-Secretary

All the contributions to the *Encyclopaedia* have been read by one or the other member of the Editorial Committee As Chairman, I have had the opportunity and the benefit also of reading almost all of them The Editorial Committee wishes to express its deep appreciation of the care and thoroughness which the distinguished authors, all acknowledged scholars in their own fields, have brought to bear on their contributions to the *Encyclopaedia*

In an undertaking such as this, it is but natural that the burden of detailed preparation, planning and study of drafts should fall on the staff constituting the Project Unit in the Ministry of Welfare The Unit was headed by Dr A B Bose, Director (Research), who was ably assisted by Dr A M Kurup, Joint Director (Research) and other members of the Unit Special mention should be made of the contribution of members of the Planning, Research, Evaluation and Monitoring Division of the Ministry who were associated with the preparation of the *Encyclopaedia* in diferent capacities at various stages Shri P N Jha, Dr P S K Menon and Dr Biswajit Sen (Senior Research Officers), Shri R M Chopra, Shri D R Kapool, Shri N K Rai, Km Indrani Sarkar and Smt T K Sarojini (Research Officers), Shri B K Chopra, Shri N.K Kukreja, Smt R S Trivedi and Shri Ashok Virmani (Senior Research Investigators) Shri Mata Prasad undertook the arduous labour of typing articles prepared for the *Encyclopaedia* from the very beginning until the completion of the Project At all stages, Dr Bose provided valuable and well-informed leadership to the members of his team, and the Editorial Committee feels greatly indebted to him

Finally, the Committee wishes to express its gratitude to the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting for accepting the onerous responsibility of publishing the present edition of the *Encyclopaedia* in the same helpful spirit in which they had published the first edition nineteen years ago

TARLOK SINGH
CHAIRMAN, EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

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SARVODAYA MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Literally, the term Sarvodaya means "the rise or welfare of all" It consists of two Sanskrit component words, *sarva* and *udaya* which means 'all' and 'rise' respectively Gandhiji borrowed this term from the Jaina writer Acharya Samantabhadra, who lived about 2,000 years ago, and used it first as the title of a booklet in which he gave a gist in Gujarati of John Ruskin's famous book *Unto This Last* This emphasised that (i) the good of the individual is contained in the good of all, (ii) a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's inasmuch as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work, and (iii) a life of labour, that is, the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living

The word later came to denote a way of life or ideology based on truth and non-violence as propounded and exemplified by Gandhiji in his life After his death, Acharya Vinoba Bhave made a very significant contribution both to the theory and practice of Sarvodaya particularly through his Bhoodan and Gramdan movements Today, Sarvodaya stands for a philosophy of life and programmes of action which embrace many aspects of life, including the social, economic and political It means that the good of all resides in the good of everyone and *vice versa* It does not stand in opposition to democratic socialism or even to capitalism and communism In the best Indian tradition, it assimilates what is good in each of them and ignores the undesirable

GOALS

The goal of the Sarvodaya movement is broadly to create a stateless and classless society through non-violent means in which there will be no exploitation of man by man, where there will be no classes of the rich and the havenots, in which every individual will have freedom of expression and profession and residing anywhere he likes, where there will not be any kind of hatred among peoples of different religions, where people will give equal respect towards the other religions, and where every person will work according to his capacity and voluntarily both for himself and society

Specifically, the goals of Sarvodaya movement are

Political (i) to establish Gram Swarajya and replace *Rajniti* by *Lokniti*, (ii) to develop a new polity based on democratic decentralisation

Economic (i) to establish the principle of sharing voluntarily in order to reduce inequalities and develop a sense of belonging to the community as through Bhoodan or Gramdan, (ii) to aim at the development of village industries and agro-industrial communities in order to work towards economic decentralisation, (iii) to encourage growth and development of appropriate technology to meet the basic needs of life in the community in keeping with the natural environment, (iv) to apply the Gandhian concept of trusteeship in industrial activity

Social (i) to improve the quality of life so that man lives harmoniously and in an integrated fashion with his fellowmen and within the community, (ii) to work for abolition of caste and class differences, (iii) to establish social equality and thereby to end exploitation of man by man

Moral and Religious (i) to secure spiritual advancement in line with the growth of science for the harmonious development of the human personality, (ii) to adopt the right means to achieve right ends, (iii) to emphasise the need for developing ethical values in all fields of life to grow towards an integrated human being

PHILOSOPHY

The Sarvodaya ideology rests on the foundation of Gandhiji's philosophy of life and action

The essential features of this ideology are simple and may be stated as follows Man is essentially good Goodness is natural or God-given The search for truth, non-violence, altruism, courage, sacrifice etc are described as the chief attributes of goodness Goodness, of course, may be blurred under unfavourable circumstances e g under feudalism or capitalism Followers of Sarvodaya, however, believe that it is possible through proper education to make men conscious of his inherent goodness

Sarvodaya looks upon society as 'union of spirits' and does not emphasize various social and economic conflicts As practical observers, however, votaries of Sarvodaya do see various conflicts under feudalism or capitalism and attribute these to inequality in its various forms But they do not believe that inequalities based on initial violence can be removed by counter-violence They believe that it is possible by proper education to persuade people to help in removing the initial violence and inequalities in society

ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND FEATURES

The Sarvodaya movement in India represents an effort to use the ideas originally developed by Gandhi for the task of social reconstruction These ideas themselves may be seen as manifestation of a wider movement for the revitalisation and transformation of Indian values, norms and institutions which began in the early nineteenth century The first sign of this wider movement initiated by Raja Rammohan Roy with the introduction of modern education, took the shape of a cultural renaissance centred on an aspiration to fulfil the universalism of the *Upanishads* In the wake of renaissance and reform came the movement for more farreaching social changes and social reconstruction The earliest attempts at social reconstruction were the projects of Rabindranath Tagore in east Bengal (now Bangladesh) and of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad in Baroda Unlike the movements of renaissance and reform, which were largely products of urban elites, social reconstruction was mainly rural oriented

Focused initially on the reconstruction of specific rural communities, it awaited the arrival of Gandhi to transform it into a national movement for total social reconstruction based on his twin principles of truth and non-violence His was an integral philosophy whose implications went much beyond the ending of British Raj For him, political independence was only the first step towards a radical reconstruction of the whole social order Swaraj meant for him a stage in the attempt to establish a sarvodaya society, a society which is committed to the welfare of all Swaraj and Sarvodaya were thus, for Gandhiji, inter-woven objectives

The Sarvodaya movement is directly linked with the constructive programme which formed a central feature in Gandhiji's effort for total social reconstruction It was the foundation of an alternative society, a society which will be able to resist authority when abused and will be an alternative to the present one based on competition and exploitation As a first step, Sarvodaya included 18 items of work such as Khadi and village industries, communal harmony, abolition of untouchability, village sanitation, basic education, prohibition, tribal and labour welfare, women welfare, etc It aimed at making village communities self-reliant, self-sufficient and free so that they would stand up for their own rights Also, it aimed at both winning and sustaining Swaraj (independence) Gandhiji appealed to his workers to settle in rural areas and initiate constructive programmes for the rejuvenation of the country A large number of his followers took up work in the villages To provide guidance to these individual workers and to carry out various programmes effectively and efficiently a number of separate organisations such as the All India Spinners Association, the All India Village Industries Association, the

Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh came into being under the inspiration of Gandhiji After the formation of these organisations, in the early 1940's, Gandhiji felt the need to reorganise constructive programme activities to cope with the new situation that would arise after independence However, before he could do that he fell a victim to the assassin's bullet

After the death of Gandhiji, constructive workers met at Sevagram in March 1948 to review and evaluate their roles in the new context This meeting was also attended by leaders like Dr Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others In this meeting it was decided to form a Sarvodaya Samaj, a brotherhood working for the upliftment and welfare of one and all, a brotherhood of those believing in the practice of truth and non-violence in different aspects of life A Sarvodaya Samiti was formed, to organise annual *melas* (meetings) and *sammelans* (conferences), to maintain a register of *sevaks* (social workers) and to correspond with persons in India and abroad interested in the Sarvodaya ideal

The first conference of the members of this organisation was held in 1949 in Mhow near Indore (Madhya Pradesh) where Vinoba Bhave, foremost among Gandhiji's disciples, elucidated the principles of Sarvodaya and the aims of the Samaj The aim of this meeting was to decide the next logical step in the Gandhian movement and to ensure reconstruction of values, personalities and the social system followed by reciprocal changes in the dynamics and motivation for development It was felt that for effective, coordinated functioning, it was necessary to merge the different organisations under one banner working with common goals and objectives for a common purpose, i e total reconstruction of the country It was thus that the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh came to be formed

The aim of the Sarva Seva Sangh was twofold to work for the ultimate form of social organisation, and to build up small communities through appropriate measures of democratic socials action, from the basic social, psychological and economic pressures they suffer In either case the emphasis was on working with people, both individuals and communities, and on self-determination, so that they could, through suitable institutional and structural changes, help to solve their own problems The year 1951 was a landmark in the history of the Sarvodaya movement, because in that year the idea of Bhoodan took shape in Pochampalli, (Telangana in Andhra Pradesh) Vinoba had, at his usual prayer meeting, asked what the problems of the people of the area were The Harijans present in the meeting pointed out that the land of the village was concentrated in a few hands and needed redistribution It was as a result of a further appeal from Vinoba, who left it to the villagers to find a solution of the problems by their own efforts, that a landlord of the area agreed to part with some portion of his surplus land and hand it over to the dispossessed This was the beginning of Bhoodan, which came to be widely known as India's 'land-gift' movement

In 1952, Bhoodan paved the way for Gramdan The first village to come under Gramdan was Mangroth in Haripur district of Uttar Pradesh It took more than three years to get another village in gift The second and third Gramdan took place in Orissa and the movement started spreading with emphasis on securing villages as gift The plan of work was subsequently revised in the year 1956 in favour of a more expedient and realistic approach and the concept of Sulabh Gramdan was introduced This is the type which is now in vogue

The year 1963 is another important year in the history of the Sarvodaya movement It was in this year that efforts were made at the Raipur Sarvodaya Sammelan to integrate the pro-

gramme and labels Gramdan, Khadi and Shanti Sena as a triple programme under the Sarvodaya movement In addition, development of Gandhian basic education, full implementation of prohibition, etc formed part of the Sarvodaya movement

The Sarvodaya movement presently, in its widest sense, embraces all those who hold themselves committed to Gandhian social philosophy In the narrow sense, however, it covers only those persons who form the Sarva Seva Sangh because they come closest to carrying on Gandhiji's work along the lines envisaged in the last years of his life It provides the characteristic features of both a revolutionary and a reformist movement Judged in terms of its ultimate goals, the Sarvodaya movement is clearly and avowedly a revolutionary movement in the second sense, challenging some of the fundamental values of Indian society, particularly those concerned with ownership of property, the caste system and the modern political process' It also bears resemblance to reformist movements, especially in the areas of legitimacy, which is the result of

(i) its association with Gandhi and commitment to the principles of non-violence,

(ii) its concentration on the immediate programme of land reform, the promotion of village and cottage industries, and the development of the Shanti Sena This immediate programme is consistent with the existing value systems and may be seen as supplementary or complementary to the programme of the government,

(iii) its nativistic characters The movement presents itself, and is interpreted by others, as an essentially indigenous movement, seeking to preserve and to rehabilitate peculiarly Indian values that have been lost or are in danger of subversion as the result of the process of modernization The values the movement seeks to affirm are those associated with rural life and village community of ancient times,

(iv) its religious character The movement's ideology attaches great importance to religious values

The other essential features of this movement can be stated as follows (i) It is related to Indian spiritualism and culture It presents an indigenous and specially Indian approach to socialism, and also seeks the rehabilitation of what it regards as distinctive Indian values (ii) It is a developing ideology, still largely expressed in the form of institutions comprising those actively engaged in what Gandhiji called 'experiments with truth' It is far from being complete if, indeed, it can ever be thought capable of completion, and it is an experimental ideology which reveals itself only in and through action.

SARVODAYA AND SOCIAL WORK

Betterment of men particularly the weakest, forms the core aspect of both Sarvodaya and professional social work, but beyond that they differ in several other aspects

The concept of Sarvodaya is much older in origin As already mentioned, it was first used by Acharya Samantabhadra, a Jain religious preacher of the second century A D His concept was the welfare of all, though he did not use the actual word, its reference can be found even in the *Ishavasyopanishad,* which speaks of a perfect man who 'sees his self in all beings and all beings in his self' The concept of professional social work, as it is envisaged today, is perhaps about a century old

Sarvodaya is a broader concept than social work Its goal is the welfare of all and the creation of a stateless and classless society through

Bhoodan, Gramdan, Gram-Swaraj, Shanti Sena and non-violence Social work aims at helping individuals, within their own selves or in their own environment, to solve their problems All social work, whether social casework, or social group work or community organisation, is essentially an expression of a feeling of interest and readiness to help only those who are physically handicapped, socially weak or suppressed, mentally disturbed and maladjusted, etc The problem solving function of social work thus makes it a somewhat specific concept

Sarvodaya emphasises truth and non-violence and the basic goodness of man Its philosophy, as already indicated, is based on Gandhiji's philosophy of life and action Social work while upholding the value of dignity of man, emphasises also acceptance of the individual's right to self determination and confidentiality The values of social work are not based on any particular individual's philosophy of life and action, they have developed on the basis of experiences of practitioners over a period of time

The ideology of Sarvodaya is not a product of intellectual theorisation It grew out of the activities, experiences and inner conviction of a great soul who wanted to do away with all kinds of social disabilities, injustices and inequalities Social work, on the other hand, has not only drawn its knowledge and insight from psychology, sociology, economics, political science, anthropology, medicine, biology, etc but by synthesis has developed into a science of its own

Sarvodaya and social work also differ in terms of processes The first step in creating the basis of the Sarvodaya movement is to strengthen the social consciousness of a community and raise its collective will (*gram-bhavana*) The second is to create community determination (*gram-sankalpa*) based on the consciousness of the community The third is to raise the power of the people *Lok Shakti* as a whole, a power that may break through the outer crust of inertia It is the people's power, meaning thereby an indigenous community organisation or movement, and new motivation which provide the base of the Sarvodaya programme It also leads to a new concept of peoples' policy *(Lok Niti)*

The six processes of social work are Social case work, which helps the individual client to effect better social relationships and social adjustment that makes it possible for him to lead a satisfying and useful life, social group work, which helps people to participate in the activities of a group for their intellectual, emotional and physical growth and for the achievement of goals considered desirable by society, community organisation, which is the process of preparing and organising a community, developing community leadership, planning and developing services in order to meet the needs of a community or a larger unit, social welfare administration, the process of organising, directing and administering a social service agency, social welfare research which entails inquiry into the structure, organisation and methods and fields of social work, and social action, which is the organised group process for identifying and solving general social problems and furthering social welfare objectives

Sarvodaya and social work also differ on the basis of the nature of the training of workers A person cannot become a Sarvodayee unless he believes in truth and non-violence and looks upon society as a 'union of spirits' He works for the development of the weakest and the rise of all He is trained informally, mainly through the Ashram engaged in constructive programmes and works in many cases on a subsistence allowance, sometimes even on charity A Social Worker works mainly for the clientele—an individual or a group He is trained through recognised professional institutions like schools of social work, generally he works on emoluments which are based on the market rate and the recognition achieved by the profession

BHOODAN AND GRAMDAN

The Sarvodaya movement's current programme focuses on three well-defined procedures, establishment of Gramdan, development of Khadi (including village industries as well as the production of hand-spun, hand-woven cloth), and the building up of the Shanti Sena At the Raipur Sarvodaya Sammelan (1963) these three items were linked together and lebelled 'The Triple Programme' In addition to these three, there are other items such as development of basic education, implementation of prohibition, promotion of livestock welfare, etc which can also be regarded as part of the movement's programmes

Of the different programmes, Gramdan has the first priority, the other programmes follow it with a view to ensuring total economic, social and moral regeneration of the Gramdani village Khadi aims mainly at the economic regeneration of the people by solving the problems of rural unemployment and under-employment Shanti-Sena aims at preventing outbreak of violence in the country, creating in India an atmosphere of non-violent strength and fostering in the international field a spirit of cooperation It also aims to bring violence under control, if it should break out, through non-violent methods Basic education, prohibition, etc are meant mainly for social and moral regeneration

The genesis of Gramdan can be traced back to Bhoodan In fact, Gramdan had been implicit in the Bhoodan concept, despite their differences, since Bhoodan involves donation from individuals and Gramdan involves community action In Bhoodan, individual ownership of land is retained, under Gramdan it is abolished and ownership vested in the village community In Bhoodan, the beneficiaries are individuals or a group of individuals, under Gramdan, the beneficiary is the whole village community Hence an explanation of Bhoodan should precede a description of Gramdan

The idea of Bhoodan took shape first in Pochampalli in 1951 when, in response to Vinoba's appeal, a rich man agreed to part with some portion of his surplus land in favour of the landless The object of Bhoodan is to effect a voluntary transformation in the distribution of land in rural India according to the principles of equality For each one who had a surplus of more than three acres, Vinoba claimed that a share of one sixth of his land for this purpose was neither 'force' nor 'blackmail', but simple logic, and he appealed to the good sense of the people that it was necessary to share with one another in order to coexist

The Bhoodan movement grew in State after State and was able to obtain about 17,25,660 hectares (42,64,096 acres) of land upto 1967, from about 5,76,000 individual donors Of this total land, about 90 per cent was received within the period 1951-57 After 1957 there was a decline in Bhoodan activity, because of the widening of the concept into Gramdan, which instead of calling for donation of a proportion of every landowner's land, appealed for complete surrender of property rights in land in favour of the village community

Gramdan had been initially defined in these words "If about 80 per cent of landowners of a village are prepared to give up the right of ownership of their land and not less than 51 per cent of the total land has come under its purview, the village has to be considered as Gramdan" The first village to come under Gramdan was, as already indicated, Mangroth The process of Gramdan starts with an awakening of social consciousness or collective will among the villagers (*Gram-Bhavana*) This is to be followed by *Gram Sankalpa*, the creation of community determination to accept the Gramdan way of life It is believed that *Gram Sankalpa* will result in the generation of *Lok Shakti* (people's power) and this in turn will give birth to a people's polity *(Lok Niti)*

A village should take three interlinked steps before it earns the title of being a Gramdan village (i) the villagers who opt for Gramdan should agree to transfer the title deeds of all their land in favour of a legally constituted village assembly *(Gram Sabha)*; (ii) a pre-condition for this, is that the village assembly should be constituted beforehand, and (iii) creation of a village fund *(Gram Kosh)* meant for social welfare measures and economic development The three phases, viz , *prapti, pushti*, and *nirman* together bring the concept of Gramdan to fruition In the first stage, the people are persuaded merely to make a declaration that they have by their own volition decided to become a Gramdan village and sign away their ownership of land in favour of their village assembly This is called *prapti* During *pushti*, the next phase, the community implements the primary conditions of Gramdan, i e redistribution of land of individual donors among the landless, and formation of a *Gram Kosh* In the *pushti* phase the property informally given away is transf .red through the instrumentality of legal documents in those States where Gramdan legislation has been enacted Nirman work the third stage, should then begin and it is the most vital It introduces, with the help of the *Gram Kosh* and *Gram Sabha*, a programme of reconstruction and development for the growth of the area

The concept of Gramdan was again redefined in 1965 because it was found that the ideal form of Gramdan which demanded a complete transfer of all individual property to the village, that is, to a new collective entity called the *Gram Sabha* and equal distribution of land, was ahead of the times People were not yet prepared for it The core of the movement was then modified in favour of a more expedient and realistic approach The new concept of Gramdan—*Sulabh Gramdan*—came to gain more acceptibility

The concept of Sulabh Gramdan as it is understood now insists on four conditions) A minimum of one-twentieth of cultivable land should be donated by all land owners for distribution, (ii) The ownership of the entire land in the village should be vested with the *Gram Sabha* The land owner's inheritable right with regard to nineteen-twentieths of his land will continue (iii) After paying the land revenue and distribution of the crops, one has to contribute to the *Gram Sabha* one-fortieth of the produce of the land for the *Gramnidhi* (village asset) Those who are landless and have other sources of income will contribute one-thirtieth of it to the village either in cash or kind (iv) A *Gram Sabha* will be constituted by drawing one member from each family

In the same year, Vinoba gave a call for Gramdan *Toofan* to accelerate the pace of the movement The idea of Gramdan was enlarged to *prakhand dan* (Donation of the Block) and *Zila dan* (Donation of District) To avoid possible pitfalls, while operating on a mass scale, four basic conditions were laid down for a village to be declared as *Gramdan Toofan* (i) A village, where 75 per cent of the land owners and 75 per cent of the persons residing in that village have signed the declaration form for surrendering ownership will only be considered a 'pledged' Gramdan (ii) The individual *samarpan patra* should be filled in at the same time as one has signed the declaration form (iii) If one-twentieth part of the village land has been distributed to the landless, and the *Gram Sabha* constituted, a village will be considered active (iv) Only after the registration of a Gramdan village by the Government will it be regarded as a declared village

Upto 20 January 1969, 86,709 villages had been received as Gramdan and their State-wise distribution was as follows (on next page)

The largest concentration of Gramdan, as one can see from the table, is in Bihar Next comes Utter Pradesh, Orissa and then Tamil Nadu This is so because these are States where

	State/Union Territory	No of Gramdan Villages
1	Andhra Pradesh	4,200
2	Assam	1,489
3	Bihar	39,085
4	Delhi	74
5	Gujarat	803
6	Himachal Pradesh	17
7	Jammu & Kashmir	1
8	Kerala	418
9	Madhya Pradesh	4,242
10	Maharashtra	3,126
11	Mysore	570
12	Orissa	9,348
13	Punjab & Haryana	3,694
14	Rajasthan	1,021
15	Tamil Nadu	5,302
16	Uttar Pradesh	12,675
17	West Bengal	644
		86,709

the Sarvodaya workers had been most intensively engaged not only in *Gramdan Prapti* but also in constructive work in pre-Gramdan days It has been slow in Gujarat owing to the the fact that the Gandhian constructive workers of the State have got too much bogged down with the work of *nirman* rather than that of *kranti*, without which Gramdan is not possible Gramdan has not been able to make much headway in Karnataka, Kerala and West Bengal mainly because of absence of enthusiastic workers and heavy pressure on land in these States

TRAINING OF SARVODAYA WORKERS

Preparing and equipping personnel for various aspects of Sarvodaya work received much consideration along with its development and expansion The emphasis in the training programmes generally was on the development of attitudes, values and skills, which would provide a break-through in the villge situation in which a worker was placed

Sarvodaya workers were mainly trained through *ashrams* organising constructive programmes There was no time limit in this programme Workers in the *ashram* engaged themselves in productive and educational activities and worked in the surrounding areas for socio-economic development The training of workers in these organisations was done at the individual level, more like an understudy or an apprentice rather than in a class or group The emphasis was on practical work

The trainers of these programmes were not drawn from outside but were workers of the organisations themselves who believed in the development of the weakest sections and were committed to the Sarvodaya philosophy of truth and non-violence

The content of the training programme include the following (i) a study of rural society and its problems, (ii) understanding of the basic concept of Sarvodaya, both from historical and socio-economic aspects, (iii) practice of skills of production, specially craft work, (iv) orientation of attitudes by organising community life on the basis of self-help, (v) understanding of the method of working with the people and developing skills in group work and communication, (vi) developing an ability to plan for the needs of villages, survey the resources and develop the concept of area development

IMPACT OF GRAMDAN

Of all the attempts undertaken so far for redistribution of land, Bhoodan and Gramdan are considered as the most far-reaching efforts They have been able to secure an impressive amount of land as voluntary donation without resorting to any violence, which itself is a great achievement, and redistribute the land among the landless poor While information about the total land redistribution in different stages is not available, in Bihar alone about 1,37,600 hectares (3,47,000 acres) of land have been redistributed among the landless, particularly

Harijan families This achievement is in itself spectacular

This programme has been able to reach the lowest strata of society who are economically as well as socially handicapped, because of the desire of its workers to help and work for the development of only the weakest section of the population

The Sarvodaya workers have been able to establish intimate touch with the rural poor through the Gramdan movement as it helps them not only to secure land but also to develop it through various agricultural development programmes They have been able to focus attention in the process of community formation and also on *Antyodaya* i e the development of the poorest of the poor

Another impact of this movement is that it has helped the individual to retain his individuality, while enabling him to think in terms of the whole community It has not suppressed the individual but has presented his case as a member of the society It has filled a lacuna in the approach to community development It unites the haves and the havenots and generates a feeling of sharing

It has been able to bring about a feeling of change and enthuse a spirit of revolution amongst the poorer sections of society and given them a sense of belonging, a spirit of self-reliance and also a spirit of cooperation, which are essential elements in the development of a community

It should, however, be remembered that the achievement of the movement cannot be judged by its immediate accomplishments but by its potentialities inherent in its set up

LIMITATION

Despite the sincere efforts of a large number of workers and the charismatic leadership, the Gramdan movement has not been able to achieve its desired results Various factors have worked as hindrances Some of these are (i) psychological fear emphasis on community approach is often looked upon with suspicion among the people They feel that this may lead to suppression of the individual and, in fact, the emergence of a closed polity with all its doubtful consequences, (ii) inadequate number of trained workers the number of properly trained workers is really meagre in comparison with the volume of work involved in effecting transfer of land, (iii) redtapism and lack of cooperation from the government this has delayed the transfer of land, and by doing so created apprehension in the minds of the people about the effectiveness of the programme, (iv) inability of the organisers to mobilise enough resources to introduce, alongside of *prapti,* development work in Gramdan villages this has reduced the enthusiasm of the people for Gramdan With greater follow-up in villages which were declared as Gramdan, constructive workers could have certainly achieved more significant practical results

RADHAKRISHNA

SCHOOL FEEDING PROGRAMME

The school feeding programme (SFP) or the midday meals programme as it is popularly known started in a very humble way five decades ago in Madras, Tamil Nadu It was launched as a centrally sponsored scheme in 1962-63, to provide a midday meal or school lunch to primary school children in the age group of 6-11 years After the Third Plan (1961-66), the scheme was included in the State plan

About 120 lakh beneficiaries were covered during the Fourth Plan (1969-74), and by the end of the Fifth Plan (1974-79) the coverage was about 140 lakh children in 13 States and one Union Territory It has been included in the Minimum Needs Programme since then

The school feeding programme was launched in different States in the following years Tamil Nadu (1961), Andhra Pradesh (1962), Kerala (1962), Punjab (1962), Rajasthan (1963), West Bengal (1964), Karnataka (1964), Gujarat (1965), Madhya Pradesh (1965), Maharashtra (1965), Orissa (1965), Uttar Pradesh (1965), Haryana (1967), and Bihar (1968) Bihar has since dropped the SFP

The Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE) has assisted the SFP since its inception

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the school feeding programme are (i) to improve the nutritional and health status of the child, (ii) to help increase enrolment in the primary schools, especially those in the most disadvantaged rural, tribal and slum areas, (iii) to help increase regular and attentive attendance, (iv) to help minimize school drop-out, and (v) to help academic performance

COVERAGE

The bulk of the SFP food commodities constitute CARE-assisted or donated foodstuffs They are *balahar* (which is a blended powder of wheat, soya or goundnut meal cake, and enriched with a vitamin-mineral premix), soya-fortified-sorghum-grits (SFSG), soya-fortified-bulger (SFG), bulger wheat, and peanut or corn oil The State Governments sometimes extend the CARE food commodity base with purchases of local staples and pulses The local contributions consist of salt, condiments, spices, onions, chillies and very rarely seasonal fruits or vegetables

Many primary schools have been assisted by UNICEF with seeds and gardening implements to raise school-gardens This activity is a part of the applied nutrition programme (ANP) The intention was that fruits and vegetables raised in these school-gardens should be ploughed back into the school feeding programme In the cities, the SFP very often consists of milk and bread

The midday meal provides 300 calories and 8 to 12 grams of protein per child per day for about 200 feeding days in a year If fluid milk is given it is generally at the level of 100 ml per child per day for 180-200 feeding days in a year

At the present time the bulky cooked meal dominates the scene Ready to Eat (RTE) foods are being experimented with in some States such as Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh The bread and milk programme is run by many civic corporations Tamil Nadu is unique with its central kitchens which transport hot lunches to children in outlying areas

The advantage of the cooked meal is that it is fresh and one can cook that much as is indicated by the attendance for the day The disadvantages are the inordinate time it takes up in a school day, the unappetising and monotonous recipes and the fact that the younger children are unable to consume a bulky portion in one sitting

The advantages of the RTE foods are the ease with which they can be delivered, distributed, accounted for and consumed However, much more operational research is called for to establish the most acceptable types of dry lunches, the most appropriate time for distribution, apart from crucial operational issues such as feasibility, logistics, efficiency, impact and cost

FOOD LOGISTICS

The SFP is very much a State operated pro-

gramme with complete administrative and fiscal control for the operation of SFP The implementing departments vary from State to State and could be the Department of Education, Department of Social or Tribal Welfare, or the Department of Community Development and Panchayati Raj The CARE provides assistance through food commodities free of charge to the designated port of entry State Governments are expected to provide sufficient funds for transport from the port of entry to the ultimate beneficiary, to administer the programme, and to see that foodstuffs are properly prepared and served The food commodities are stored in godowns at either the district, taluka or block levels and are released through the block development officers (BDOs) to the headmasters of various primary schools in the block

The SFP in India is distinctly rural-oriented Moving food from port to village or hamlet on time is no easy affair The Orissa school evaluation study showed that in 85 percent of the cases food was moved over *kutcha* roads, the main mode of transport was human (66 per cent) or animal (30 per cent) [1] Problems such as broken bags (37 per cent), old stock (33 per cent), insects (50 per cent), wet food (6 per cent), and period without food stocks for 1 to 3 months occurred in 57 per cent of the feeding centres studied Further, there was no separate room or proper storage facility in 73 per cent of the cases Although conditions are more difficult in States such as Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and parts of Uttar Pradesh, the same sort of difficulties are experienced to a lesser degree in other States as well These are to a very great extent matters that can be corrected

DELIVERY OF FOOD

The responsibility of delivering the food to the school child rests with the headmasters and/or the teachers These teachers show a varying degree of commitment to the programme There is no special training except for a brief meeting where simple food accounting procedures are explained There is much scope to bring about qualitative improvements in the programme through the provision and delivery of simple non-food inputs through the same food delivery conduit These non-food inputs could be (a) simple programme information material and guidelines in local languages for the teachers, (b) simple health nutrition education materials in the vernacular for both teacher and student, (c) deworming tablets, (d) iron-folic acid tablets, and (e) capsules of the mega dose of oral Vitamin A

PARTICIPATION BY TEACHERS, CHILDREN AND COMMUNITY

Participation by teachers, children, parents and the community has again been very variable The three States that have shown good response to the SFP are Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala Possibly, participation in the SFP could be improved if the teacher, the child, the parent as well as the community knew what precisely the goals and benefits of the SFP were For example, teachers generally feel burdened with what they feel is an extra chore of cooking and feeding in addition to teaching Perhaps there would be better participation from the teachers if they knew what the specific objectives of SFP were, and if those who did a good job were given recognition for doing so by their department Similarly, children must insist on getting their home lunch in addition to the school lunch for which parents' involvement would be helpful The community looks upon the SFP as a charitable effort They must be made fully aware that the school lunch to have visible nutritional impact must be a *supplement* to and not a *substitute* of the home meal The use of mass media like the Indian language press, propaganda through radio, information through wall paintings and parent education through Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meetings need to be greatly augmented in the SFP

NUTRITION HEALTH EDUCATION

This vitally important component is by and large absent The CARE has developed projects wherein a nutrition education Newsletter is distributed to approximately 7,000 teachers and village level officers [2] This is an effort in the right direction and needs to be urgently expanded The National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) and UNICEF launched an experimental project in 1976 wherein five regional home science institutions have been involved in the development of health, nutrition, environmental, and population education to be incorporated in the general science textbooks of the primary school child [3]

SCHOOL HEALTH

As early as 1946, the Bhore committee had emphasised the need for a school lunch programme [4] In 1960, the school health committee appointed by the Government of India made valuable recommendations regarding primary school health services [5] However, due to the enormous size of the target group and paucity of resources, school health still remains a dream to be realised Serveral studies in the rural and urban setting reveal a high incidence of nutritional diseases, dental and E N T disorders, eye defects, and gastro-intestinal, parasitic, respiratory and skin infections

EVALUATION

An evaluation of the school lunch programme in Orissa was carried out in 1970 The major findings indicated that there were no significant differences in growth between matched fed and non-fed children in the SFP Enrolment was higher in the fed versus the non-fed schools Attendance in tribal districts was higher in fed than in non-fed schools Dietary intake of fed children was higher than non-fed children, but the net increment in diet was not sufficient to make a growth impact, due to the substitution rather than the supplementary role of the school lunch A similar pilot evaluation study was conducted in Andhra Pradesh in 1969 [6] In this evaluation a trend of growth benefit was noticed in fed children as against non-fed ones There was greater attendance in fed versus non-fed children, especially among the socially deprived ones No differences were observed in the episodes of illness suffered by fed and non-fed groups There was no consistent difference in academic performance either A third evaluation of the SFP was conductecd in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu in 1968 and 1971 respectively [7] The findings of the study indicated that heights and weights were greater in fed children Older children benefited from the school lunch much more than the younger ones There was an overall improvement in the biochemical status of the children in Gujarat but not in Tamil Nadu There were no significant differences in psychological or scholastic performance The review by the Planning Commission led to the following conclusion "Only one or two studies with small sample sizes have shown improvement of nutritional status of children in areas where programmes were implemented effectively But most of the studies failed to reveal any significant increase in the levels of enrolment commensurate with the investments made on the schemes They have pointed out that some of the important reasons for its low impact are lack of continuity in the supply of food materials to the feeding centres, pilferage in the channels of distribution, non-adherence to the minimum number of feeding days and absence of other services like health The Midday Meal has been often noticed to replace a meal at home and is not generally regarded as supplementary to what is consumed at home Inadequate cooking and storage facilities at the schools and lack of local community involvement have also contributed to its poor performances" [8]

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

The major problem of the SFP is to cope with

the ever-increasing number of children who need to be included in the programme Added to this are the problems of inadequate infrastructure, trained or committed personnel, lack of protected drinking water and even the most rudimentary sanitary facilities There is a crying need to protect the large investment in food with a few rupees worth of investment per child per annum by way of periodic deworming, provision of oral vitamin A and the provision of iron-folic acid tablets to anaemic children The above listed supportive health inputs should be considered the minimum preventive health package In addition the early detection and treatment of eye ear nose and throat disorders, and the easy and inexpensive availability of generic drugs within the school to combat morbidity of the gastro-intestinal tract, respiratory infections upper respiratory tract, malaria and skin infections, would go a long way to improve the nutritional and health status of children The Sixth Plan (1980-85) directed that "the existing programme would be reviewed and reorganised to provide health inputs and safe drinking water and to encourage development of kitchen and horticultural gardens in the schools, before further expansion is undertaken " The primary school also offers tremendous potential as a distribution centre for 'take-home' food by older siblings to their younger brothers and sisters in the most nutritionally 'at risk' age group of 1 to 3 years Proximity of the school as a distribution centre to the homes of these "below sixes" is an important factor contributing to the success of a "take-home' food approach from the school

TARA GOPALDAS

NOTES

1 *An Evaluation of the School Lunch Programme in Orissa*, Council for Social Development, New Delhi, 1970

2 *Orissa Nutrition Education Newsletter*, CARE India, 1975

3 NCERT and UNICEF sponsored a pilot scheme of nutrition/health education and environmental sanitation at primary stage of the science education programme in 1976

4 Government of India *Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee* Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1946

5 Government of India, *Report of Health Survey and Planning Committee Vol I* Ministry of Health, New Delhi, 1961

6 *Evaluation of MDM Programme, Pilot Study, Andhra Pradesh* Council of Social Development, New Delhi, 1969

7 See the thesis on "Effects of CARE Lunch Programme on the Physical Biochemical, Psychological Status of School Children in Devgadh Baria (Gujarat)' submitted by S S Sail in 1968 to Department of Foods and Nutrition, Faculty of Home Science, M S University, and "Evaluation of the Midday Meal Scheme in Tamil Nadu", Biochemistry Department, M S University, Baroda, 1971

8 Government of India, *Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85* Planning Commission, New Delhi

SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICE

A school health service programme includes services administered to school children, that are directed to protect, maintain and improve their health In planning and conducting school health services it is important that they are considered as an integral, inseparable and interdependent part of the other components of a comprehensive school health programme, viz., healthful school living and health instruction

This phase of the total school health programme, viz., school health service, is mainly concerned with health appraisal procedures by

teachers and nurses, health examinations by physicians and dentists, follow-up to get corrections for remediable defects, adjustments of the school programme to defects that cannot be corrected like loss of a limb or an eye, procedures for the control of communicable diseases, the care of emergency illness and accidents, and counselling for emotional, mental and social health problems Healthy school living involves provision of safe and healthful surroundings including all the factors related to mental, emotional and physical environment which may affect favourable learning and health Health instruction tends to provide pupils with learning experiences for the purpose of influencing knowledge, attitudes and practices relating to individual, community, national and international health Such a well planned and integrated course of action may amount to health promotion of school children and school personnel Isolated from other components of the total school health programme, the school health service programme may lose its direction and perspective

What happens during the first six years of the child's life has a great bearing on what he is and what he does during his school life For this reason it is essential for a sound school health programme to have good maternal, infant and pre-school health protection and care provided in the community

Emphasis should be placed on the quality and scope of the examination rather than on the number of children examined or the speed of examination A representative health examination might include the items listed on the cumulative medical examination card The items as per the cumulative health card evolved by the National School Health Council which is being used in most parts of the country can be classified as (i) height and weight, (ii) vision and hearing, (iii) posture, gait and feet, (iv) muscular and skeletal form, (v) nutrition and skin, (vi) head, neck, nose and throat, mouth and teeth, and eyes and ears, (vii) heart and lungs, (viii) abdomen and genitals, (ix) endocrine and nervous system, and (x) laboratory tests as indicated by clinical findings

The latest trend in the field of school health services as an integral component of the total school health programme is a shift from the 'locked-door' pattern to the 'open-door' pattern of operation Under the 'locked-door' pattern the programme is essentially administered to children and school personnel between set hours, after which the school is closed to everyone In the 'open-door' pattern the school is used not only by children, but parents and other neighbourhood adults and teenagers for community purposes The emphasis is on coordination between the school, the home and the community The school may be used as a community centre Public health workers may involve students in their work after planning with their teachers The school can serve as a place for the health education of parents in such areas as nutrition, preventive health practices, and family health care so that they may cooperate with schools in their efforts for bringing about a change in the knowledge, attitudes and practices of students for health promotion The community health worker or village health guide may work through schools into the community and schools may also like to seek his help in planning, implementation and evaluation of individual or group projects of students under the scheme of socially useful productive work (SUPW) in schools

These dimensions of the school health service programme suggest the major areas of operation of various health and education personnel in its planning, implementation and evaluation The key roles of the physician, teacher and parents that may be envisaged in this context include

School Physician

Planning of school health service programme,

Health appraisal of school children and personnel,

Immunizations,

Consultancy service to teachers, parents, administrators,

Inservice training to teachers,

Emergency care and formulation of written policies with regard to referrals, grant of leave to children and readmission to school, etc ,

Adaptation of school programmes and environment to meet the health needs of children,

Coordination with public health programmes,

Health administration,

Special education programmes for different groups like parents, and

Public relations

Teacher

Preparation of students for medical examination,

Observation and screening of children for defects and deviations from normal health,

Coordination with parents and advising them about available health services in the country,

Providing first aid in the school and on the playground,

Cooperation with health personnel in the implementation of health programmes,

Follow-up of recommendations in case of referrals,

Identification of situations that may adversely influence health and coordination of action for correction of the same,

Exemplifying excellent health and approved health practices for health promotion,

Rehabilitating students who have recovered f r m illness or defects and also those with uncorrectable defects and deformities,

Observing health practices of children and providing guidance for developing them into habits,

Promoting a high level of mental health in the school,

Providing opportunity for developing sound inter-personnel relationship and correct living,

Ensuring pupils' participation in school meal and environmental control programme,

Planning, implementing and evaluating curricular and co-curricular health education programmes based on health needs of students as revealed by health appraisal, baseline test, health practices of students, and health problems in the country in accordance with the principles of learning, and

Organising health campaigns and projects in the school and in the community as per the current heal h needs and interests of students

Parents

Encouraging the child to participate in vigorous outdoor recreational activity,

Seeing that the child gets regular medical and dental check-ups and watching for deviations from normal health,

Being present at the time of medical examination and following medical advice,

Correcting possible safety hazards and helping the child to establish habits of safe living within the home and the neighbourhood,

Helping the child to develop health practices that will prevent the spread of communicable diseases,

Providing an atmosphere at home that will provide the child with emotional security con-

ducive to happy and friendly family relationship with all members of the family, and that will help in establishing regular habits of eating, resting, playing, sleeping and bowel evacuation,

Helping the child in developing desirable habits of cleanliness and grooming and helping parents in taking care of younger brothers and sisters, and in other household chores,

Establishing periods of play and other recreational activities when it may not interfere with the study and the health of the child,

Establishing close cooperation with the school and community health organisations in all matters pertaining to health,

Cooperating with teachers in providing support to their programme of establishing good health practices and attitudes and in fighting superstitions about health and healthful living, and

Demonstrating and practising desirable health practices that the school aims at developing among children

Procedures under the school health service programme should not be considered as an end in themselves They are means to an end—a means to better health and general well-being of the students

The Government of India, Ministry of Health, set up a school health committee in 1960 The final report submitted by the committee in 1961 provided detailed guidelines for drawing up a school health plan The committee recommended that school health services should form a part and parcel of the general health services of the community In view of the limited facilities available it also recommended that all newly admitted children should first have medical examination and then again after four years Children who show serious condition at entrance and those who show signs of defects and illness later should have frequent examinations and follow-up The Committee further recommended that with adequate training in health education and school health services, it should be possible for the teacher to undertake certain functions connected with school health services such as (a) observation of children with a view to spotting out any deviations from normal health, (b) recording of height and weight and simple testing of vision and hearing, (c) maintaining health records of children, and (d) giving first-aid

The Committee also observed that at least in the case of children in elementary classes parents should be present at the time of medical examination of children

OBJECTIVES

The immediate purposes of a school health service programme include health appraisal of pupils vis-a-vis available resources, protection against health hazards including prevention of communicable diseases through immunization, correction of remediable defects, prompt and proper care of emergency illnesses and accidents, adjustment of school programme to meet the health needs of students after recovery from illness, rehabilitation of those with defects that cannot be corrected, developing desirable habits and attitudes among children toward prevention and control of communicable diseases and a favourable attitude towards discriminative use of health products and services, and providing guidance for planning a need based health education programme for pupils and their parents with proper weightage to different content areas Merely concentrating on these purposes without making their proper use to achieve long range educational objectives appears to be a most unwise and uneconomical investment As an educational opportunity, a school health service programme may be so planned as to result in the achievement of following objectives

It should develop among students an interest in their health status with proper understanding,

It should help establish among students a practice of health appraisal at regular intervals by a qualified medical practitioner,

The programme should establish among students health practices that contribute to their health promotion and promotion of community health including capability of supervising and guiding their younger brothers and sisters in respect of good health practices,

Parents understand health status and health needs of their children and try to take measures within their means to meet these needs,

School authorities understand the health endowment of each child so that the school programme may be adapted to the best interests of children,

Students develop appreciation of the value of professional services, methods and techniques, and

Students can discover deviations from normal health and assess changes in individual health status and that of their younger brothers and sisters

DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES

The history of school medical inspection in India can be traced back to pre-independence days when it was first started in 1909 in the former Baroda State Following it, many other States introduced it in one form or the other with varying priorities The services were mainly restricted to middle and secondary school children rather than children in primary classes who need them most Again, the services operated mainly for the urban population with very little attention to children in rural, backward, hilly or tribal areas

The health survey and development committee, 1946, while reviewing the development of school health administered in the country, pointed to an observation of the joint committee of the central advisory boards of health and education that the system of medical inspection was started in most of the States one after the other but was also abandoned after a short while with the same frequency as a measure of economy A number of instances of changes in policies indicated that there had not been a clear appreciation of the fundamental necessity for and of the essential characteristics of a school medical scheme designed to promote the health of the school child However, the joint committee emphasised that satisfactory arrangements for school medical inspection and treatment should form an essential part of any efficient system of public education It concluded that the medical inspection of school children was being undertaken with inadequate provision, in many cases, for the treatment of defects which were detected and with even less provision for preventive work through a follow-up service Health education had produced little tangible results Though health education and hygiene was part of school curricula in some States, it lacked emphasis on its practical aspect

In the rural areas of the country, school health services were required to be provided through primary health units In most of the States, they were either not being provided or were being provided in a most perfunctory manner In a few States medical inspection was limited only to the main headquarters of these units In most cases, however, the remedial facilities were not adequately available and there was a lack of proper follow-up

Efforts have continued to expand and improve the school health service programme in the country but these have remained restricted to big cities and towns The smaller towns and villages and especially the interior areas inaccessible through roads and other common modes of transportation and communication, did not have any school health service programme in an organised manner

It was in 1977 that a modest beginning was

made to reach the benefit of such a programme to children studying in primary classes in rural areas through the network of primary health centres A centrally sponsored national school health scheme was launched to cover primary school children through selected primary health centres in the country located in tribal, backward and hilly areas in the first instance with the object of covering all the primary health centres in a phased manner Comprehensive guidelines were drawn up indicating independent and joint responsibilities of Central and State Governments and also of State health and education departments The emphasis was on coordinated efforts to solve the problem

There are about 5,500 primary health centres in the country In the first year (1977-78), it was proposed to cover 377 primary health centres distributed to States and Union Territories During the second year (1978-79) a provision for additional 409 primary health centres was made in the scheme The following criteria were laid down for selection of these centres by the concerned State or Union Territory (i) The centre should have the services of two or more physicians so that if one goes out for health inspection to schools the normal work of the centre is not hampered, (ii) priority in the selection of the primary health centres should be given to tribal, backward or hilly areas, in the first instance

The Central Government provided recurring and non-recurring grant-in-aid to the States/Union Territories at the following rates (a) *Non-Recurring* At the rate of Rs 1,500 per primary health centre for purchase and supply of school health medical examination kits to the selected primary health centres by the State Government/Union Territory administration, (b) *Recurring* At the rate of Rs 1,000 per primary health centre per year for printing and supply of supportive health education material to the centres for use with schools

The prototype health education material based on the feedback from the States and Union Territories regarding common health problems was supplied by the Central Health Education Bureau The State health education bureaux could also develop need based supportive health education materials The cost of medicines, training of personnel, school health records, and printing and supply of cumulative health cards for each child was to be borne by the State Government/Union Territory administration The expenditure on these items was shared by both health and education departments

In addition, some of the States and Union Territories are implementing school health schemes in the State sector Some big municipal corporations like those in Delhi and Bombay have their own school medical schemes operating on a much more comprehensive scale The launching of the Centrally sponsored national school health scheme has motivated some States to think of having their much more comprehensive school health schemes from their own resources As part of the observance of International Year of the Child (1979), State Governments made provision in their budgetary allocations for expanding these programmes In 1979-80 alongwith many other Centrally sponsored schemes this scheme was also transferred to the State sector The outlay for that scheme in Union Territories was retained in the Central sector During the Sixth Five Year Plan grant-in-aid for training of teachers in school health has also been included at the rate of Rs 500 per primary health centre per year under the scheme

The feedback from States and Union Territories has shown that the major problems in the way of successful implementation of the school health service programme are lack of proper coordination between State health and education departments, lack of finances for printing of cumulative health cards for all the children covered under the programme and lack of train-

ing of health and education personnel in their role perception and performance Extending the concept of coordination further there appears to be hardly any effort or even understanding to involve para-medical and public health personnel to establish coordination between the home, school and community to solve the problem Health education as a part of the formal school and teacher training curricula and education of parents appears to be the weakest link of,the programme Involvement of voluntary agencies has been another neglected area which needs to be explored Even parent teacher associations have played a very insignificant role in this area There are other problems such as absence of facilities for transportation for referrals especially in remote areas where poor parents cannot afford to spend money to take their children to referral clinics or even to accompany them, sacrificing their day's wages Besides, there is hardly any provision for staff for proper supervision and guidance, and maintaining necessary records for feedback for programme improvement

For a successful school health programme, of which school health service is a vital component both the health and education departments need to join hands at different levels to decide some of the major issues These may include (i) a mutually accepted point of view of school health service programme, (ii) objectives and purposes of school health services programme (iii) priorities with regard to the scope of coverage of various levels of school education, (iv) frequency of health appraisal for school children and school personnel depending upon available services and other resources, (v) system of coordination between health and education personnel and other agencies in the community in respect of various areas of operation related to the programme, (vi) system of referral and follow-up including facilities for transportation, etc, (vii) an effective system of school health records, (viii) mechanism for involving parents in school health programme, (ix) organisation of a school day with sound health practices, (x) provision for health education as an integral part of school curriculum, (xi) facilities for continuing education of teachers and other personnel associated with the planning, implementation and evaluation of the programme, (xii) individual and collective responsibilities of health and education personnel in the management of school health service programme, (xiii) healthful school living and health instruction, (xiv) system of supervision for health aspects of school programme, and (xv) budgetary provision for various tasks to be accomplished for the implementation of the programme

Concern about the health care of the younger generation has grown during recent years It has been realised that while it is necessary and ideal that all children receive regular health care, it is desirable to make a beginning by attending to the health check-up and health problems of at least the most accessible group of children in the age group 6-17 years, who are actually enrolled in the formal school system During 1980, the Cental Government requested the State Governments and Union Territory administrations to prepare plans for ensuring periodic and regular health check-up of all school children at least once in a year to take place in all schools regardless of remoteness of location or nature of agency controlling a particular school Emphasis was laid on proper referral and follow-up, and maintenance of a cumulative health card for each individual child

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

While considering the future perspectives of a successful, meaningful, utilitarian, and functional school health service programme, the recommendations of a national workshop on school health programme organised in 1978 by the Central Health Education Bureau in collaboration with the World Health Organisation,

and the resolutions passed by the Central Council of Health and Central Family Planning Council in its meeting held in 1981 provide valuable direction The recommendations of the school health committee (1961) of the Government of India are still pertinent to the development of the programme

The school health service programme should form an integral part of the medical and health care services of the State It should be considered an integral and inseparable component of a total school health programme duly supported by two other components, viz., healthful school living programme and health education programme Coordination being the most sensitive link in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the programme, coordination committees should be set up at all levels—national, state, district, block and school—for planning and monitoring the programme The functions assigned to these committees may include developing workable policies, determining health needs, setting up goals for action, locating available personnel, facilities, materials and other resources in the community, recommending ways in which these can best be used, maintaining liaison between schools and other community organisations, and continuously evaluating the programme to obtain feedback for programme improvement

At the national level, a high powered standing committee of coordination between the Ministries of Health and Family Welfare, Education, and Social Welfare should take up the policy making role in this field In addition, there can be a national school health advisory/monitoring council to assist the standing committee at the national level and take up such other functions as may be required for programme development in the country The National Council of Educational Research and Training and the Central Health Education Bureau may serve as the technical wings of this Council

At the State level, an implementation committee may be set up with representatives of health, education, community development, social welfare, and panchayat departments, local leaders and voluntary agencies At the district level, a similar committee may be set up to implement school health policies, plans and programmes At the block level, the implementation committee should include the block medical officer, block education officer, block development officer and representatives from schools This committee may be headed by the president of the block committee At the school level, a school health committee may be set up including representatives of students, teachers, voluntary agencies and parents This committee may be headed by the education officer concerned

A separate school health cell should be constituted in the State health directorate to run this programme The student health education unit in the State health education bureau may be suitably strengthened to take care of the health education component of the programme including such other related functions as inservice training of teachers and production of health education material, etc

At the district level, an officer may be designated as school health officer to implement the programme under the chief medical officer/head of medical and health services of the district

For effective implementation of the school health service programme in the urban as well as rural areas the following norms may be set One school health unit should be set up for every 20,000 school children in urban areas The target for health appraisal by one medical officer during a year should not exceed 5,000-6,000 school children An expert group on the subject during the 'national workshop on school health programme' held in New Delhi in 1978 recommended that one school health unit for 20,000 school children should consist of (i) four general duty medical officers, (ii) four public

health nurses, (iii) four attendants, and (iv) one van with a driver and a van attendant For every two such units it was recommended that (i) one paediatrician, (ii) one dental surgeon, (iii) one eye surgeon, (iv) one E N T surgeon (v) one laboratory technician, and (vi) one dispensary with pharmacist should exist For less than two units, part-time specialists may be appointed

In rural areas where there are three medical officers in a primary health centre, the school health programme may be started Priority should be given to children in primary classes

The roles and responsibilities of each functionary along with the classroom teacher may be jointly worked out by the concerned departments and representatives of the functionaries

Health education should be included as an integral component of all kinds of formal education programmes from preschool to university level The Ministry of Education should set up a special group to develop health education curricula and find ways and means for implementing the programmes Continuing education is the key to the success of the programme State health education bureaux, regional family planning training centres, social and preventive medicine departments of medical colleges, State institutes of education, State institutes of science education, and teacher training institutions should join hands and pool their resources for organising short orientation programmes for health and education personnel involved in the programme Summer institutes, conferences, seminars and workshops may be organised from time to time and study groups set up for special aspects of the programme

Specializations in school health may be started in the three Central Training Institutes providing courses leading to diploma in health education School health should also form part of professional courses of medical colleges, nursing colleges and schools, sanitary inspectors' courses, teacher training programmes, etc Correspondence courses in school health education and health education may be started by the Central Health Education Bureau and the regional colleges of education

Teachers may also be trained to act as community health workers or health guides for their own school and the families served by the school

The implementation of the programme should be supervised jointly by health and education personnel at the State level Experts in school health from State health and education departments may be included in the panel of inspectors visiting schools every three years

A scientific system of documentation and reporting is an essential component of a well planned programme

Cooperation of volunatry agencies including parent teacher organisations should be activised

To support a school health service programme and a need based programme of health education, based on the feedback provided by the findings of the school health service programme, a well thought out programme of healthful school living also needs to be planned and implemented in the schools The essential elements of such a programme that may facilitate learning by living include sanitary surroundings and facilities for safe disposal of waste, a safe and sanitary school building and playground, proper ventilation and lighting, attractive decoration and proper upkeep of facilities, adequate number of sanitary latrines and urinals, approved sewage and garbage disposal facilities, healthy eating facility, adequate safe drinking water facilities, healthful school day, good social and emotional environment, and health teachers and other school personnel practising those habits which they wish to cultivate among pupils

The Ministries of Health and Family Welfare and Education at the Centre and in the States are like two wheels of the programme One

wheel, i e , the technical content of the programme belongs to the health department and the other wheel, i e , implementation of the programme, belongs to the education department The areas of operational responsibilities are quite distinct and separate The perspective visualised can be made a reality if efforts are made by both the departments to make the programme a success

JAGNANDAN SHARMA 'MANJUL'

SCOUTING AND GUIDING

The scouts and guides movement is a voluntary, non-political, educational movement for young people open to all without distinction of origin, race or creed in accordance with the purpose, principles and method conceived by its founder, Lord Baden-Powell of Gilwell

The purpose of the scouts and guides movement is to contribute to the development of young people in achieving their full physical, intellectual, social and spiritual potentialities as individuals, responsible citizens and as members of the local, national and international communities

The principles of the movement are (i) duty to God, 'Dharma', (ii) loyalty to the country, (iii) belief in world friendship and brotherhood, (iv) service to others, (v) acceptance and adherence to the scout promise and law, (vi) voluntary membership, and (vii) independence from all political influence

The scout method is a system of self-education through (a) a promise and law, (b) learning by doing, (c) membership of small groups (or patrols) involving, under adult guidance, progressive discovery and acceptance of responsibility and training towards self-government, directed towards the development of character and the acquisition of self-reliance, dependability and capacities both to cooperate and to lead, (d) progressive and stimulating programme of varied activities based on the interests of the participants including adventure, games, and useful skills and services to the community

While the true origin of scouting is inextricably woven into the life and work of Lord Baden-Powell and the history of England itself, the movement is believed to have been officially inaugurated in July 1907 when Baden-Powell, then a Lieutenant Colonel in the British army, conducted an experimental camp for a carefully selected group of boys on the Brownsea Island Twentyone boys of varied background were divided into four patrols and they spent their days learning and practising many of the skills of scouting, camp craft, cooking, observation, woodcraft, lifesaving, hiking, stalking and boating and in the evenings there were camp fires

The Brownsea Camp had many lessons for Baden-Powell It had shown everyone the soundness of the patrol system It had demonstrated the appeal of camping and outdoor activities to boys of all backgrounds It had established that the most effective way of learning scoutcraft was through practice and games It had proved that, when put on their honour boys would do their very best The Brownsea's success resulted in the publication in 1908 of Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* which enunciated the principles and methods of scouting

In May 1908 complete editions of *Scouting for Boys* were issued and, without fuss or ceremony and spontaneously, the boys formed themselves into scout troops all over Britain Before the year was out, scouting was started in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa

At the 1909 Crystal Palace Rally, 11,000 scouts showed their skills to the public, with the boys were seven girls—the first girl scouts They brought home to Baden-Powell the necessity of a girls' movement and the seeds of what was to become a worldwide Girl Guiding were sown

In the next few months, the message of scouting went to Chile, the United States, British Guyana and India Baden-Powell was given a knighthood by Edward VII who associated himself with the King's Scout Award Very soon, many men and women came forward to help Baden-Powell in his plans and provide leadership to the boys, so much so that he had to end his army career and devote his full time to train adult leaders At his request his sister, Agnes, agreed to organise guiding

In 1914, when the first world war broke out, Baden-Powell put scouts at the disposal of the authorities Soon scouts were guarding bridges and telephone lines against spies and saboteurs, acting as messengers, helping in hospitals, the Sea Scouts were watching the coast Baden-Powell went on inspections in his effort to expand the movement and for post-war planning

CUBBING

In post-war England, as a direct social consequence of the industrial revolution, juvenile delinquency became a problem Baden-Powell's first project was to deal constructively with this age group He started a new programme independent of the older boys scouting that came to be known as 'cubbing' and all the boys below eleven years became Wolf-Cubs—so-called because this programme was built on the jungle stories, particularly the Mowgli story, of Rudyard Kipling

MOVEMENT IN INDIA

In India, scouting was first introduced for the benefit of British and Anglo-Indian boys as a measure to bring home to them the traditional values of British society so that the environment in a country so far away from their home front might not obscure their ultimate duties and responsibilities as sons of Britain. At the same time, nationalist activity was gaining ground and the demand for the adoption of scouting for Indian boys became increasingly persistent

Against this background, Indian scouting made its debut spontaneously in different parts of the country—in the towns and cities wherever enthusiastic and competent leadership was available It is worth noting that in this effort both Indians and non-Indians took an effective lead In 1909, Captain T H Baker, a retired officer of the old Indian Navy who had settled in Bangalore, started the Boy Scout Association, which was affiliated to the Imperial Headquarters Capt P Todd in Poona and Col J S Wilson and Sir Alfred Rickford in Calcutta organised scouting Mr Vivian Bose started scouting in the Central Provinces for Indian boys in 1913 This was followed in 1916 by the setting up of the 'Boy Scout of India' Association in Madras In 1918 Pandit Sri Ram Bajpai, at the instance of Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, settled down at Allahabad to organise the movement He was supported by Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru As a result of their joint efforts, the Seva Samiti Association was formed in 1919 with its headquarters at Allahabad

This state of affairs continued till 1921 when the founder Baden-Powell visited India After long negotiations with Indian leaders to form an all-India organisation, two parallel organisations emerged One of these was the official Boy Scout Association which grew province-wise with only a loose connection between the different branches, the other was the Seva Samiti Organisation which had its strongnold in the then United Provinces

It may be interesting to note that although girl guiding in India began its life with the same kind of handicaps, the All-India organisation came

into being soon after the visit of the Founder and Chief Guide in 1921, and India became one of the founder members of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS) The Indian scout movement received its affiliation with the International Scout Bureau only after the second visit of the founder in 1937 After protracted efforts of many well-wishers of scouting and guiding, a merger was brought about in 1950 and the erstwhile Boy Scouts Association, Hindustan Scout Association and the Girl Guides Association came under one banner, the Bharat Scouts & Guides The Bharat Scouts & Guides has since been registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860, and affiliated and recognised as a leading organisation of scouting and guiding by both the World Scout Bureau and the World Association of Girl Guides & Girl Scouts

ORGANISATION

As stated in the Memorandum of Association, the name of the Association or the Scout & Guide Movement in India is 'The Bharat Scouts and Guides' with its registered office at 16 Mahatma Gandhi Marg, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi

The membership of the Association, open to citizens of India, is of two kinds General Members are only the beneficiaries comprising cubs, bulbuls, scouts, guides, rovers and rangers who are properly registered and their adult leaders duly warranted According to the latest census in March 1980, there are 1,29,880 cubs, 60,046 bulbuls, 4,54,878 scouts, 11,69,626 guides. 17,853 rovers and 4,189 rangers In addition, there are other types of local and district associations, members of the national council of the Bharat Scouts & Guides, honorary life members, life members and ordinary members Special members are members of the national council whose names appear on the roll of members

The National Council is the supreme body of the association and its decision on the rules and policy of the organisation is final The national executive committee with its functional sub-committees is the executive body of the national association

The national association has the President of India as its chief patron and the Vice-President of India as its patron It also has a president and vice-presidents The national commissioner is the chief executive of the national association and he is assisted by two chief commissioners—one for the scout and the other for the guide wings

The scout and guide movement in India is organised into well-defined State associations which are affiliated by a charter to the national association In 1981, there were 40 State associations comprising 22 States, eight Union Territories and 9 railway zones, deemed to be State associations, and the Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan. Every State association has a patron who is generally the head of the State, a president, a vice-president, and a State chief commissioner (who is the chief executive) assisted by a State council The State association, like the national association, has a set of organising commissioners, trainers and secretarial staff The State association is also governed by a state council and a state executive committee

The organisational structure further goes down to district associations, local associations and finally to the group itself where the scouts/guides, rovers/rangers and cubs and bulbuls work

PROGRAMMES

Ideas have meaning only when they are translated into systematic, workable programmes Scouting did not come to the world as the sudden creativity of its founder, rather, it reflected the need for a programme under social condi-

tions which hampered the development of young people in the wake of the industrial revolution This underscored the social relevance of scouting programmes

The remarkable feature of scouting is not so much its outward ceremony or the moral code as its method The boys work in groups, accept responsibility, exercise leadership and whatever they do or learn is always together The founder was cautious enough to keep the adult leader, the scout master, sufficiently away from the game 'Let them run their own troops, give responsibility to them to do so, keeping a watchful eye on their activities and giving necessary guidance when needed,' said Baden-Powell

The scout troop/guide company then forms the nucleus of the scouting/guiding programme The scouts/guides are the members They are divided into patrols and each patrol has a patrol leader already accomplished in scouting activities and so can provide leadership to the members of his patrol and help them learn Simultaneously, he helps the scout master (guide captain, in case of girls) to run the troop The troop/company meets at least four times in a month At these meetings, the patrol programmes are built into the larger troop programmes This is necessary for developing healthy competition between patrols or for holding common programmes of training Thus the boys work their way up through a progressive training scheme This in a nutshell constitutes the core boy programme

There is also the second and equally important component of scouting programme, namely, the programme for adult leaders For if the boys programme is to be successful, willing and able adult leadership is needed And they too need to be trained for the purpose To meet this important need there is a scheme of training for adults The trainers on the State and national training teams are responsible for the training and orientation of the adult leaders

More or less on a similar philosophy there are two other branches namely, 'cubbing' and 'bulbuling' for boys and girls of 5 to 10 age group The programme for cubs and bulbuls, though integrated into the overall scouting programme, is adapted to the interests of the age group

Then again, for boys older than scouts, that is, above 18 years, there is a programme known as rovering and rangering They organise a rover crew/ranger team and, utilising their scouting skills, carry out services of a higher order to the community Rovers and rangers are also encouraged to be trained in their turn to take up unit leadership as adult leaders

While it is necessary that a boy or a girl should be an active member of a unit to which his or her training is confined, the international character of the movement is made meaningful by organising big gatherings of scouts and guides These gatherings usually take the form of district rallies, state rallies, national jamborees and world jamborees The Bharat Scouts and Guides has held eight quadrennial jamborees, the last one being the 8th National Jamboree at Madras in January 1979 Over 20,000 scouts and guides from all over the country including several overseas participants attended this jamboree

In the course of years, world scouting has realised the need to help handicapped youth to derive the benefits of scouting It has decided to 'extend' itself to the disadvantaged sections This has come to be known as 'extension scouting' and the Bharat Scouts and Guides has a project for scouting among the handicapped

It has also started a scheme called 'Grameen' rovering and 'Grameen' rangering for uneducated village youth States like Rajasthan have many success stories of this

Apart from the regular training and programme activities, the Bharat Scouts and Guides has service projects These range from annual railway service days to Kumbh Melas,

and to providing succour during floods and cyclones The services of the Bharat Scouts and Guides during the Bangladesh refugee influx were widely appreciated

The Bharat Scouts and Guides prepared and carried out its own blueprint of the International Women's Year In 1979 it clebrated the International Year of the Child by holding special holiday camps all over the country It has also inaugurated a new programme for children of pre-cub/bulbul age, i e , 3-6 years, known as 'bunnies'

In early 1976 the Bharat Scouts and Guides took up another important project called the Prime Minister's Shield Competition which aims at involving established scout/guide units in specific community development projects in their own communities The winning units get shields awarded by the Prime Minister of India

FUNDING

For an organisation that has to promote its membership itself and the interests of over twenty lakhs of its members, funds inevitably present a problem Happily each registered scout or guide has to pay only an annual registration fee of Rs 0 75 and even this too is invariably met by the schools to which the scout or guide belongs This registration fee, however, is passed on to the World Bureau of Scouting and Guiding The movement from the unit up to the National Association has to tend for its financial resources by way of donations and subscriptions State Governments and the Government of India make substantial grants to the movement to meet a part of its administrative as well as programme expenses

CONCLUSION

An overview of Indian scouting/guiding over the last three decades brings out achievements which may not have been well known or well-publicised In the wake of independence, several organisations—big and small—have come and gone, some of them even under direct State patronage But the scout and guide movement has lived and caught on The second achievement is the adaptability of Indian scouting Although scouting in India came from England, it has been far from a colonial remnant in its content and form It has acquired a distinct national character Sweeping changes necessitated by modern civilization have come about elsewhere in the world including England Yet India remains one of very few countries which keeps close to Baden-Powell's original ideas But more changes need to come and the benefits of scouting must spread to larger numbers of Indian youth while retaining the standards already established All this means support, financial and moral Looking to the future of scouting, one important question remains How can scouting become a movement outside the school? For until today scouting in India remains an essentially school movement and for understandable reasons How soon can this question be answered depends again on the support the movement gets from the community, the parents and the government

LAKSHMI MAJUMDAR

SOCIAL ACTION

Social action is a comparatively new addition to the list of 'methods' of professional social work Although social action has been used in other fields as well, such as the field of social

reform and of political movements for transfer of power,[1] this article limits its observations, by and large, to the specific area covered by the profession In doing so, its concerns are with two important social ideas and institutions of our times, namely, 'welfare' and 'development' which, according to the present author, constitute two specific denominations of social work practice

A word before that about the meaning of the two concepts By 'welfare' we refer to the entire package of services, social and economic, that deal with income support, welfare provisions, and social security, on the one hand, and with the whole range of social services on the other Welfare has thus become a built-in mechanism of the modern, industrialised society of the developed world Then there is the other method known as 'development' All the helping activities, approaches, social services, and institutional innovations that are found in the developing nations today have been introduced through the method of development Whereas 'development' has thus been the main lever of change in the new nations, welfare, a built-in mechanism of the developed world, is also concerned with social change, although it expresses such concern merely by reviewing and reorganising the structure of the welfare institution 'Social action' is the method that helps to bring in these changes

Both development and welfare, some observers believe, thus depend solely on social action for the realization of their aims They, of course, use other methods as well, but turn to social action more liberally than to any other Development and welfare, therefore, provide today two key concepts of professional social work

The principal method that they use, namely the method of social action, aims at making the programmes of development and welfare more functional for their respective clientele than any other methods could do

Yet welfare and development are not, and have never been, the sole concern of the professional functionary A number of others, leaders of thought and action, concerned with the ailments that plague the human race have, on the other hand, been deeply involved in movements for development and welfare Hoping that movements conducted by them would bring liberation to the oppressed, social action has in fact received a rare sophistication in their hands For it is they, such leaders of the humankind, from Jesus to Gandhi, from Chaitanya to Marx, and from Martin Luther King to Jayaprakash Narayan, that have led momentous movements for social action aiming at far reaching transformations in the psyche of societies more then any professional functionary could ever do No discussion, much less an essay in an encyclopaedia of social work, can, thus, be complete without a reference to this wider area of concern

Welfare and development are seen, for the purpose of this article, as interchangeable concepts, one of which is being used in the developed societies and the other in the third world The composite concept will,[2] hereinafter, be mentioned merely as 'welfare' and social action as a method of 'welfare' which, as is now evident, also includes by definition, and for the purpose of this article, the notion of development

THE BACKDROP

As is well known, one purpose of social work, as envisaged at the time of its origin in the West, was to help the victims of economic growth It was to provide, as some people called it. a 'stretcher bearer's' service to all those who could not gain from the industrial revolution As the latter brought considerable wealth to the western world, the standard of living of a great many people had shot up They were the 'winners[3] of the system

There were however others, although their

number might have looked small in statistical terms who could not mobilise the required resources to catch up with the standard of living that had by then become the order of the day They fell behind, became the victims of the system, and needed help to survive Social work offered this help It provided organised, institutional, and professional assistance to compensate the loss of all those who could not raise their standard of living as much as others could do Naturally, they were to be helped to adjust to the system Any changes that 'social work' had thus contemplated in this connection were mainly at the level of individuals and their immediate environment so that they could be helped to conform to the basic structure of the new society

It must be remembered in this connection that society itself was then changing As a communitarian, rural, 'technology free' society gave way to a 'growth' oriented economic order, the profession was to help all those who could not adjust to the order, to change their behaviour, and to adopt new attitudes without which the post-agrarian society could not have ever come into existence If this was the classical position of the profession's traditional spokesmen[4] with regard to the functions of social work, a dissident group soon appeared on the scene to question the basic premises on which the classical arguments were based They affirmed that what the new approach of the profession should entail was not so much to change individuals to adjust to a system, as to so transform the system itself that the latter could readjust to the needs of its members It is the protagonists of this line of thinking that had thus provided the early beginnings of a new lineage of social work, namely that of social action with which we are dealing in this article For it is they that had affirmed that the once new and then old, pathologically "technologised", over "professionalised" society creates its own problems and later a train of victims It is the social milieu, the system so to say, that therefore needs to be treated, rather than the system having the temerity to employ a set of professionals to treat its victims, and to institutionalise thereby its own chronic maladies

Professional social work, to justify the classical stance, has so far employed three imprtant methods, namely, casework or interpersonal helping, social group work and community organisation Although the character of the profession is changing, in the wake of the many criticisms offered by the school of dissidents, the function of the profession still remains substantially the same It is to 'help', 'administer' and even to 'manage'[5] the victims of the system to adjust to it There is very little emphasis laid, even now, on the new concept which would require the profession to concentrate not on changing the individual but the system that controls the latter

Of the three methods, one that might look beyond the confines of the interpersonal helping process and seek to change the institutions of society, as different from changing individuals, is the method of community organisation The latter deals with the question of structural change, in however limited a manner it might do so, and uses for the purpose three specific tools[6] known as community development, social planning and social action Here, thus, is the entry point, the small opening through which social action, an adjunct, a 'sub-method' or a tool of social work, enters the profession Social action thus, by no means, provides the core of the profession's philosophy or methodology The relationship that yet exists between the central functions of the profession and that of social action is at best of a peripheral nature

WHY SOCIAL ACTION?

But what really, one may ask, was the need, historical and functional, for the sudden inclusion of social action in the practice book of

social work skills? The logic for the induction of social action as a method could be clearly understood only when we make a review of the growth of the profession over the century and find how it has discarded certain types of welfare organisation and taken to others

There are two types that are of importance in this connection One of them may be called the community society type of the pre-industrial phase An interesting reference to it can be found in a story that was once in circulation in the days of the French revolution A delegation was, it seems, sent to the U S A from France soon after the French Revolution Its purpose was to find out what the Americans meant by democracy and how it worked in a new country The group of people, on their return from overseas, stated how impressed it was with the manner in which the U S A was then coping with the enormous problems of building new communities at the grassroots of their society As thousands of people had thus poured into the new world, from all over Europe, speaking different languages, and representing diferent ethnic and interest groups, the American society faced the enormous task of building new communities at the bottom of the structure of their society and of weaving a disparate group of people into an integrated social system The task was accomplished through the method of community development

A group of people living in a locality in the new country, the visiting group reported, "would sit together in the open to discuss the problems of the locality They would then divide themselves into groups or committees and put a group or a committee in charge of a specific action programme Some individuals, thus forming into a group or a small community, would take charge of one particular activity of the total community, say, of street lighting, or of health, education, recreation or road building After taking over the responsibility for some activity or the other the groups would go on with their work and report back to the whole community later on the progress of their work "This", the 'French Group' reported, "is what the Americans call democracy"

Given above are the glimpses of the pre-industrial type of community organisation where the main emphasis was on forming communities that provided the services such as those that could be produced by the consumers themselves It is evident from the above, that a distant state, or a professional group appointed by it had then very little to do in the matter, for the services required were provided by the community itself It did so through the creation of a natural, indigenous, culture-bound process of self-reliance which needed no alien technology to prop it up Such a type of community is not unknown to the Indian scene It, indeed, represents the type of society that has existed over the years in the Indian subcontinent, where communities, 'spatial' as also 'spatial-cum-vocational' used to take care of the needs of their members ana no professional services were required for the purpose [7]

It is said, that S K Dey[8] had once visited Vinoba Bhave, the leader of the Bhoodan movement, wishing to discuss with him the programme of community development of the Indian government of which he was then in charge and that Vinoba had, it seems, quipped "Does a community already exist that you are talking of a programme of community development?" and, again, "Is it your plan to form communitites or to impose programmes of development from outside?"

Obviously what Vinoba meant was that if a community is formed or if a community exists somewhere it would take care of its own destiny Vinoba has, since then, devoted the whole of his life to the task of community formation in India[9] Moving from village to village, all over the country and walking the roads of the large peninsula over a span of about two decades he tried to remove economic inequalities from

among the villagers, a matter that usually prevents members of communities to unite with each other A community, an enlightened, dynamic, well-integrated community, rather than mere disjointed pieces of welfare technology had thus once provided, according to the first type that has been mentioned, the mainspring for the growth of welfare

The first type, the community society model of welfare, was nearly thrown out of the window with the fabulous success of the industrial revolution in the U S A It brought huge wealth to the United States and a large number of people, if not a great many of its citizens, had thus gained from it in many ways Their standard of living had, for example, shot up A number of institutions of health (e g hospitals), education (colleges and universities) and welfare etc were established and the people had access to wages higher than they had ever before They could thus now buy health, welfare, recreation and education, all with this ready money

The services provided in this model were not organised and funded by the community as was the case in the first model The services were monitored, under the new system, by the wealth, efficiency, and the scientific knowhow that the professions offered, most of which were created and funded by the harnassing of the virgin soil and the new industry The wealth, that had thus flowed into the country with the exploitation of distant markets by the overgrown home industries, came to fund the welfare of the weaker sections of American society The new model was not a self-reliant one The grassroot society had, unlike the first model, now to depend for their welfare and upkeep solely on the centralised welfare administration located somewhere at a distant place There were, of course, the people, who did not gain from the system as much as the others did They lived in distant countries, suburbs, hinterlands and rural areas, then there were the others that lived in the cities but did not earn enough money to buy the services they needed They required help, which was readily offered to them by the welfare services funded by large voluntary organisations or the State as the case may be

No one, therefore, had any longer any need for the 'community' which gradually disintegrated in the process Whereas in the case of first type welfare was a concern of the community and community formation had provided by itself a step towards the creation of national assets of a varied kind that by themselves could monitor the welfare services of the nation, in the case of the second type the case was just the opposite Wealth that came from outside the community and the nation was to make possible the programmes of welfare for individuals who had no more need of a community The consumers of welfare were no longer its producers

The new system functioned for quite some time with success It brought a great deal of prosperity and bounty of welfare and other services even to the poor and the deprived[10], providing thereby a new type of welfare organisation to be followed by the rest of the world [11]

This welfare model, however, ran into trouble by the beginning of the sixties when it became quite evident that the services that the new system offered reached all but those who needed them most Several groups of people such as the blacks, the aged, and the children were discriminated against Poverty ghettos thus sprang up in quick succession all over the United States, and as anti-poverty programmes were especially tailored to negotiate the situation it became quite clear that the welfare model was unable to help any further [12]

It is in the context of the failure of this model that a powerful movement for civil rights and welfare was launched in the United States and a number of people took to militant postures It was then that 'social action' as a method was first used in order to ensure that the welfare

system served its purpose and that the 'goods' of welfare reached the needy and the poor The only way to initiate such movements, it was further believed, was for the afflicted individuals to combine and set up militant, well-identified communities to fight the system The method of social action thus became, in the hands of such eminent spokesmen and leaders of the 'have nots' as Alinskey[13] and Sartre, a method of urgent conflict

Rejecting non-violence as a weapon of limited value, they claimed the right to use all the means that one could apply to force the welfare system to shake off its inertia One could name the model of action as the "conflict-cum not-non-violent" model The adjective "not non-violent" instead of the term violent is deliberately chosen here as only a few of those who belong to this school of action would, even if they reject the non-violent model, agree to call their path the path of violence The conflict model, as also the non-violent model that Alinskey and some others rejected, were thus used as a weapon of change by a string of leaders that spoke for the deprived

Social action of both types, not non-violent and non-violent, had, however, used conflict as a weapon and had gone a long way to create a series of new communities hitherto unknown to the field of social work Participation in conflicts cemented the bonds among the victims of the system and a large number of new communities had accordingly come into existence, e g , of blacks, of women, etc Since the formation of these communities and the achievement of their welfare were the results of social actions they initiated one more type of community development, one that could probably be identified as the social action type of community development as distinguished from the ones mentioned earlier, namely, the community society and the pre-industrial type It marked a new shift in the profession's history The communities that thus came into being, as a result of the social actions they conducted, were not only spatial and grass-root communities but, finding their echoes in global upheavals of a similar kind, they claimed to possess global roots as well

Quite soon social action movements broke the narrow confines of welfare rights and made common cause with liberation movements of various hues that were then going on all over the world They included the struggles of homosexuals, of militant Christians, as well as those for the Vietnamese, for anti-consumerism and other radical movements of various kinds, both 'not non-violent' and non-violent

GOALS, STEPS AND PROCEDURES

It is evident from what has been stated above that social action, that has now come to be reckoned as one of the methods of social work, could be of various types and is carried on in different settings The next question that may logically arise is as follows What, if any, is the common focus of the social action movement? and/or could there be a common focus in a movement that permits such widespread permutations and combinations of techniques, values, settings and goals? The answer to the query is mostly in the affirmative

There is a central focus in this area All social action movements do have, in other words, a common goal, a main theme, and a hard core of thought that they subscribe to

Those who lead such movements believe, for example, that there is a certain power centre with a vested interest which controls the policies and administration of welfare services in each country and which needs to be bridled The positions that could be automatically derived from such a hypothesis are threefold One, welfare is a power game It represents today a definitive process by which the rich and the powerful exercise control over the weak and the poor Secondly, the gains of welfare are monop-

olised by a handful of the rich at the cost of the poor It is the poor who thus pay for the services that the rich use [14] Thirdly, there is no other means to alleviate the situation unless one socialises welfare and the clients of the system take over its administration

What follows from such a complex of axioms is that social policies that tailor welfare plans and guide the structure of the administrative services should be taken out of the hands of the welfare bureaucracy The logical next step in this type of thinking is therefore, twofold, namely, that (i) the power which cntrols welfare should accordingly be transferred to the poor of the society, to the oppressed and the have-nots, and (ii) they could then acquire an undoubted control over their own destiny and guide the courses of welfare administration all by themselves

This is the only way in which the sponsors of this line of action believe that the welfare goods that are not reaching the poor could be made available to them Yet the question remains what are the steps and procedures by which the twofold task can be accomplished? Are there any specific steps that could lead to (a) the socialisation of the goods of welfare or to the transfer of power of control of the administration of services to the client system and (b) to a distribution of amenities of welfare, on a priority basis, to the poor? There is a feeling gradually gaining ground among some radical social workers that the procedures that can help in this task are those that provide the hard core of the method of social action This then brings us to a discussion of the core of the structure of the method that may, allegedly, accomplish the task Social action contemplates three things in this regard which may account for its structure

The first is the goal The goal of all social action, as seen from the above perspective, is a common one It is to ensure that all power is taken away from the 'establishment' that pretends to own the system or to produce welfare and is transferred to the distant consumers of the products, namely, those whom it does not reach today Since the 'establishment' controls the power that is responsible for the distribution of the goods of welfare, there is a school of thought growing in this area which will even go to the extent of demanding that it is necessary to demolish all institutional welfare and to ask for the winding up of all 'establishments', 'orders' and 'organisations' As in France, where the Students for Democratic Society, inspired by Jean Paul Sartre,[15] had called for a 'non-organisation' oriented centre of power So does the Human Resources Group, in Australia, even today [16]

If the goal of the social action movement is thus to transfer 'power' to the poor and/or to destabilise the establishment, the goal can be achieved, social action leaders would agree only by a straight, hard hitting conflict with the establishment If defining the 'goal' is thus position number one in the structure of the method the plea for conflict is position number two that needs to be taken note of and is common to all modes of social action

The above discussion brings us to the nature or character of the conflict in which one has to engage, one that provides the third element in the structure of the method It is in this area that there are certain vital differences between two models of social action dealt in this essay One of them represents, as stated before, a not non-violent and 'hatred' oriented onslaught Quite often, as Alinskey sees it, social action seeks even to destroy the individuals that control welfare establishments, even before the latter is to be taken care of If there are thus certain rules in an establishment which one wishes to demolish, the Alinskey school will argue that one needs to single out the chief of the establishment first, and attack his person in all possible manner except possibly a personal physical assault Let him lose face, says the architect of one of the most effective social action movements of the

world, and the rules will collapse only when the chief who makes these rules gives in

What about the 'means' and their place in the whole thesis of conflict that provides the hard core of all movement for social action? Any means says Alinskey, in answer to such a query is good enough for the purpose, and however objectionable the 'means' might seem to be it is to be adopted if it produces the desired results For ends he argues would justify the means (If the end does not justify the means, what else does it asks Alinskey)[17] Developing the thesis that no means are abhorable or unimportant and therefore, to be abandoned if it yields the results that one is seeking, Alinskey tells his famous story of the 'chewing gum' that had provided him the ammunition of a real battle In a college, in the United States, the chief of the college would it seems just not permit any of his students to leave the campus after the school hours and all known methods of demonstration or protests etc were disallowed by him The students had thus become helpless prisoners of the system Alinskey took up the case of the students and after a careful scanning of all the oppressive rules imposed by the principal, he found that the latter had not imposed any ban on eating chewing gum by the students Alinskey then reacted, interestingly, and found in the innocent chewing gum his main ammunition for action He suggested that every student of the college eat a mouthful of chewing gum and then spit them out on pavements and walls so that the whole campus gets strewed with the remnants of the chewed gum and there is no place left to walk away from the blow of the 'gum' if that is a correct word to use The attack of the gum thus became more effective than any physical blow that one could deliver out of anger, as the campus soon became an unlivable abode, even for the principal and his staff

A Bombay trade union leader had similarly given instructions to his workers in the late forties to protest against a particular order or notice that the management had issued which, the leader thought, had gone against the interests of the workers As the notice was thus hung on the walls, one fine morning, the leader had suggested to the workers, not unlike Alinskey, that they buy a *paan* each, chew it well, and then splash the fluid on the notice as they passed by its side, so that the whole area of the wall that announced the decorative order got painted with the red saliva of protests vividly representing thereby the wrath of the working class

In both these instances, which represent two similar pieces of social action, neither the students nor the workers had withdrawn from duty or broken any rules The steps they took had, however, registered the most effective protests against the authorities and were ways not only of anger but also of extreme hatred The steps undertaken could not, at the same time, be considered as steps of a non-violent struggle, although no actual form of physical violence was resorted to Can such a method be rightly called a non-violent method of social action?

They were, also, the steps which established that any means, from a *paan* to a chewing gum, may provide a good enough weapon of protest against the establishment, the purpose being to defeat the 'enemy' and to make him lose face Power to the poor has accordingly become the most effective slogan of the radical social workers of the western world which has taken to the above model of social action as the last despairing method that could, they think, yet rescue welfare from becoming a systemic tool for the exploitation of the poor and the weak The model may be called social action model no 1

There is yet another model of social action which was introduced in the West in the sixties but had its roots in India It is the method of non-violent social action about which some references have been made earlier Introduced by a galaxy of activists who were concerned not so

much with the special field of welfare as with the whole area of civil, political and economic rights, the movement has now attracted world-wide notice Two of the important leaders of this type of movement in the U S A were Martin Luther King and Caeser Chavez It is time that some of the basic values and structures of the method adopted by this model were considered

The culture of social action that the non-violent school represents is totally different from the one that model no I represents Although non-violent social action also uses conflicts and struggle as its weapons, its purpose is not to 'defeat' an enemy but to 'win' him over The aim is not to crush an individual, or to destroy an opponent however importantly placed he may be in a system, but to change the system and to protect the body and the psyche of the so called 'enemy'—both for his own good as also for the good of those whom the person opposes [18] Its aim is not to win only a struggle but to establish new values and norms, that may pioneer the way to a new society [19] Means are ends in the non-violent battle and the ends are means Since the two are equated, in the structure of the method of non-violent action, the latter cannot and does not use ends to justify the means but harps on the need for adopting pure means for reaching pure goals

The new movement thus does not provide for a coterie of leaders to pick on an individual opponent to win a battle in the interest of the former, but enables a whole people to move towards a new goal and to win their rights by dint of their own combined determination There are no secrets in this battle, they claim, and there are no enemies to be fought Caeser Chavez quotes an experience[20] in this regard that makes the rationale of the new movement clear

He talks of a personal friend of his who came to prevail on Chavez to give up non-violence, arguing that non-violence will not work, and that Chavez must take to violence "I argued with him the whole night", says Chavez and "then gave up finally and told my friend that now you win and we should take to violence Here are two guns One for you and the other for me Tell me whom shall we shoot and when?" The friend became nervous and told Chavez that both of them were so well-known in the U S A that it would be a blunder to perpetrate any act of violence by themselves What was required, therefore, he argued, was to appoint some hired assasins to do the task

That was the proverbial last straw on the camel's back and Chavez protested "What do you say", said Chavez in agony, "it is the hired assasin, then, that will buy for us our rights, it is he who will then give us our freedom No" Chavez insisted that all the people including his advisor friend had to do it together and earn their freedom by their joint labour "If you cannot handle a gun in the open", asked Chavez, "can you sign a petition, hold a banner, and march on the streets, while I go on a fast?" This is the whole rationale of non-violent social action The latter is to be conducted not by a few, in secrecy, but by each and everyone in the open

Masses cannot act in isolation or under cover, and as the people or as many of them as possible have to be involved in a struggle, they have to be won over first, on the side of the cause for which the movement is conducted If all the people of a nation or of an afflicted group thus demand a right, together, at the same time, the power of non-violence would grow with every other individual joining the cause of the battle What is important in a struggle for non-violence is, therefore, to convince the people about a cause for which one chooses to take up a position and to catalyse them all into participating in and precipitating the action That provides the sumum bonum of the new approach

The action does not thus succeed as long as the people keep away from the cause If to help a whole people who do not see the value of a cause and to change their stance thus provides the

essence of this type of a social movement, the people who do not yet see the value of the movement are to be treated as its main opponents or chief obstacles They then are the enemy They themselves are, however, at the same time, the army that would fight for the cause There is thus no separate entity of an enemy in the battle for non-violence An 'enemyless' battle is then bound to be infructuous, if it creates 'hatred' and 'violence' to serve its end [21]

Yet both the 'methods', or the 'models' of social action, the 'not non-violent' and the 'non-violent' one, however different they may be in culture and tradition, use certain steps and procedures which are not very different from each other They provide the hard core of the methodology or the structure of social action that seeks to identify certain specific steps and procedures which are common all through to both the models and can be used in either case Two of such illustrations of the schedule of steps and procedures are given below

Procedures or Schedule—Specimen I [22] Identification of injustice (building a consensus for it), defining the position (for canvassing action), building support (spreading the consensus, and mobilising the afflicted to agree to act), mobilising pressure (non-violent or otherwise), sustaining reaction, and transforming values and structures

The material in the parenthesis is the author's They add, one hopes, to the scenario of action, and may lead finally, if the action succeeds, to an alternative postion in which the injustices, say, the denial of rights to the students to go out of the campus, are removed

Procedures or Schedule—Specimen II [23] Eleven steps in the planning for action process are (i) Sensing that something is wrong A problem sensing system is needed to recognise problems on their way to happening in your community, region, nation and world (ii) Problem identification Many groups make the mistake of working on a problematic area (a whole cluster of problems) rather than a single problem, thus taking on more than they can handle It is essential that your group select a specific, precise problem and not a problematic area (iii) Building a support base Bases of support will be required by your group to sustain you when the going gets rough and to help you make more effective plans (iv) Problem diagnosis The difference between effective and ineffective action groups is here at this step When groups fail to diagnose their problems accurately, they fail to solve them (v) Gathering information How you gather information about your problem and where you gather it predetermines the outcomes Your group will learn how and where to go for information (vi) Setting action goals This means identifying your hoped for outcomes, one action step at a time, describing in operational terms what the people or systems ought to know, feel and be able to do (vii) Inventing new approaches This includes discovering what is already being done and brainstorming new innovative approaches (viii) Weighing alternative approaches and deciding on one approach to implement After doing further research, gathering data to weigh the various proposals, running pilot experiments and establishing criteria for evaluation, your group will be able to select one innovation to use (ix) Making final plans Before an approach can be put into operation, final plans must be made How will the plan be introduced? Who will be responsible for which parts of the plan? What are the checkpoints along the way? All these are to be worked out (x) Implementing the new approach (xi) Assessing, evaluating the process and identifying new problems requiring diagnosis, information gathering and planning

SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL ACTION

We have described two models of social action and two basic typologies of community

organisation The two basic types thus described are the community society pre-industrial type, and post-industrial centralised administration type of welfare organisation The social action model has been divided into two, e g , the not non-violent, and the non-violent model It has also been stated that both the models of social action follow certain generic steps, some of which have been listed in terms of two different scenarios represented by the Ben Carnion School of Social Welfare and the Action for World Development respectively Although the scenarios thus have common features there are a number of basic differences as well between the two models of social action, two of which are noted below

First of all is the question of values As is evident by now, the non-violent model draws its inspiration from a totally different package of values It does not talk of anger, hatred or enemy, but of love and struggle It talks of winning over the 'opponent' on the side of a right cause rather than hurling a 'blow' of defeat to the person of an enemy This is one difference that separates the two models

There is another difference that deals with the nature and character of the functions of the two models Model I, the not non-violent model, appears to be a very radical one, but, in fact, represents only a centrist swing that aims at increasing the functionality of the 'welfare organisation' type II It merely insists that the existing decision makers of the welfare system should be replaced by a new set of people The beggar on the horse back, as Tolstoy would say, is to be replaced, under this model, by the beggar on the streets Its sole emphasis is on transfer of power to the poor from the hands of those who now own it The not non-violent model thus works within the system, tries to rectify it, and to make it more functional than what it now seems to be Model II wishes to bring in a different type of society It seeks to swing back, if it may, to the community organisation model I Naturally such a model does not work within the system, but tries to bring into existence a new society and a new typology of institutions Its purpose is certainly not to make the existing system more functional but to replace it by a new set up

While the two systems, thus, differ in value and character, they again agree on one basic issue It is that both of them call for a drastic change in social policies that sanction and uphold the existing welfare system

Welfare model II is a product of the existing social policy that seeks to provide justice and succour to the weaker sections, the exploited and the afflicted The findings of the last two decades have, however, proved that the system is not working and the existing social policy whose handmaiden is the welfare model cannot deliver the goods Social action model I thus calls for a drastic change in the welfare system, transferring power and responsibilities of decision making from the welfare bureaucracy to the victims of the system The above goals cannot be achieved, the protagonists of this model are sure, without a change in the structure and contours of our social policy

The non-violent model would similarly require a totally different social policy that will bring in a welfare society in place of the centralised welfare state that every nation, irrespective of its political hue, tries to build today And what does a welfare society mean? The answer is simple It means political decentralisation It means a change in the pattern of community organisation, adoption of simpler and more relevant technologies on the lines urged by Schumacher and a complete deinstitutionalisation and deprofessionalisation of the welfare system It places the village or the local community and not a paraphernalia of welfare institutions at the centre of the stage Social action provides a built-in mechanism in such a society[24] which guarantees to every individual

his or her right to protest and rectify a social situation that one finds as oppressive Social action, in such a context, represents a basic social process One that, like the press the parliament, the legislature or the judiciary brings in correctives to the existing system wherever it goes wrong Social action, in such a society, would not thus any longer constitute a rigid or revolting type of protest but would form a part of the basic societal processes from which the political organisation of the state will draw its sustenance

Both the models of social action emanating from two different types of community organisations thus provide the basis on which the foundations of the new movement for social action is based The existing processes of welfare administration, which social action seeks to change, draw their sustenance from the existing social policies which guide the destiny of welfare Both the models of social action would, therefore, require a fundamental change in the social policy that guides this destiny It is the dominating social policy of the day that tailors the welfare system, and not the system itself that thus provides the ultimate target of all social upheaval that social action produces

SUGATA DASGUPTA

NOTES

1 "Social action covers movements of political reform, industrial democracy, social legislation, racial and social justice, religious freedom and civil liberty ' *Encyclopaedia of Social Work Vol II* Publications Division, New Delhi, 1968

2 For a fuller treatment of the theme see *Facing the New Era* published by International Council of Social Welfare as their Silver Jubilee publication, New York, 1978

3 The concept of the winners' circle was developed in 1975, see "Community Development Controversies and issues" by Australian Government Social Welfare Commission, May 1975 It says, "in our society the 'winners circle' cannot be extended This idea is illusory There can be marginally greater participation, some cosmetic shifts in power, but nothing substantial The system is absolutely dependent for its survival on no disruption of power, material goods, prestige etc Rhetoric about this helps maintain the *status quo*"

4 See Dame E Younghusband's *Social Work and Social Change* She was one of the leaders of the dissident school, who emphasised that it was not the individual but the whole society that was the client of the social work process

5 There is a trend today to include 'management' and 'social administration as integral parts of social work courses There are many who would feel that such subjects will have greater relevance to social work as compared to social action, community organisation or casework etc

6 This is the traditional approach that emphasises three models of community organisation For a fuller treatement see any text book on the subject

7 The village communities, in India, are divided both in spatial and functional groups While the spatial groups represent wards, *mohallas* or *paras* of villages accounting for further subdivision of the revenue village, the functional groups are castes which might have now lost their function The frontiers of the spatial and functional groups are zealously guarded by political and ritualistic boundaries See for example, the author s "Rural Agencies and Rural Change Three studies in Community Organisation", (I C S S R , New Delhi, 1971)

8 Shri S K Dey was the initiator of a nationwide community development programme in India that held its sway in rural India from 1951 to 1964

9 For a fuller treatment of the subject see *A Great Society of Small Communities* published by Sarvaseva Sangh Prakashan on behalf of the Gandhi Centenary Committee, Varanasi, 1969, by the author The book explains fully the land gift mission of Bhoodan Yagna of Vinoba Bhave

10 The programme initiated, for example in Britain, in the early fifties had planned for welfare services offered to individuals from what was proverbially known as services from cradle to grave or 'womb to tomb' services

11 The model of welfare services provided by the different states or nations of the world resemble each other very closely If one scrutinises the textbooks taught to students of schools of social work in any university of the world, it will be evident that the basic academic structure of learning in this field is drawn, say, from ten to fifteen textbooks written mostly by American and British authors who thus lay down the structure of welfare services all over the world through the instrumentality of the contribution that their students make in shaping the destiny of such services

12 For a fuller treatment of the subject see "The Other Society published in *Towards a New Approach to Development* by the Institute of Social Change and Social Welfare, Calcutta, 1980

13 See *Rules for Radicals* by Saul Alinskey or *Citizens participation in community organisation in planning and urban development*, (Chicago, The Industrial areas foundation, 1962) Alinskey rejects non-violence as a model of action in no uncertain terms

14 See "Poverty and the Poor' by Gerald Leivowand Pocket Books, New Youk Dec 1968

15 Jean Paul Sartre has been an outstanding protagonist of the New Society that will not be based on organisation but on non-organisation For an analysis of the relevance of the concept to the central theme of the subject see the author s articles in *Peace Research in the Third World* published by the Indian Council of Peace Research, New Delhi, 1973

16 For a statement of the Australian group see *In and out of the muck* or *Australian analysis* by Non-violent study group, Sydney, 1979

17 It is in the same vein as referred to in 13 above that Alinskey talks about ends and means position

18 For a fuller treatment of the theme see *Gandhi for the Youth* by the author published by Vishva Yuvak Kendra, New Delhi, 1976

19 See 'Why We Cannot Wait by Martin Luther King, published by Signet, U S A, 1963

20 Caeser Chavez was and still is the leader of the Mexican Americans, who had declared grape fruit boycott' which had lasted for 41 days in the late sixties

21 *Gandhi for the Youth Op cit*.

22 *The Social action process*, Ben Carmiol School or Social Welfare University of Calgary Second Annual Social Policy Conference for policy formulation in Canada

23 Prepared by Rev Noel Preston of the Action for World Development, Brisbane and presented at a seminar held at the Queensland University on 23 December 1977 (unpublished)

24 Gandhi's insistence on the inclusion of satyagraha as one of the fundamental rights in the Constitution provides a sanction to this line of thinking

SOCIAL DEFENCE

Ordinarily, the term Social Defence connotes the protection of society against crime In the past, such protection was sought to be achieved by a vigorous repression of the perpetrators of crime Over the years, the futility of repressive punishment became quite apparent and a movement for the prevention of crime and a corrective treatment of offenders on scientific lines originated in several countries It is now being increasingly realised that man commits crime because of multiplicity of personality-oriented and environmental factors which need to be tackled through a sociological and criminological perspective In fact, the emergence of the social defence approach came as a sequal to the perception of three basic notions regarding crime (a) a concern for the protection of society over and above expiatory punishment, (b) a desire to bring about the amelioration of the offender, if not his re-education, beyond the infliction of a purely exemplary or retributive penalty, and, (c) an attempt to promote or to safeguard the concept of the human person to whom none but a human treatment can be applied These three ideas form the bedrock of the modern concept of social defence

Of course, Greek philosophy has played a prominent part in the history of social defence movement Plato was the first among the

Greeks to perceive the idea of social defence He advocated the concept of the prevention of crime and proclaimed that the aim of punishment should be not the avenging of past injustice but the safeguarding of the future on the basis of the avoidance of crime He asserted that laws should strive to turn a criminal from a life of crime [1] Such a vision of the prison system was several centuries ahead of his time Consequently the positivist exponents of the criminological thoughts contributed to the formulation of a theoretical framework of social defence Enrico Ferri, in particular, continually used the term social defence in the context of the protection of the social groups and it was in this sense that he, in the explanatory introduction to his famous draft code of 1921, could write of social defence as the direct and primary function of criminal justice Earlier, the International Union of Criminal Law, which was founded in 1889, had also discussed the doctrine of social defence [2] Nevertheless this concept continued to be used for several decades rather loosely for various efforts to control crime and it was only with the acceptance of the term in 1948 by the United Nations that social defence acquired international usage in the sense of activities and programmes for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders

In the modern context, social defence presupposes that the means of controlling crime are to be conceived as a system which aims not at punishing a fault and sanctioning by penalty for the conscious infringement of a legal rule, but at protecting society against criminal acts through a variety of preventive, therapeutic and rehabilitative devices The social defence approach does not in any way force the criminal scientists to choose between criminal law and social defence It rather leads to the promotion of a penal policy that attempts at a systematic resocialisation of the offender Such a process of resocialisation can take place only by way of an ever-increasing humanisation of criminal law This naturally necessitates an optimum utilisation of all the resources within and outside the person in order to restore his self-confidence and social usefulness in consonance with cherished human values This process of humanisation of criminal law has to be based on an objective analysis of criminogenic factors and a scientific understanding of the offender's personality rather than being influenced merely by humanitarian and sentimental outlook towards law violators [3]

The term social defence has both narrow and wide connotations In its narrow meaning, it is confined to the punishment, treatment and welfare of persons coming in conflict with law In the wider sense, it covers the entire gamut of preventive, therapeutic and rehabilitation services in the field of crime control As a unified approach, it tends to protect society from the state of disorganisation not merely by treating and rehabilitating offenders but by creating such conditions within the community as are conducive for a healthy and wholesome growth of human life While doing so, it goes beyond the ambit of criminal law in extending measures to forestall situations associated with crime and to treat offenders in a manner that helps them to reintegrate into the mainstream of social life It firmly subscribes to the offender's inherent rights as a human being and upholds that a person does not become a non-person in the event of his committing a crime

PLANNING FOR SOCIAL DEFENCE

In India, as in other countries, rise in the incidence of crime and delinquency has been closely associated with rapid socio-economic changes and un-balanced growth in the material needs of man This awareness provided a rationale for the planning of strategies for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders within the overall framework of national development plans Consequently, the social defence

approach found its origin in the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) in the form of schemes in certain priority areas under the welfare sector The schemes were centrally sponsored to be operated by the State Governments with fifty per cent of the expenditure being shared by the Central Government In keeping with the approved pattern, the schemes were developed for the five years of the plan, after which the State Governments had to take over the total liability of financing them Expansion of the existing services, especially for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency, probation and allied measures, beggary prevention, welfare in prisons, suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls, was continued in the subsequent plans

During the Second Plan period, 40 remand homes, 17 certified schools, 10 protective homes, 60 rescue homes and 70 reception centres were established in the country A small beginning was made in regard to prison welfare services with the creation of 13 posts of welfare officers to attend to the requirements of individualised treatment of prisoners and to maintain liaison with their families[4] In order to strengthen the infrastructure for community-based correction, one hundred probation officers were appointed in different States The Third Five Year Plan (1961-66) contributed to the progress of social defence schemes with the addition of more remand homes, certified schools, protective homes and prison welfare officers and probation officers A novel step was taken by organising creches for children of women prisoners A new project offering non-institutional services for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, begging and vagrancy was also sponsored by the Central Government in six major cities

However, in the Fourth Five Year Plan, in pursuance of the decision of the National Development Council, social defence schemes were trensferred to the State sector of the plan Since then, the States have been given block grants by the Central Government to be allocated to different areas on the basis of their own priorities Thus, the main role of the Union Government in the sphere of social defence now relates to advising and coordinating the activities of the State Governments The collection, compilation and presentation of national statistics preparing model legislations and schemes and undertaking and promoting training and research in the field of social defence are among other important programmes of the Union Government At the Central level while the Ministry of Home Affairs deals with judiciary police, prisons and criminal legislation the Ministry of Social and Women's Welfare is concerned with the programmes relating to juvenile delinquency, probation services welfare services in prisons suppression of immoral traffic beggary prevention aftercare services and correctional training and research The administration of social defence services comes within the purview of State Governments and Union Territory administrations[5]

The establishment of the Central Bureau of Correctional Services in 1961, now known as the National Institute of Social Defence was a development of national significance The bureau was set up as a follow-up of the recommendations of the All India Jail Manual Committee (1957-59) This body has been responsible for the coordination, development and standardisation of services in the field of social defence Though the bureau was initially set up under the Ministry of Home Affairs, it was transferred in 1964 to the Department of Social Security, now the Ministry of Social and Women's Welfare As matters relating to prison administration and reforms were dealt with by the Ministry of Home Affairs the bureau continued to directly assist that Ministry in this respect, with its Director being designated as the ex-officio Prison Adviser

In January 1975, the bureau was reorganised

into the National Institute of Social Defence, with a pivotal role assigned to it in the development of social defence programmes, especially through training, research and technical assistance The main objectives of the Institute included reviewing policies and programmes in the field of social defence, anticipating and diagnosing social defence problems, developing preventive, rehabilitative and curative policies in the field of social defence, identifying and developing the instruments for realising the objectives of social defence policies, reviewing and evaluating the implementation of social defence policies and programmes, and developing and promoting voluntary effort in social defence

PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Delinquency control measures have understandably been accorded the highest priority in social defence Juvenile delinquency is a complex social problem, more a byproduct of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation In India, the incidence of juvenile delinquency has been increasing in the recent past Apart from poverty and breakdown of family life, decreasing social control, rising aspirations, lack of opportunities and consequent frustration, exposure to conflicting ideas and values and easy money have been identified among the contributory factors The problem of juvenile delinquency has aroused the concern of policy makers

The earliest attempt in India was the enactment of the Apprentices Act of 1850 which provided some useful vocational training, aiming at the rehabilitation of poor and destitute children and children coming in conflict with law This Act covered children between ten and eighteen years But the first special law dealing directly with juvenile delinquency was the Reformatory School Act, 1876 which was later modified in 1897 It was an all India measure to deal with delinquents below 15 years of age It provided that a child found guilty of an offence might at the discretion of the sentencing court, be ordered to be detained in such a reformatory school for a period of three to seven years Besides, the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1884 later amended in 1893, contained three sections namely 29(B) 399 and 562 concerning delinquents up to the age of 21 years Later, the Indian Jails Committee (1919-20) which laid the foundation of prison reforms in India felt an urgent necessity for providing separate treatment for children and young persons The Committee aptly noted in its report that commitment to a prison of children and young persons, whether after conviction or while on remand or undertrial, is contrary to public policy and that the sentences of imprisonment should in cases of children and young persons be made illegal as in England

On the lines recommended by the Indian Jails Committee 1919-20, Madras, Bengal and Bombay enacted their Children Acts in 1920, 1922 and 1924 respectively with the main objectives of providing separate facilities for custody, trial and corrective treatment for destitute and delinquent children In later years, some other provinces/States like the Central Provinces and Berar, Travancore, etc enacted Children Acts After independence, Andhra Pradesh (1951), Assam (1970), Gujarat (1948), Haryana (1974), Himachal Pradesh (1960), Jammu and Kashmir (1970), Karnataka (1964), Kerala (1972), Madhya Pradesh (1970), Uttar Pradesh (1951) and West Bengal (1959) also fell in line with the above States[6] The Government of India enacted the Children Act in 1960 for implementation in Union Territories This Act, as amended in 1978, contains elaborate provisions for the care, protection, maintenance, welfare, training, education and rehabilitation of neglected and delinquent children It embodies some novel features, such as separate handling of destitute and delinquent children through

different specialised agencies According to the Children Act (1960), children's courts are entrusted to deal with children who are apprehended by the police for violating criminal law, whereas child welfare boards are to be responsible for handling destitute, neglected and uncontrollable children The aim of a children's court and child welfare board is not to punish but to help the child in difficulty Social workers are associated with the functioning of these institutions The differential approach towards neglected children covered under the law through the child welfare boards is being progressively adopted by the State Governments There were 451 juvenile/children courts and nine child welfare boards in the country in January 1983[7] Probation officers, appointed under the Children Act(s) to assist the court, perform the important task of diagnosing the real problem of a child and providing his antecedents to the court On the basis of the report of the probation officer, the juvenile children's court decides whether the child should be committed to an institution or not To be successful, a probation officer needs to have a thorough understanding of the social, economic and emotional factors involved in delinquent behaviour According to information available upto January 1983, 782 probation officers were working in various States[8]

To save children from the contaminating influence of adult offenders, Children Acts provide that children be lodged in remand/observation homes, pending disposal of their case by a juvenile children's court or child welfare board Prior to the enactment of Children Acts, juvenille offenders had to be detained in jails as undertrials, though this practice is still in vogue in some States and areas where Children Acts are yet to be extended The baneful effect of detaining a child in jail along with adults has been severely criticised at various national forums and efforts are being made to enforce Children Acts all over the country uniformly The certified schools, approved schools/special schools/industrial schools, prescribed under various Children Acts, provide long-term treatment and training to a child, delinquent or destitute, with a view to correcting or rehabilitating such children By 5 January 1983 there were 215 remand/observation homes, 92 approved/certified/special schools and 26 children homes in the country[9] Another aspect of development in this sphere has been the enactment of the Borstal Schools Act for detention, training and treatment of adolescent offenders in special institutions instead of sending them to jails Several States passed their Borstal Schools Act and set up Borstal institutions By May 1983, there were eleven Borstal institutions in ten States in the country

A review of the implementation of the Children Acts shows that the services in this respect need to be considerably developed to ensure uniform coverage quantitatively as well as qualitatively Nagaland, in January 1983, was yet to enact a Children Act The Children Act, 1960, which is applicable to Union Territories was not enforced in Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, and Mizoram even by January 1983[10] Further, in many of the States where the Acts are in force, all the districts have not been covered As a result, a number of children coming in conflict with law still go to prison and are subjected to the deleterious effects of incarceration The significance of the implementation of Children Act as a progressive correctional measure has repeatedly been stressed at various levels The Central Advisory Board on Correctional Services, now known as the Central Advisory Board on Social Defence, has time and again called upon State Governments to adequately expand and strengthen the services contemplated under the Children Act so that no child is exposed for any reason to the baneful influence of prison life Despite this, services for the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency have yet to receive the desired status and progress in this area continues to be tardy

WELFARE SERVICES IN PRISONS

Doubtlessly, prisons constitute the largest area of social defence Prison administration in India is governed by central legislations like the Prisons Act, 1894, the Prisoners Act, 1900, the Indian Lunacy Act, 1912 and the Transfer of Prisoners Act, 1950 The maintenance and development of prisons is a state subject under the Constitution of India and the State Governments have their own prison manuals

The need to introduce welfare measures in the prisons was first stressed by the Indian Jails Committee 1919-20 The Committee declared that the ultimate objective of imprisonment is the reformation and rehabilitation of offenders After independence, developments in the field of prison reforms were more rapid

In 1952, Dr W C Reckless visited India under the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme and submitted a report on prison administration in India, suggesting to the government a number of modifications in the techniques of handling offenders Later in 1957, the Ministry of Home Affairs appointed an All India Jail Manual Committee which submitted a comprehensive report along with a Model Prison Manual containing elaborate standards and guidelines on the subject Again, in 1972, a working group on prisons was appointed by the Ministry to review the problems and programmes of prison administration in the country The working group in its report made a number of valuable recommendations regarding overcrowding in prisons, staff structure, training of prison personnel and pleaded for prison development to be made a part of the national development plan and to extend financial assistance to State Governments to improve facilities in jails A conference of Chief Secretaries of all the States and Union Territories convened by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1979 deliberated in detail on various problems relating to prison development The conference recommended a number of measures including the revision of prison manuals on the lines of the model prison manual and the Government of India is taking steps to implement those recommendations In 1980, the Union Government set up a high power jail reforms committee under the chairmanship of justice A N Mulla (retd) to look into various problems in Indian jails and suggest practical remedial measures The committee submitted its report in March 1983, with a large number of recommendations

Some of the basic areas identified for priority attention by most of the reform committees, workshops and seminars organised so far, are classification of prisoners on the basis of their criminal records, length of sentence, security requirements and correctional needs, removing congestion in prisons by eliminating the short-term prison sentences, more extensive use of probation, semi-open and open institutions and greater use of parole, providing special programmes for treatment and rehabilitation of young offenders under Children Acts and separate institutions for young offenders, rationalising treatment of prisoners according to their personality traits, socio-economic background and individual needs with the help of prison welfare officers, psychologists and psychiatrists, organising aftercare and rehabilitation of the discharged prisoners, and instituting training of prison personnel

According to the Constitution, the primary responsibility for the administration and management of prisons rests with the State Governments The role of the Central Government is, therefore, restricted to providing guidance and financial assistance to them Accordingly, the Home Ministry has taken steps to formulate an action strategy for prison development in consultation with the State Governments A modest sum of Rs 2 crores was first provided in 1977-78, followed by Rs 4 crores in 1978-79 as financial incentives to the States for improvement of prison buildings, modernisation of prison industry and agriculture, construction of

staff quarters, and development of scientific and technological facilities in prisons like security, fire fighting, etc The question of a larger allocation for prison development to the States was taken up by the Seventh Finance Commission which recommended a provision of Rs 48 31 crores to 11 States for the development of prison buildings and for raising the level of basic facilities and amenities to prisoners [11] However, the Commission did not cover the modernisation of jails and development of correctional services as such Nevertheless, the provision made by the Commission has surely been a starting point for long overdue improvements in jails

For a long-term perspective on prison reforms, there is need to evolve a national policy on prison administration Lack of uniform legislation on prisons has been one of the main reasons for delay in the adoption of guidelines contained in the Model Prison Manual The Ministry of Home Affairs is already considering a draft model prison legislation The issues in this regard naturally involve a national consensus on the possible modalities and priorities of action There is widespread demand that the investment on prisons should be treated as human resource development as it ultimately aims at raising the quality of human life, besides protecting society from criminogenic forces

PROBATION SERVICES

Probation as a selective approach towards the treatment of offenders presents a potential area of social defence development Although probation as a method of extramural treatment of offenders has been known in India for about 80 years, the recognition of probation as an effective tool to tackle the problem of crime and delinquency and rehabilitation of offenders has been more recent Probation techniques attempt to reform the offenders in non-institutional settings under the supervision of qualified and competent probation officers The Probation of Offenders Act, 1958 was enacted by Parliament to provide for the release of offenders on probation or after due admonition or for matters connected therewith Even before this Act was passed, there was a provision under Section 562 Cr P C, 1898 to release certain types of offenders on probation of good conduct The scope of Section 562 of the Cr P C was further enlarged in 1923 Besides this provision in Cr P C, some States like Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal had enacted their own legislations on probation [12] However, these were neither uniform nor adequate to meet the requirements of modern corrections Moreover, there was no provision in these Acts for collecting information regarding character and antecedents of offenders through presentence enquiries The First Offenders Probation Act enacted by then United Provinces now known as Uttar Pradesh in 1938, was perhaps the best among the State Acts as it covered almost all the provisions which were later laid down in the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958

With a view to bringing about uniformity of legislation among the States and meet the demands of the situation, the States were requested to adopt the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958 This Act is much more comprehensive in scope than the erstwhile States Acts, as it has empowered courts to release on probation, in all suitable cases, an offender found guilty of having committed an offence other than that punishable with death or imprisonment for life A special provision has been incorporated putting restrictions on the imprisonment of offenders below the age of 21 years During the period of probation, the offenders are required to remain under the supervision of probation officers At present, barring the States of Jammu and Kashmir, Nagaland and Sikkim and the Union Territories of Arunachal Pradesh, Lakshadweep and Mizoram, the Probation of

Offenders Act, 1958 has been enforced throughout the country Statistics available from various States and Union Territories for the year 1982 indicate that there were only 782 probation officers in the country and 71,780 (as on 1 December 1976) cases were referred to these officers by various courts[13] With a view to providing an impetus to the development of probation, 1971 was observed as the Probation Year As part of the programme formulated for that year, a national correctional conference on probation and allied measures was held in New Delhi which made a number of valuable recommendations for the strengthening of probation services, including the appointment of one probation officer for every two criminal courts The Central Advisory Board on Correctional Services, now known as Central Advisory Board on Social Defence, has since its very inception in 1965 been pressing for the expansion of probation services and raising its quality With the enforcement of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, the role of probation in the sphere of criminal justice has assumed much greater significance

SUPPRESSION OF IMMORAL TRAFFIC

Services for the suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls and cure, protection and rehabilitation of women rescued from prostitution constitute an important scheme of social defence in this country India is a signatory to the International Convention relating to the suppression of traffic in persons which was signed at New York on 9 May 1950 In pursuance of this, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act was passed by Parliament in 1956, and enforceed throughout the country in 1958, replacing all the State Acts on the subject

The main purpose of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956 is to inhibit commercialised form of prostitution i e traffic in women and girls for the purposes of prostitution as an organised means of living The Act provides penalties for the offences of (i) keeping a brothel, etc (Section 3), (ii) living on the earnings of prostitution (Section 4) (iii) procuring, inducing or taking women/ girls in premises where prostitution is carried on (Section 5), (iv) detaining a women or girl in premises where prostitution is carried on (Section 6), (v) prostitution in and in the vicinity of public places (Section 7), and seducing or soliciting for the purpose of prostitution (Section 8) The Act provides for the appointment of special police officers and of non-official advisory bodies to implement its provisions Protective homes have been envisaged for the care protection and rehabilitation of women and girls rescued from the vice In 1982, there were 113 protective-rescue homes and allied institutions in the country with a total capacity of 5,763[14] (as on 5 January 1983) Inmates are imparted training and instructions in various trades in these homes and are subjected to such disciplinary and moral influences as are likely to promote the prospects of their reformation and rehabilitation The Act has three important aspects (i) executive and procedural, (ii) penal, and (iii) reformative and rehabilitative

After enforcement of this Act, the Government of India received a number of suggestions for amending the Act with a view to removing certain lacuna which made its implementation difficult In 1968, the government appointed an expert committee to consider all these proposals and to suggest definite measures for bringing improvements in the legislation Subsequently, the Law Commission undertook a comprehensive examination of its provisions in relation to the prevailing conditions and made a number of valuable recommendations in its 64th report On the basis of these recommendations, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act of 1956 was amended in 1978 with a view to making it more effective

Experience of the operation of the Act shows that State intervention in this problem which is basically social and moral in nature needs the support of the public at large Unfortunately, the Act has failed to generate the requisite level of community action to achieve its purpose Social action to combat this social evil should, therefore, start at the grassroot level through a comprehensive scheme of care and protection of the women in moral and social danger The Ministry of Social Welfare has, therefore, been assisting major voluntary organisations in undertaking a variety of preventive services for moral and social hygiene

BEGGARY PREVENTION

The problem of beggary, which continues to persist despite legal attempts initiated to combat it, poses a serious impediment to developmental efforts Studies conducted in the metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Delhi to assess the nature and dimensions of the problem have revealed that this practice is not simply a result of socio-economic deprivation but also a product of deviation on the part of those who resort to begging under compulsions arising out of traditional, cultural and religious practices It has, therefore, been considered necessary that an integrated scheme not merely to eradicate conditions which breed begging, but also to care, treat and rehabilitate beggars, is adopted within the framework of social defence programme

The subject of beggary does not specifically figure in any of the lists contained in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India The Ministry of Law has, however, expressed the view that considering the nature and extent of the problem, it is advisable that the programme of beggary control is continued to be implemented by the State Governments and Union Territory administrations In the beginning of 1983, 15 States and Union Territories were operating anti-beggary programmes under their own laws [15] Services in this field lack uniformity and standardisation because of wide variations in legal provisions and administrative procedures The present approach is primarily punitive, with very little scope for a diversified programme of treatment and rehabilitation of various categories of beggars Analysing the prevailing situation, a study group appointed by the Planning Commission in 1965 had recommended that a double track system consisting of a social defence approach towards those who beg professionally, wilfully and habitually, and a social assistance approach towards those who are socially handicappted, crippled, diseased, old and infirm, may be devised Further discusions and deliberations in the Ministry of Social Welfare have led to the view that comprehensive legislation for the prevention of begging in the Union Territories, which might also serve as a model for the State Governments, should be enacted to provide a base for concerted action towards beggary control Accordingly, a draft of the Prevention of Beggary Bill is being formulated, incorporating some progressive features on the basis of accumulated thinking and experience in dealing with the problem

AFTERCARE SERVICES

Aftercare is a vital link in the correctional cycle It is an approach and a service designed to remove the offender's social isolation and dependence, to help him to get over his social handicaps, to remove the stigma that shadows him because of institutionalisation, and finally to accelerate the process of his rehabilitation as mentally, socially and vocationally well adjusted person Aftercare is not a prolongation of the treatment programme provided to an offender in the institution It, in fact, marks the termination of the institutional programme

The Indian Jails Committee of 1877 had emphasised the need for the organisation of

aftercare services As a result released prisoners' aid societies were organised in some provinces In 1930, Madras, Bombay, Punjab and United Provinces took the initiative to set up aftercare homes and voluntary agencies also emerged to extend help to the released prisoners In 1955, the Advisory Committee on Aftercare Programme was appointed by the Central Social Welfare Board to assess the present position and to explore ways and means for evolving a sound aftercare programme in the country The All India Jail Manual Committee (1957), besides considering various aspects of prison administration, viewed that aftercare is an inseparable part of the correctional cycle and should therefore be developed as an essential component in the correctional services The Committee included a separate chapter on aftercare in Model Prison Manual, specifying the objectives, scope and potentials of aftercare services

At present, aftercare services for discharged prisoners and inmates of juvenile correctional institutions provide for admission and care in After Care Homes and District Shelters for a specific period This facility is prevalent in Kerala, Orissa, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Gujarat Mysore and in Union Territory of Delhi Another important mode of post institutional care of offenders is in vogue in the shape of financial assistance to them and to their families at the time of their release for rehabilitative purposes This facility is available in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Tripura, Delhi and Pondicherry [16]

There is, however, no denying that aftercare services in the country leave much room for improvement Many States do not have arrangements to take care of ex-prisoners Even in States where there are institutions for the purpose, their number is so inadequate that all deserving cases cannot be covered In this sphere of activity, the community is required to play a very vital role The entire responsibility of aftercare services cannot be left to the government alone Steps need to be taken to generate awareness among the public and to involve them actively in this regard Close coordination among various official and non-official organisations working in this field is urgently called for

DRUG ABUSE AND ALCOHOLISM

Use or abuse of drugs in some form or the other has been prevalent in almost every culture and at all times of the history of human civilisation In recent times, however, the tendency to use drugs is reported to have assumed an alarming proportion Even vulnerable sections of society like school-going children and college students are not immune to this vice The Ministry of Social Welfare sponsored a multicentred study to ascertain the nature and extent of non-medical use of drugs amongst college/university students The Ministry of Health and Family Welfare also appointed a Drug Addiction Committee to look into the significant aspects of the problem The committee has since submitted its report and has made several recommendations with far-reaching implications A large number of legislative measures are available which directly or indirectly deal with this problem These include the Opium Act, Excise Acts, Dangerous Drugs and Cosmetic Acts and so forth But an integrated and broad-based legislation is needed to deal with the problem more effectively

The problem of unauthorised distribution of drugs, their non-medical use and the like are dealt with by both the Central and State Governments The official agencies which are involved in this are the Chief Controller of Imports and Exports, Collector of Customs, Narcotic Commissioner, Directors of State Excise, Chief Controller of Drugs, and the police It has been experienced that the approach of these agencies is a little different

from what the exigencies of the problem demand A few steps such as the following may be useful First, an enduring system needs to be devised to monitor the sale and distribution of intoxicant and habit-forming drugs It would establish communication channels with different Central and State agencies in the country and collect and compile relevant statistics This would greatly help in working out estimates as to the use of drugs and violations of law on a continuous basis Secondly, the use of mass-media of communication on a systematic and regular basis may be considered Such a measure would go a long way in shaping public opinion and in educating the masses on the harmful influences of different forms of habit-forming drugs Thirdly, the problem needs further scientific investigation Complex as it is, the problem varies in time and space Universities and research institutions are required to be encouraged to pay more concerted attention in this area Lastly, some thought may be given to the initiating of 'action research projects' For instance, a drug counselling centre may be started on a college campus or in a slum area which may help out marginal or habitual drug users and, at the same time, may collect information on the nature and extent of the problem as well as the efficacy of the programme

ROLE OF JUDICIARY AND POLICE

The underlying philosophy and spirit of legislations pertaining to social defence envisage a specialised approach in the handling of offenders through a coordinated functioning of the police, prosecution, judiciary and coorrectional agencies on the basis of a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of crime and criminal behaviour In the wake of the growing realisation of the efficacy of reformation and rehabilitation of offenders as an ultimate objective of punishment, the role of the judiciary is not to be restricted only to the pronouncement of a verdict and passing sentence on an offender It has to go beyond the scope of criminal law In social defence legislation, the judiciary is provided with the assistance of technical personnel in the form of probation officers, social workers, psychiatrists etc , and it is expected that the judge would make full use of these facilities to formulate his judgement in such a way that would provide an offender with a suitable opportunity to correct himself for becoming an useful citizen

In their Children Acts, some of the States have laid down special qualification for the juvenile/children court magistrates In addition to their legal qualification, they are required to possess sound knowledge of child psychology and problems of juvenile delinquency In the Children Acts, the role of juvenile court magistrates is very crucial They are supposed to act not merely as upholders of law but to take care of the best interests of the delinquent children by way of giving a correct direction for their treatment and rehabilitation In the implementation of the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958, an enlightened judiciary can contribute considerably by way of adopting a sympathetic view of young offenders to give them a chance to improve their behaviour in the open community In the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1956 also, under Sections 10 and 17(3) courts are given discretionary powers in determining cases regarding probation and custody of girls rescued from brothels In the field of welfare services in prisons also, the judiciary can perform a useful service Magistrates are appointed on the boards of prisons As jail visitors, the magistrates can contribute a lot by taking keen interest in the welfare of prisoners, by listening to their complaints and grievances and by giving them relief by taking their problems to the appropriate authorities

Being the foremost of the agencies dealing with offenders, the police have a very important role to play in the implementation of legislations

in the area of social defence The Children Acts contain systematic provisions for special functions to be performed by police officers They have to act as a referral agency for neglected children to be brought before child welfare boards They are expected to deal with children apprehended under the Acts in a manner that does not injure them mentally, psychologically or emotionally There has been a constant demand that special police units should be created, preferably to be manned by women officers who can understand a child's problem better than their male counterparts There is need for a thorough reorientation of police officers who are concerned with delinquency control in the preventive, protective and rehabilitative objectives of these Acts

Similarly, the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956, provides for the appointment of special police officers to implement its provisions The special police officers are required to work closely with non-official advisory bodies and other citizens at various stages of rescue, recovery and rehabilitation work with a view to overcoming the difficulty regarding the shortage of police personnel The Act in its recent amendment in 1978 has made it possible to appoint Inspectors of Police as special police officers in place of Deputy Superintendents of Police

Another area in which the cooperation of police assumes a vital importance relates to probation The Probation of Offenders Act, 1958 lays down comprehensive provisions for the handling of certain types of offenders in the non-institutional setting Probation is a selective approach, the success of which depends mainly on a thorough study of the offender, his antecedents and background and the circumstances in which the offence was committed Police can render useful service by furnishing all possible information about the offender to the probation officer during the pre-sentence inquiry At the supervision stage again, the surveillance function of the police with regard to probationers has to acquire a more constructive role The aftercare programme for institutional offenders cannot yield the desired results unless the help and cooperation of the police is ensured The new provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 call for a speedy disposal of cases within a stipulated period The Law Commission of India in its 77th and 78th reports has elaborately dealt with the problem of undertrials and has made a variety of suggestions including the liberalisation of the bail system The new trends in criminal law place on the police a heavy responsibility for speedy trial and individualised handling of offenders in keeping with their behavioural patterns and rehabilitative requirements

ROLE OF COMMUNITY IN SOCIAL DEFENCE

The role of community participation in the processes of apprehension, trial, treatment, reformation and rehabilitation of offenders has been universally accepted as an essential component of a progressive system of criminal justice People's involvement can be enlisted at the individual, group and community levels A well-rounded programme of social defence covering various aspects of the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders relies heavily on an active cooperation of voluntary welfare resources and agencies which represent the consciousness and concern of the public towards the problems in the field Most of the acts pertaining to social defence contain specific provisions for associating the community at various stages of handling offenders Adequate avenues for mobilising community support have also been created in various areas of social defence

The Children Acts contain systematic procedures for the apprehension, institutionalisation and aftercare of convicted and destitute children in which close collaboration with non-official voluntary organisations has been delineated

Under the Acts, the services of voluntary social workers are utilised for referring children who are in need of care and protection to the appropriate authority Honorary Magistrates with adequate knowledge and experience in child welfare are appointed to the juvenile courts Selected inmates of the Children Act institutions are placed or released on licence under the care and guardianship of voluntary social workers of welfare agencies As there is no substitute for family life in the growth and development of child, every effort is made by the juvenile court to treat the child in family setting, with or without probation supervision Voluntary welfare organisations are adequately encouraged and supported to extend aftercare and follow up services in the rehabilitation of children discharged from correctional institutions In the sphere of non-institutional treatment of juveniles, the programmes consisting of counselling and guidance, organised recreation and constructive work activities are entirely based on effective mobilisation of community resources The activities and programmes of several national and State organisations, such as the Indian Council of Child Welfare, the Children's Aid Society, the Society for the Protection of Children in India etc which render welfare services to needy children contribute significantly in preventing situations leading to juvenile delinquency

In dealing with rehabilitative problems of prisoners, there is wide scope for purposeful integration between institutional services and welfare resources of the community The All-India Jail Manual Committee (1957-59) had suggested definite guidelines for the setting up of aftercare organisations at various levels in collaboration with voluntary agencies In several States, the discharged prisoners aid societies and crime prevention societies are rendering services in aftercare follow-up and rehabilitation of persons released from penal institutions The State Jail Manuals also contain provisions for the appointment of jail visitors, lecturers on moral values, and community leaders on various committees concerned with the welfare of prison inmates State advisory boards of correctional services set up by the State Governments function to bring about an effective coordination between official and non-official welfare organisations

The system of probation and parole entail a large infrastructural organisation involving the appointment of probation officers and related functionaries With a view to adequately meeting the manpower requirements for these purposes, several States and Union Territories have provided measures for the utilisation of voluntary welfare agencies for the placement, care and supervision of probationers Crime prevention societies receive official support to share these functions to a certain extent In Madhya Pradesh, voluntary probation officers have been appointed by the Law Department on the recommendations of district magistrates Most of these officers are drawn from practising lawyers who are assigned this work on a part-time basis Whie the efficacy of voluntary probation work needs to be scientifically evaluated, there is no denying the fact that in a vast country like India voluntary resources need to be appropriately harnessed to meet the rapidly increasing requirements

The Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act, 1956 which prohibits prostitution in its commercialised form envisages cooperation of voluntary welfare agencies at various stages of recovery, re-education and rehabilitation processes Voluntary workers are associated with the police during the raid on places suspected to function as brothels, as also by way of non-official advisory bodies to assist special police officers Since the problem of prostitution by its very nature needs to be tackled through a social action approach, a number of voluntary organisations are assisted by the government both financially and techni-

cally to undertake preventive programmes in this field These programmes include family life education, counselling and guidance, sex education, venereal diseases control and the care, protection and rehabilitation of those in social and moral danger

In beggary prevention, community participation is all the more necessary for creating public awareness against the futility of indiscriminate charity The problem of beggary is rampant in holy places, places of historical interest tourist centres, etc It is possible for a group of dedicated social workers to carry out campaigns against this social evil by making people aware of the problems There are specific provisions under different anti-beggary acts of States for the utilisation of voluntary services by appointing visiting committees for receiving centres and certified institutions In addition to these anti-beggary legislation makes it possible to release inmates of beggar institutions on licence and their placement under the care of voluntary agencies With a view to formulating a model framework for dealing with this problem the Ministry of Social and Women's Welfare has recently prepared a comprehensive draft for the Prevention of Begging Bill incorporating mobilisation of voluntary resources in the apprehension, institutional treatment and rehabilitation of beggars

Inspite of the existing provisions in social defence legislations it has been felt that adequate public participation is not available in the preventive, ameliorative and curative services of offenders A research project recently sponsored by the Ministry of Social Welfare to assess the extent, nature and level of voluntary participation in social defence revealed that the people were by and large ignorant and indifferent about correctional measures, as a result a serious impediment was created in achieving correctional goals [17] In view of this, more concerted efforts are necessary to bring the community closer to social activities and to associate the citizenry directly or indirectly in the implementation of various treatment and rehabilitation programmes of offenders

TRAINING OF SOCIAL DEFENCE PERSONNEL

The scientific training of personnel at various levels has been universally accepted as a prerequisite for improving the quality and efficacy of social defence programmes In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the international penal and penitentiary commission highlighted the necessity for evolving a rational policy on scientific training of personnel and research in social defence problems The standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners formulated by the United Nations in 1955 contain some specific recommendations on the selection and training of personnel for correctional institutions

In the context of India, the need for training of correctional staff was clearly brought out by the Indian Jail Committee (1919-20) Dr W C Reckless in his report on jail administration in India (1952), strongly advocated the training of correctional personnel at all levels Later, the All India Jail Manual Committee (1957-59) incorporated specific provisions in the training of correctional personnel to be adopted by the State Goverments The working group on prisons (1972-73) made an elaborate analysis of manpower requirements in the sphere of prison administration reiterating the importance of training of prison personnel It also carefully delineated the role of governmental training institutes vis a vis their organisations providing specialised courses in criminology and social work It made a strong plea for the setting up of a national institute under the Central Government to organise specialised training courses for high ranking officials, which could eventually serve as an instrument of coordination and standardisation of social defence programmes in the country [18] The national correctional conference convened by the Department of Social Welfare

and the meetings of the Central Advisory Board on Correctional Services on social defence also endorsed the need of a training programme at national level

At present, three major State departmental training institutes, namely, Jail Training School, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, Jail Officers' Training School, Yervada, Pune, Maharashtra, and Jail Training School, Hissar, Haryana, provide regular in-service training courses to various categories of personnel in prison and social welfare departments of the three States as well as of neighbouring States The training school at Lucknow is the oldest institution, having been set upt in 1941 It has a rich heritage of imparting in-service training to a large number of correctional personnel from all over India At the regional level, recently the southern States, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala, have jointly established a Regional Institute of Correctional Administration at Vellore, Tamil Nadu In order to cater to the training needs of correctional staff, preservice courses are available in schools of social work, institutes of social sciences and in university departments of sociology and social work

At the national level, the National Institute of Social Defence has been assigned, among others, the function of developing, promoting, sponsoring and undertaking training in the field of social defence In pursuance of this, the Institute has been organising a variety of short-term training courses and seminars at the supervisory and policy formulation levels The programme covers various areas like correctional administration, role of judiciary in social defence, correctional statistics and research, prison administration, probation and allied measures, delinquency control, suppression of immoral traffic, prevention of drug abuse and alcoholism and voluntary participation in social defence Each year the institute conducts about 25 to 30 such training courses and seminars in collaboration with the State Governments, Union Territory administrations, university departments, schools of social work and institute of social sciences

Training facilities available at present are far from adequate A large majority of staff in social defence still remains deprived of proper training and orientation in the modern philosophy and methods of correction Besides, the existing facilities are also not well planned and integrated on the basis of an overall national need Establishment of two more regional institues on the lines of the one at Vellore will be a positive step in this direction Side by side, the pre-service courses offered by the universities, institutes of social sciences and schools of social work require to be adequately standardised in keeping with training needs and manpower requirements of various correctional departments

FUTURE PERSPECTIVE

Programmes and services initiated so far under social defence only emphasise the areas of priority attention Social defence in its wider perspective inevitably extends much beyond the enumerated schemes It not only implies an efficient and coordinated functioning of the criminal justice components but also the formulation of a purposeful linkage with other sectors of society including public structures like health, education and social welfare as well as the public at large The newly-emerging forms and dimensions of crime, especially those that proliferate as a way of life among men of means, have greatly aggravated the need to devise crime prevention strategies beyond the operation of the criminal justice system There is a growing feeling that undue centralisation of authority in the state to regulate the behaviour of erring individuals is liable to undermine the social control functions of primary institutions like the family, the school and religion, which in the Indian setting, are still of immediate relevance

to the process of social maturation This has led to a definite trend towards working out a comprehensive framework for improvement in the quality of human life within the overall efforts for national development

The recent upsurge for the protection of human rights in various walks of national life has found its echo in the formal systems of crime control In the wake of an unprecedented concern for safeguarding the rights of persons in custody, social defence policies and programmes in the country are presently undergoing a thorough reappraisal All the wings of the criminal justice system are being closely scrutinised from the viewpoint of maintenance of the rule of law, without undermining the dignity of human life On one side, attempts to counteract criminogenic forces within the community are being envisaged, on the other, correctional policies, both in the institutional and non-institutional settings, are being progressively developed in consonance with their proclaimed objectives on the basis of certain minimum standards In this context, social defence approach in India is bound to assume an inter-disciplinary dynamic character

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NOTES

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SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The concept of social development has a long history. It has been part of western social thought for more than 2500 years Even in India, the ideas of social change and development have been present in rudimentary forms at least from the Buddhist period The works of Manu and Kautilya have a definite bearing on this theme

SOCIAL CHANGE, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

Social change, growth and development are inter-related concepts, and frequently they have been treated in social science literature as interchangeable terms While there is a basically common element in the ideas of growth and development, it is necessary to make a conceptual distinction between social change and social development While the former is capable of being a value-free, objective description of certain societal processes, the latter is a value-laden term, which refers to a subjective statement of the desired direction of social change and also the constituent elements of the end product

The concepts of growth and development have their origin in biology Nisbet states "When we say that a culture or institution or nation 'grows' or 'develops', we have reference to change in time, but change of a rather special and distinctive type We are not referring to random and adventitious changes, to changes induced by some external deity or other being We are referring to change that is intrinsic to the entity, to change that is held to be as much a part of the entity's nature as any purely structural element, such as may require activation and nourishment from external agencies, just as does the growth in a plant or organisation But what is fundamental and guiding is nonetheless drawn from within the institution or culture"[1]

Some recent writers on the subject have pointed out that there is a semantic difficulty in conveying in English the various meanings implicit in the term development According to van Nieuwenhuijze, "Development is either achieved or consummated, a state of affairs resulting from the process of development, or it is this process itself, including the action constituting it Development may be an act, or a process, or an achieved condition"[2] We may add that it may also be a goal i e a condition to be achieved In the literature on planning, development is frequently viewed as an end and national planning is considered as an act or an instrument to achieve it

Though the idea of development is very old indeed, the recent resurgence of interest in it is mainly the result of several factors An important factor is the gradual process of decolonization which began after the end of the second world war and independence of India A second factor was the growing interest of the two world powers in the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and the economically backward countries of Latin America The third factor was the desire of the people and the governments of the newly independent countries to catch up with the economically advanced countries through a process of planned development with economic as well as cultural aid from the developed countries Fourthly, the role of international organisations, particularly the United Nations and its affiliates in popularising the idea of development during the last two decades—which were declared as the First and the Second Development Decade respectvely The interest of various groups and organisations in aid-giving and aid-receiving countries has also reinforced this trend

The idea of development as a process of comprehensive and deliberate change is a culmination of the process which began with the dominant ideology of economic growth The latter drew strength from the belief that what mattered most for the welfare of the people in economically backward countries (most of whom had attained independence but recently) was increase in production as reflected in GNP and per capita income Once there was a fast rate of macro-level growth for which inequality was often thought to be a necessary condition, it would be relatively easy to tackle the problem of distribution The experience over a long period of planning based on this model has shown that levels of living remained stagnant or even deteriorated while benefits of growth were approp-

nated largely by the top ten or twenty per cent of the population This had a chastening effect on many people and rethinking on the problem at several levels led first to the idea of a balanced approach, next to an integrated approach, and later to the unified approach to development

UNIFIED APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

The U N General Assembly endorsed the views of the experts regarding the need for a unified approach to development analysis and planning which would fully integrate the economic and social components This unified approach was to include as components "(a) To leave no section of the population outside the scope of change and development, (b) to effect structural change which favours national development and activates all sectors of the population to participate in the development process, (c) to aim at social equity, including the achievement of an equitable distribution of income and wealth in the nation, and (d) to give high priority to the development of the human potentials, including vocational and technical training and the provision of employment opportunities and meeting the needs of children The above criteria to be borne in mind in development analysis and planning processes, as well as in their implications, according to the particular developmental needs of each country"[3]

BASIC NEEDS APPROACH

Recently, another approach to social development has been formulated which is described as the basic needs approach It is gaining considerable popularity in national as well as international discussions on development It has also been incorporated to some extent in the Fifth and Sixth Plan documents in India under the label of minimum needs programme The background for this approach seems to be the realization that it is almost impossible to substantially reduce unemployment and poverty within the next two decades even if the country adopts a radically different model of development emphasising redistribution as a major goal Griffin, one of the early advocates of this approach, states "In the case of China, the share of the poorest quintile already is well over 10 per cent and no further redistribution is necessary In the case of the other medium and low income countries in Asia, however, the basic needs of the population could be met only if a 6 per cent growth were combined with a radical redistribution of income such that the share of the poorest quintile rose from 5 3 per cent at present to 14 3 per cent That is, the share of the poor would have to increase nearly three times and the degree of equality would have to exceed that of China Evidently such a strategy is not feasible "[4]

According to Streeten, there are two ways of defining a basic needs approach to development The first definition "embraces the components of previous strategies and approaches such as rural development, urban poverty alleviation, employment creation through small-scale industries, redistribution with growth, and other poverty employment and equity oriented approaches If there is anything new in this, it is a shift of emphasis towards social services and transfer payments, designed to help the poor, and an extension of 'new style' projects in nutrition, health and education"[5] He argues for the second way of defining basic needs approach as one supplementing or complementing existing development strategies. This approach, according to him, "focusses on the end of channelling particular resources to *particular* groups, identified as deficient in these resources (e g caloric adequacy by age, sex and activity) It concentrates on the nature of what is provided rather than income" It does not replace the existing growth-related concepts, "but derives from the end of meeting basic human needs the need for changing composition of output, the rates of growth of its different components and the distribution of purchasing power"[6]

HOLISTIC APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT

It has been effectively argued that development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin [7] In order to properly understand this complex phenomenon, it is necessary to study it both in a historical and global context Also, it is necessary to adopt an inter-disciplinary or a trans-disciplinary approach to capture the totality of the subject as an integrated whole with its multiple parts It is also recognised that there are practical problems in the implementation of this approach The global context has to be taken into account not only because we are living at a time when there is hardly a nation society which is insulated from the impact of transnational process such as international market, multinational organisations and international political relationships, but also because self-reliant development for the countries of the third world is not possible without significant change in the international power relationship and trade If use of force is ruled out for achieving a new international arrangement on moral and practical grounds, then some form of international cooperation becomes a necessary condition The historical perspective helps us to recognise that underdevelopment of some countries is a consequence of the development of some other countries which were the earliest nations to undergo the process of industrialization, preceded or accompanied by other changes nationally, such as renaissance, and internationally by colonization followed by disruption of the economies of the colonies to suit the needs of the imperial powers

A holistic approach alone can reveal the totality of the process of development which in the past has been viewed fragmentarily and compartmentally based on the primary concern of the particular social science discipline such as economics, sociology, political science, etc It is now realized that development as a concept is broader than economic growth or economic development, and non-economic aspects of development do not follow as an inevitable by-product of economic growth A meeting of experts on social policy and social planning under U N auspices stressed that economic phenomena are, in fact, social phenomena they are social in nature, are socially conditioned and have social consequences, and any development planning limited to economic interrelationships and neglecting social conditions and social implications is bound to be misleading It is most necessary to view the development process as a complex whole, comprising economic elements *sensu stricto,* but also other social as well as political and administrative elements" [8]

DEVELOPMENT OR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

This realization, however, is not widespread among social scientists even today So, we still read about 'development' in the writing of many economists and 'social development' in the writings of sociologists, while both the groups in fact refer to the same idea The distinction is made even now by some economists between the economic and the social aspects of development, the latter being treated as the residual of development minus economic development On the other side, the literature on the sociology of development frequently ignores the economic aspect even when it is mentioned perhaps nominally in the definition of social development It appears that the developmentally-oriented economists view development as economic development plus social or institutional change, and the sociologists view it as social development of which economic development is a constituent part

Dudley Seers who, along with Myrdal, is considered as a pioneer among the economists for his efforts which gradually led to a developmental perspective in place of the then prevalent narrow view of economic growth, in a famous article identified elimination of mass poverty, large-scale unemployment and extreme inequal-

ity as the three crucial elements of development[9] He also mentioned political freedom including freedom of speech, as essential elements of development Redefining the meaning of development recently, in addition to the three elements mentioned above he added economic self-reliance i e "reducing dependence on imported necessities including expertise which would involve changing consumption patterns and increasing national ownership and control of economic assets It also implied, reducing cultural dependence on one or more of the great powers"[10] Gore, who is professionally both a sociologist and a social worker, defines and elaborates the concept of social development as follows "The concept of social development is inclusive of economic development but differs from it in the sense that it emphasises the development of the totality of society in its economic, political, social and cultural aspects In this sense social development planning is not concerned with planning exclusively for social services, any more than it is with the exclusive planning of economic growth There are many areas, apart from social or welfare services, wherein the 'social' perspective has a relevance"[11] Social development has been invested with a variety of meanings In its broadest sense, it "signified all aspects of development that were of a collective nature, that is to say, pertaining to the society as a whole In a narrower sense, it could be used with reference to the human welfare aspects of development (i e the rising levels of living, and more equitable distribution of material and cultural goods), or it may be used in connection with structural transformations in society (e g changes in systems of stratification and in degrees of mobility)"[12]

After a comprehensive survey of the literature on development, Paiva states that "social development has two interrelated dimensions the first is the development of the capacity of people to work continuously for their own and society's welfare, the second is the alteration of institutions so that human needs are met at all levels, especially the lowest, through a process of improving the relationship between the expression of needs and the means to attain them"[13] According to him, the political will i e the government of a country committed to the concept of development, the existence of an ideology which serves as a driving force toward the accomplishment of the goal of social development (which requires leadership, a national policy and plan) and the involvement of the people and cooperation of all segments of the population despite their diversity of background and interest, are the pre-requirements for social development He identifies four major concepts as crucial structural change, socio-economic integration, institutional development and institutional renewal Two types of structural changes are mentioned—those which are the prerequisites for social development e g land reforms, and changes which are the consequences of social development[14] Paiva fails to note that the two varieties of structural changes may be closely interrelated and they may reinforce each other Some of these structural consequences may be unintended and unforeseen They might dilute the essence of social development to the point that the real objective of social development may be undermined The experience of planning in many developing countries, including India, bears testimony to this fact To guard against the obsolescence of existing social institutions, it is essential to provide for a social mechanism to engage in a regular process of evaluation of social institutions and to encourage the introduction of innovations which might result in institutional renewal

WHAT IS SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT?

What then is social development? Social development is a comprehensive concept which implies major structural changes—political, economic and cultural, which are introduced as

part of deliberate action to transform society At a general abstract level, the goal is to create a new society in place of the present, where living conditions of the people are improved so that they do not suffer from hunger and they are not denied the basic necessities of life Social development aims at removal of the rural-urban and regional imbalance It aims at meeting the basic needs of the people at all levels, especially those who constitute the poorest and deprived segments of society In order to achieve these goals, economic development is essential, which means increase in production leading to a high rate of growth as measured by GNP and which also provides for substantial increase in opportunities for employment

Rural development is a prominent and an integral part of social development It implies redistribution of excess cultivable land to the landless and the small farmer and other measures to remove rural inequality It will not be of the type, as in an earlier notion of the 'Green Revolution', that led to increase in food production without alleviating the hunger of the masses Rural development for the welfare of the masses should prevent proletarianization

Social development includes programmes for universal literacy or primary education, comprehensive preventive health measures as well as facilities for control and treatment of diseases affecting the mass of the population like malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, poliomyelitis etc, facilities for housing, where necessary, through subsidized special programmes for the rural and the urban poor It also includes population policy and family planning, without which a faster rate of economic development is not possible Social development implies a substantial investment in social services More importantly, it means ensuring easy access to these services so that the target population derives benefits of the programmes

Preservation of ecological balance in the physical environment is also part of social development Indiscriminate felling of trees in the forests (which are essential for rainfall as well as for the prevention of landslides) for commercial and industrial purposes as part of the process of industrialization in a narrow perspective of economic growth will create serious problems for the people in the immediate future as well as in the long run Eco-development is thus an integral part of a comprehensive concept of social development The concept of eco-development "stresses the need to look for concrete development strategies capable of making a good and ecologically sound use of the specific resources of a given ecosystem in order to satisfy the basic needs of the local population" [15]

Social development, as described above, is only possible through the active participation of the people in the process of making political and economic decisions involving their welfare This requires action for preparing a planned programme of development which can be implemented effectively by the available instruments of administration It needs to be supported and watched by an organised voluntary movement of the people, passionately committed to the goals of social development It also requires decentralization of power and decision-making to the extent possible so that the process of planning at the grass-root level is made possible But, there are some serious problems in translating this idea into practice which have not received much attention "The important questions relate to the precise combination of central leadership, central coordination and central resources contribution, with decentralized decision-making and mobilisation of local resources which would be most effective" [16]

FAILURE OF WESTERN MODELS

Most of the evolutionary theories of social development during the last century were based on the assumption of unilinear process of

change from one type of society to another type The path was to be traversed in certain specified stages The modernization theory which was developed in the U S A during the 50's and 60s of this century by sociologists belonging to the structural-functional school and the Marxist theory are also based on these assumptions The modernization theory which was highly popular among academic and official circles of many countries of the third world is being increasingly subjected to severe criticism for its theoretical defects as well as for its implicit ideological bias, despite the claim to value-neutrality by its proponents The failure of the development model based on democratic-capitalist planning has added to the intellectual appeal of the Marxist theory, which is similar to the evolutionary theories in some respects

The failure of planning models based on the western capitalistic path to development (tradition to modernity/stages of economic growth) led to disenchantment with the western models and to a search for alternative models of development In this connection, the experiments of some of the newly independent socialist countries of the third world, especially China, are being studied seriously by academicians planners, policy makers and administrators of many developing countries The search for and the existence of alternative models combined with the failure of the dominant western model have enabled many theorists and administrators to recognize that the path to development may be multilinear and that each country has to select its own goals, strategies and instruments of development This in turn has led to a reassessment of the contribution of great national leaders like Gandhi and Nehru in India and to attempt a linkage with the best of the national heritage For this reason, in the present context it is relevant to consider the contribution of Gandhi and Nehru to the evolution of a national goal for social development and also a design for achieving it

GANDHIAN VIEW OF DEVELOPMENT

Gandhi rejected the imitative western model of economic progress which stressed acquisition of wealth, material prosperity, large-scale mechanization and industrialization leading to urbanization and extreme inequality Joshi states "Indian development, according to Gandhi, has to be envisaged, therefore, not on western lines which had led to enormous problems and complications even in the west, it should instead be based on the principle of a balance between agriculture and small industry excluding the use of labour-saving modern technology and the maximum utilization of the labour resources of the community The latter pattern of development would be more effective in eliminating pauperism and in ameliorating the condition of the masses, it would also save India from the dehumanizing influence of an acquisitive and competitive capitalism" [17] The other two basic concepts of Gandhi which formed part of his philosophy of social development are the concepts of Swaraj and Swadeshi The latter concept, in our opinion, was not merely an economic concept which advocated the purchasing of goods made in India and boycott of foreign-manufactured products In a broader sense, Swadeshi implied freedom of the mind from its colonial heritage of admiration for everything that came from across the seas as superior to the native product And Swaraj meant not only political independence but economic self-reliance as well and decentralization to primary units at the village level

Ganguli says that for a reformer like Gandhi, "Social development could not be an instrumental value, but something desirable in itself as a consummation or an end by itself He could not, therefore, conceive of social development apart from the development of the individual, the individual being considered neither in the mass, nor as abstraction, but in terms of the lowest individual in an unequal society, whose development was the measure of development

from the social point of view"[18] He further states that Gandhi did not see social development as "something distinct from, or as a byproduct of, either economic development or political freedom"[19] For Gandhi social development meant welfare of all—Sarvodaya He knew this to be unattainable unless there was a radical structural transformation which would end exploitation of man by man, and other types of exploitation such as cities fattening on the produce of villages He also saw that social development for India basically meant rural development in an integrated scheme of peasant agriculture, rural industries, basic education, cooperatives and panchayats

Gandhi was not totally against mechanization and industrialization What he was opposed to was the parasitic relationship of an industrial-urban system exploiting the fruits of labour of the village peasant and artisan He was also opposed to machines which displaced labour and threw people out of employment The technology was to be labour-absorbing rather than labour-saving, or, to put it in the current terminology, he was for appropriate technology Again, to use a currently fashionable phrase, he was for integrated and balanced development in which rural development occupied a central place This was to be accomplished by the voluntary and cooperative efforts of the people and also through participatory democracy of village self-government Gandhi believed in people's power[20] He was aware of the severe limitations to bringing about radical social changes through state power and by relying on the instrument of legislation

NEHRU'S VIEW OF DEVELOPMENT

Nehru's social philosophy was a blend of Fabian socialism and democratic liberalism His model of development was greatly influenced by Gandhi's views Like Gandhi, he advocated an 'anti-capitalist, mass welfare-based and equity-oriented course of economic and social development'[21] Unlike Gandhi, Nehru's conception of India was not based on a predominantly peasant orientation It is true that he advocated land reforms, promoted community development schemes for the rural areas and tried to encourage cooperative farming etc His conception of development was a variant of western capitalistic model of economic development which included also some features of the Soviet socialist model Nehru laid great emphasis on large-scale, heavy industry based on modern science and technology through a form of state capitalism which left scope for private capitalism to join in the process of democratic planning for economic development This approach was based on the conviction "that both equity and growth demand that the capitalist path be abandoned in favour of a non-capitalist path At the same time growth required that genuine capitalist forces in the economy should be capitalised and exploited, though not as the dominant forces, in the interests of national development"[22]

Like Gandhi, Nehru had an abiding faith in the capacity of the people to shape their destiny In practice, however, he tended to rely on the power and instruments of state, whereas Gandhi emphasized people's power and proposed voluntary movement of the people for social transformation Tarlok Singh observes "Nehru's basic premises and values led him to a certain social approach for the fulfilment of which planning was a necessary means In turn, planning led him to define his priorities and his concepts of economic policy and structure Behind his thinking on economic problems lay a pervasive belief in the possiblilites of science and technology"[23] He further states "Basically, Nehru's socialism consisted of human and social values In terms of institutions and structures, it left perhaps too large an area fluid and flexible It can be said that his ideas on economic and social development did not amount to a

complete and fully worked out system and, given the correct direction, he was willing to leave a great deal to evolve out of future experience"[24]

Analysing the results of the five year plans based on Nehru's conception of Indian development, Joshi concludes "The basic contradiction of the Nehru model lay in the fact that at the *ideological* level it was committed to a conception of development in the interests of small and propertyless masses of Indian society, at the *operational* level, however, it provided largely for the participation of the big and medium property-owners in the process of economic development "[25] Comparing Nehru's and Gandhi's conception of development, he says "In our view, it was Gandhi's merit that he had a rare and unerring perception of some of the basic inadequacies and weaknesses of Nehru's thinking in relation to the specifics of the Indian social situation and the essential requirements of Indian development Gandhi had a better perception of the basic characteristic of the Indian situation, viz, the predominance of self-employed producers—the small peasants and the artisans—in the Indian economic structure His basic insight that the participation of this vast force in economic development calls for a new approach and exploration outside the bounds of western or Soviet models has been fully borne out by recent Indian experience"[26]

NATIONAL HERITAGE

Both Gandhi and Nehru were fundamentally humanists in their value-orientation Both of them abhorred the consequences of the classical western model of capitalist development and they wanted to steer the course of social development away from this model They wanted to achieve social development involving major structural changes through a process of class-reconciliation and not through class-conflict They believed this to be possible as they thought that the wealthy sections of society could be persuaded to accept voluntary restrictions to the concentration of wealth and economic power Gandhi and Nehru, while drawing upon the intellectual tradition of their distinguished predecessors like Rammohun Roy, M G Ranade, G K Gokhale and others, who had a vision of independent and modern India, provided the main ideological framework and developmental perspective which are reflected in the Preamble and the Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India It was the culmination of a process of evolving a national consensus on the goals of social development for independent India, which were to be achieved by deliberate actions of the people, i e, development as action in which all people participated

The founding fathers of our Constitution envisaged as its goal the establishment of an egalitarian society in these words "to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life" This goal was subsequently reiterated and emphasized when Parliament passed a resolution stating that the goal was to establish a socialistic pattern of society The nature and content of the 'socialistic pattern' were not spelled out either then or later But the approach to planned development that was adopted after independence, certainly did not follow the Gandhian model The achievements of planned development, such as they are, have not been in the *direction* of the goal enunciated by national leaders like Gandhi and Nehru and as stated in the Constitution This has been characterized as goal transfer by Dube[27] In our view, it is really goal displacement, arising out of the prevailing inequality in the social structure, where political and economic power are concentrated in the hands of the ruling elites

A careful study of the recurring themes in the

recent international literature on development will reveal that most of them are part of the Gandhian model of social development As Ganguli tellingly remarks in another context "Some of the basic methods and ideas seem to have travelled back to us from western countries in the garb of western phrases We have been raving about them, without realizing that Gandhi had said as much and more "[28] Sections of opinion among Indian elites tended at first to dismiss Gandhian ideas as utopian or obscurantist They have now started re-examining Gandhian ideas and in the process some of them are discovering that "Gandhism" is quite relevant to planning for social development [29]

SHANKAR PATHAK

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SOCIAL INDICATORS

The term 'indicator' has long been in use but has not been defined in a precise manner It has been used mainly to denote summary statistical series presented to indicate current trends The focus in the past was essentially on economic indicators, but attention has increasingly been given in recent years to social and socio-economic indicators So much has, in fact, been written of late on social indicators, that this growing activity has come to be known as the 'social indicators movements'

Raymond A Bauer, regarded as the father of the social indicators movement, refers to social indicators as statistics, statistical series and all other forms of evidence that enable us to assess where we stand and where we are moving with respect to our goals, and to evaluate specific programmes and determine their impact He declares that the purpose of social indicators is not primarily to record historical events but to provide the basis for future policies [1]

Albert D Biderman, who contributed a paper to the volume on Social Indicators edited by Raymond Bauer, however, defines social indicators merely as quantitative data that serve as indexes of socially important conditions of society He looks at the existing social indicators from the point of view of their relationship to those national goals which have been set forth, the ways in which such statistical series originate and the uses to which they are put [2]

Eleanor B Sheldon and Wilbert E Moore in their work on indicators of social change, refer to social change as the significant alteration of social structures including consequences and manifestations and such structures embodied in norms, values and cultural products and symbols They expect social indicators to give a reading both on the current state of some segment of the social universe and on past and future trends, whether progressive or regressive, according to some normative criteria [3]

Martin T Katzman views social indicators as measurements of social phenomena whose movements indicate whether a particular problem is getting better or worse relative to some goal, while Doris Holeb describes social indicators as social measurements involving an assessment of social change in terms of explicit specific goals [4]

Angus Campbell and Philip E Converse emphasise the descriptive nature of the measurement which is much more dynamic than most social science research in the past and lay heavy stress on policy relevance associated with the definition of social indicators [5]

Kenneth C Land, however, distinguishes descriptive indicators from analytical indicators and describes the former as measures of the end products of social processes or of the social

conditions of human existence and the changes taking place therein He defines analytical indicators as components of explicit conceptual models of the social processes which result in the values of the descriptive indicators of output [6]

The United Nations, in its report *Towards a System of Social and Demographic Statistics* describes social indicators as "constructs, based on observations and usually quantitative, which tell us something about an aspect of social life in which we are interested or about changes that are taking place" [7] The main purposes of social indicators have been identified in the *Draft Guidelines on Social Indicators* as (a) monitoring levels and distribution of well-being, (b) monitoring the provision, distribution, inputs and outputs of social services, and (c) summarisation of basic statistical series [8]

UNESCO, on the other hand, quotes Stuart Rice "Social indicators are needed to find pathways through the mass of society's interconnections They delineate social status, define social problems and trace social trends, which by social engineering may hopefully be guided towards social goals formulated by social planning The main purposes of social indicators are thus identified as (a) the descriptive function i e description of social status and trends in social change, (b) the analytical function i e delineation of interconnections suggesting a system approach, and (c) the monitoring function i e providing tools to the social planners for the monitoring of social change" [9]

ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

According to Donald McGranahan, a former Director of the UN Research Institute for Social Development, an economic or social indicator may be called a development indicator if "it represents some factor that is part of the process of development This in turn implies a definition or theory as to what constitutes development Since development tends to be an interdependent process, a good indicator in fact reflects, in varying degrees, many more things than it directly measures" [10]

Development, as commonly understood, is progress towards a set of predetermined economic and social goals, and planned development implies an organised effort or process to achieve those goals Social indicators, to be useful in development planning, must be directly or indirectly related to the goals and processes of development

The main function of social indicators in development planning are (a) quantification of the goals of development and (b) measurement of progress towards those goals They also provide the basis for the study and establishment of interrelationships between the different factors which influence the development process and for the projection of long term trends Key social indicators are sometimes used in the construction of development models

Social indicators can further be used for the study and assessment of inter-regional, inter-class and inter-group variations in social structure, social development and social conditions They are also used for the identification of backward areas, backward classes and backward groups in order to formulate ameliorative programmes

Indicators concerning the inputs and outputs of social service institutions can be utilised for the improvement of the social services in terms of efficiency, cost-effectiveness and client satisfaction They can also be utilised for the improvement of the distribution of the services and for a study of the differential access to and impact on the different social and socio-economic groups

Social indicators have often been used in combination with economic indicators in view of the inevitable interaction of social and economic phenomena They have also been used, as in the case of economic indicators, for the

establishment of input output relationships, cost benefit ratio and inter variable linkages Social indicators are sometimes regarded as components of social accounts systems or of social system models Kenneth C Land suggested, in particular, generation of models covering the family, poverty, health, education, leisure, religion and related topics

Social indicators have generally dealt with population and family formation, health and nutrition, education, employment, social security, income, consumption, housing and environment, leisure, safety and welfare These are clearly different from what are generally regarded as economic indicators, which usually deal with such matters as production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. including prices, trade and transportation There are of course a number of borderline indicators referred to as socio-economic

In a paper on Human Needs, Human Rights and Theories of Development submitted to UNESCO, Johan Galtung and Andres Wirak have suggested a needs-oriented theory of development and presented an approach "towards new indicators of development" The paper suggests that if development is to be identified with such components as satisfaction of human needs, equality of social justice, autonomy or self-reliance and ecological balance, then development indicators will have to reflect these as directly as possible It defines and classifies human needs as

(a) basic food and water; shelter and clothing, health, education,

(b) others work, freedom of impression or expression (of ideas), freedom of movement (of persons), politics

It also refers to the need for togetherness, friendship and love, need for respect, need for joy and to be a source of joy for others, happiness, self-realisation, and the need for a sense or meaning of life Among the aspects of satisfaction of human needs, the paper mentions level, distribution, structure and ecology of satisfaction [11]

While the basic human needs of food, shelter, clothing, health and education, and even work, not regarded as basic in the above approach, have been covered in most international proposals concerning social indicators, the others which may broadly be described as human freedoms have not been fully developed as they are considered impracticable Needs such as togetherness, friendship and love have not even been considered as they are far more intractable The various aspects of satisfaction referred to above have also not been fully covered While an attempt has generally been made to cover the level and distribution, the structure of satisfaction which reflects the level of self-reliance has been conceded to be problematic As to the ecology of satisfaction, the main question is to what extent the world will be able to sustain not only the present generation but also future generations of a reasonable size This is not merely a question of developing indicators of what has happened or is happening, but a projection of what would happen

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDICATORS

The literal meaning of the word 'indicator' is one that indicates, shows or points out It thus reminds one of a pointed arrow which shows the direction and makes one think of an equally sharp, well-defined measure or figure which can be plotted to show the trend of what is happening It has a wider connotation than the 'index number' which has been defined in statistics as "a quantity which shows by its variations the changes over time or space of magnitude which is not susceptible of direct measurement in itself or direct observation in practice" [12] While the index number generally conforms to a set form or certain well-defined forms, the indicator has apparently no such formulation The latter,

however, shares with the former the distinction of measuring by its variations the changes of a magnitude which is not susceptible to direct measurement Like the index number, it also usually reflects more than what it represents" [13]

As McGranahan points out, when a variable is used as an indicator, it is not an indicator of itself, and it is not also an operational definition of that to which it points In other words, indicators are not simply statistics and statistics are not *ipso facto* indicators, unless some theory or assumption makes them so by relating the indicator variable to a phenomenon that is not what it directly and fully measures "A statistic is not by itself an indicator" adds McGranahan "Of course, the statistical system will define the scope of available data for development indicators and should take account of indicator needs" [14] The distinction between statistics and indicators is, therefore, important

The UN Committee of Experts on international definition and measurement of standards and levels of living which recommended the use of indicators to measure levels of living, included among them macro indicators as well as micro indicators, some of which are direct indicators of actual conditions while some others are less direct indicators of services or facilities, most of them measuring what exists and a few expressing tendencies The indicators were generally in the form of averages, proportions, ratios, rates, indexes and other synthetic functions [15]

The UN document *Towards a System of Social and Demographic Statistics,* however, summed up the characteristics of social indicators thus "Social indicators relate to some area of social concern and they may serve the purpose of curiosity, understanding or action They may take the form of simple data series or they may be synthetic series obtained by applying greater or lesser amount of processing to data series Social indicators form a subset of the data series and constructs actually or potentially available and are thus distinguished from other statistical series only by their suitability and relevance for one of the purposes mentioned" [16]

In contrast, OECD's social indicators, to the extent they are defind, are all of the nature of derived figures And so are UNESCO's human resource indicators FAO's economic and social indicators are also mostly of the nature of derived figures, but a few basic series are also included

In general, it seems to be a good principle that indicators should be in the form of derived figures rather than basic data "A basic measure by itself does not indicate much For instance, the population count of a country at a given point of time does not indicate much to one who is not acquainted with other related facts If it is to indicate the density of population of the given country, it must be related to the area If it is to indicate the growth of the population, it must be related to a similar measure of a preceding date If it is to indicate the size of the country in relation to other countries, it is to be related to similar measures of other countries On the other hand, a derived figure such as the density of the population, the population growth rate, or the rank of the country in terms of the population among the countries of the world, or of a continent, indicates something The use of the basic measure is meaningful only when it is presented as a part of a time series, or of an array of comparable or related figures, in which case it is tantamount to leaving the relationship to be derived by the reader, without being explicitly indicated" [17]

CONSTRUCTION OF INDICATORS

Indicators may be classified in terms of methods of construction as (a) simple statistical measures, (b) synthetic indicators, (c) composite indicators Among the simple statistical measures, averages are the most commonly used In particular, arithmetic means are the most easily

computed, most widely understood and most convenient for estimation and statistical manipulation They are, however, unsatisfactory in certain respects, especially in depicting central tendency in skew distributions Geometric and harmonic means are rarely used and so are modes Medians are sometimes preferred to means as they depict not only central tendency but also the distributive aspect They are, however, difficult to obtain through sample surveys Quartiles, quintiles, deciles, percentiles and fractiles, as they are generally referred to, belong to the same category and help to describe the nature of the distribution

Averages are criticised in general on the ground that they do not indicate the distribution Yet, measures of dispersion are rarely used On the other hand, simpler measures such as proportions above or below a point are often used Such measures could, however, be misleading when compared over time, over space or over groups as they provide no indication of variations above or below the point

Rates are usually of several types (a) rates of flow which depict the flow per unit of time, (b) rates of change which depict the change of a given block over a period of time, (c) rates of incidence or occurrence which depict the relationship of a flow in a given period of time to the relevant stock, (d) rates of frequency which depict the size of the stock possessing a certain characteristic to the total stock, (e) rates of relative flow which depict the relationship of one flow to another related flow

Ratios may be of any two related variables a flow to another flow, a flow to a stock, or a stock to another stock When one of these related variables is a part of the other, the ratio is sometimes referred to as a rate or a proportion Rates, ratios and proportions are often expressed as percentages

A common form of a synthetic indicator is the index number, generally used to indicate variations over time, but capable of indicating other types of variations, such as inter-regional or inter-group Usually, index numbers seek to sum up variations in a series of similar variables by the use of appropriate weights, but can also be used in their simpler form to depict variations in any single variable In summing up variations, they are expressed either as weighted averages or individual indices (or relatives) or as ratios of weighted aggregates Different systems of weighting systems are used depending on the nature and purpose of the index, e g fixed weights and current weights, and an ideal form has been developed in the form of a geometric mean of the fixed weight and current weight indices

Other synthetic indicators often used are coefficients of concentration or inequality and longitudinal expectations, such as expectation of life at birth, expectation of working life, etc Certain demographic measures, such as total fertility rate, gross reproduction rate and net reproduction rate also belong to this category The feasibility of constructing composite indicators of social welfare or wellbeing, comparable to composite economic indicators such as the gross national product or the net national product, has attracted considerable attention in recent years Successful efforts have been reported in this direction especially in the U S A and Japan The U N Research Institute for Social Development in its work on measurement of socio-economic development[18] attempted *inter alia* the construction of a general index of development by putting together a series of highly correlated indicators of economic and social development through a system of weights representing the average correlation of each indicator with other selected indicators The main problem in constructing such composite indicators has been the choice of weights

In a paper on "The Construction of Social Indicators , Ramakrishna Mukherjee theorises on the content, validity, relevance, efficiency

and sufficiency of social indicators [19] According to him, the content of a social indicator has two aspects its constituent and contingent variables Its validity depends on the selection and teatment of constituent variables, its relevance on the association between the constituent and contingent variables Its efficiency is conditional on the intensity of the associations and it may attain sufficiency if it can depict the properties of some other indicators and replace them The utility of the indicator depends on whether it is so constructed as to meet its purpose and how best it meets that purpose

WORK BY INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

Reference has been made in passing to various international documents, both published and unpublished, on social indicators One of the earliest international attempts to define and delineate a set of socio-economic indicators was made by a UN Committee of Experts in its Report on *International Definition and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living* [20] Based on the Committee's report and a series of further discussions, an interim guide entitled *International Definition and Measurement of Levels of Living*[21] was issued by the United Nations in 1961.

The interim guide outlines the basic information needed for the measurement of levels of living, identifies ten components of levels of living and recommends 46 indicators including 15 supplementary indicators, covering six of the components, thus leaving four of the components to be explored further The ten components identified are (i) health, (ii) food consumption and nutrition, (iii) education, (iv) employment and conditions of work, (v) housing, (vi) social security, (vii) clothing, (viii) recreation, (ix) human freedoms, and (x) general Population and labour force, income and expenditure, transporation and communications are regarded as basic information

The U N Research Institute for Social Development, proceeding more or less on the lines suggested by the Committee of Experts, has since done considerable work in the application of a series of social and economic indicators for the measurement and inter-country comparison of socio-economic development The work, as reported in its report entitled *Content and Measurement of Socio-Economic Development,*[22] consists essentially of an empirical investigation of the inter-correlations of a set of 73 indicators, selection of high correlate key indicators and preparation of correspondence charts along with country profiles The study also attempts to construct on the basis of correspondence points, a composite index of development based on 18 core indicators The Institute has since been engaged in updating and expanding its data bank of development indicators and refining its analytical methods The Institute has also taken up a project for the development of appropriate methodology for the measurement of real progress at the local level

The Statistical Office of the United Nations, working under the guidance of the Statistical Commission, has in recent years done considerable work for the development of social indicators within the framework of a system of social and demographic statistics The first phase of the work, carried out in collaboration with the specialised agencies and regional commissions of the United Nations, has culminated in the publication of an interim report *Towards a System of Social and Demographic Statistics* [23] The proposed system deals with (i) size and structure of the population, (ii) family formation, families and households, (iii) social class, stratification and mobility, (iv) distribution of income, consumption and accumulation, (v) housing and its environment, (vi) allocation of time and the use of leisure, (vii) social security and welfare services, (viii) learning activities and educational services, (ix) earning activities, employment services and the inactive, (x) health and health services, and (xi) public order and

safety, offenders and their victims The document lists out under each subsystem the required basic data, the proposed classification and a suggested set of indicators The indicators include structural indicators as well as indicators of change, input indicators as well as output indicators, and indicators of benefits as well as of their distribution

Since then, however, a good deal of further work has been done towards the development of social indicators and a new set of *Draft Guidelines on Social Indicators*[24] presented to the Statistical Commission at its nineteenth session (1976) It provides a review of concepts of social indicators advanced in national and international work and discusses the way in which social indicators may be selected and defined within a framework for the integration of social and demographic statistics It also provides illustrative series and classifications for selecting social indicators, together with examples for different types of countries

Among the specialised agencies of the United Nations, UNESCO has done some useful work on social indicators In 1966, it took up a research project for the identification and selection of indicators of human resources and their aggregation into a general index A series of methodological papers were considered and published along with a list of 74 indicators[25] of human resources

UNESCO has since then widened its interest to the entire field of socio-economic development Its efforts have mainly been on the methodological front A set of papers on the problems of definition and selection of social indicators was published in 1974[26] Later, a volume of papers on the socio-economic indicators in development planning was brought out in 1976[27] Further work in this area has since continued, including exploration of the concepts of quality of life and environment.

The various specialised agencies, including UNESCO, WHO, ILO and FAO, have also been developing social indicators in their specific fields of concern UNESCO in education and culture, WHO in health and nutrition, ILO in labour and employment, and FAO in food consumption and nutrition, and employment and incomes of agricultural population

Among the regional commissions of the United Nations, the Economic Commission for Europe has been closely collaborating with the Statistical Office of the United Nations in the development of social indicators The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific has also done some work in social indicators and recommended a series of 47 indicators covering population, health, housing, nutrition, education and culture, employment and social security, personal security, consumption, wealth and social welfare

Among the other international organisations, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) stands out as a solid contributor to work on social indicators In the first phase of its social indicators development programme, OECD has identified 24 fundamental social concerns and associated sub-concerns grouped under eight primary goal areas (i) health, (ii) individual development through learning, (iii) employment and quality of working life, (iv) time and leisure, (v) command over goods and services, (vi) physical environment, (vii) personal safety and the administration of justice, and (viii) social opportunity and participation The second phase is concerned with the specification of indicators in respect of each concern and sub-concern and leaves matters of definition, disaggregation etc to a later phase In this work OECD works closely with experts from other international organisations

Several other international organisations, including the European Economic Community (EEC), the Council of Europe, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the Inter-American Statistical Institute are also

active in the study of social indicators The latest to join the international efforts is the United Nations University which has an ambitious project on goals, processes and indicators in the field of human and social development

PROBLEMS, CONSTRAINTS AND POSSIBILITIES

At the national level and much of concerted work has so far been done on social indicators althought a joint project of the Central Statistical Organisation and the Indian Council of Social Science Research has been in operation for quite some time now

Work at the national level has been hampered largely by the absence of reliable data series on social aspects The main sources of social statistics in India are the decennial population census, the National Sample Survey, the Sample Registration System for vital statistics and administrative statistics on health and educational services, labour and employment, crime and delinquency, social welfare and community development The statistical system leaves wide gaps especially in matters such as health and nutrition and the quality of data available is often poor The lack of comparability of data over time based on censuses and surveys and the usual limitations of administrative statistics make the construction of meaningful and useful indicators depicting changes over time extremely difficult in most cases Wherever statistics are available by States, a study of inter-regional variations is possible, but in some cases the quality of data varies from State to State and inferences drawn on the basis of such data are sometimes misleading It is generally not possible to compile indicators depicting variations in social conditions between different social and socio-economic groups, as the relevant basic data are not available by groups

Proposals for the development of social indicators are often bogged down by conceptual discussions and a consensus has yet to emerge on the nature and scope of social indicators, the concept and definition of indicators and the purposes for which they are needed Once these basic issues are settled, it should be possible to identify the social goals and objectives and the indicators most suitable to depict changes and measure progress towards these goals and objectives As the concept of social indicators is rather wide, a beginning can perhaps be made by identifying the needed indicators of social development related specifically to the goals and objectives of planned development

If the needed indicators are identified, it should be possible to screen the available data, identify the data gaps and organise appropriate statistical enquiries and processes for the collection and compilation of the requisite data The first prerequisite for the development of social indicators is, therefore, a consensus on the conceptual framework and a serious effort to identify the indicators needed

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SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN INDIA

Society is a union of individual units existing together for the fulfilment of multiple needs This implies the existence of mutual dependence Yet, society forms itself into various groups with power to exploit the less powerful groups This division of society into several groups, defined by their capacity to utilise other groups, sometimes necessitates State intervention to ensure that the rights of the 'have-nots' are not engulfed State intervention is required to safeguard mutual rights and duties As society becomes more and more complex, State intervention has to take into account the abrasions with harmful effects arising from increased social interaction While legislation to protect social groups from one another is not recent, a systematic and conscious effort to protect the rights and privileges of powerless groups is a fairly recent phenomenon and can be linked to the development of democracy and to the concept of the welfare state Thus, 'social legislation', especially in a democracy, should be a living force, an adjustable instrument, satisfying the requirements of an everchanging society

The concept of social legislation serves this purpose and transcends the conservatism of legislators who see law as a practical convenience rather than as a reflection of the total efforts of society as a whole to order and enrich the life of the society Legislation of today, Oliver Wendell remarks, "is to meet the social needs of yesterday Traditionally, law lags behind social opinion and the function of social legislation is continually to adjust the legal system to a society which is constantly outgrowing that system Legislation calculated to bridge the gulf between the existing laws and the current needs of society, may be called social legislation"[1]

It is clear from the above that law and society are two interdependent terms when viewed in relation to social legislation Social legislation

may be defined as laws designed to retain and strengthen positive human institutions and to reduce the occurrence of negative and socially harmful behaviour, whether of groups or individuals This is brought about essentially by creating public opinion and a social climate conducive to the desired change This change in the attitudes and behaviour of people, in turn, fuels the process for further legislation Consequently, public opinion and social legislation act in tandem

It has to be noted that social legislation only attempts to bridge the gulf between consensual values and their apparent incongruence with prevailing patterns of behaviour It creates a legal frame for the new situations and provides opportunities for change in the desired direction Therefore, for social legislation to accommodate change or hasten change, the existence of supportive enlightened public opinion, even if latent, is essential It does not firmly and equivocally ensure the process of change which depends largely on the willing cooperation of the people

Primarily, social legislation attempts to achieve two objectives Firstly, it seeks to establish order and provides justice as well as security, secondly, it anticipates social needs and provides for changes in the social order

Social legislation is a vast field covering large areas of human activity, including, as it does, all laws which are enacted in relation to the much needed changes in human society Social legislation includes laws affecting social institutions, such as marriage, inheritance and adoption, laws protecting the interests of children, handicapped persons and minorities or powerless groups, laws dealing with the reform of certain social evils like vagrancy, delinquency, begging, prostitution, untouchability, and laws governing social security measures These are only illustrative and the subject includes many more areas that demand control or reform

LAW—AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

With the emergence of the concept of democratic socialism and of the welfare state in political philosophy, law is treated as an important instrument of social and economic change [2] The term 'social change' signifies the process of alteration, normally in a positive direction Culture embodies itself in various kinds of human behaviour, institutions and organisations The social structure is subject to incessant change, growth and decay, and consequently there is need for new adjustments and accommodations to varied conditions and vast modifications in the course of time

Changes in the ways of human belief and action have taken place in the past and these will undoubtedly undergo further change in the future Some people doubt the capability of human nature to change because of their belief in the fixity of fundamental instincts and needs The force of existing traditions and customs of the patterns of action and beliefs, has to be taken into account in any process of social change The question is to find out which positive forces already in operation can be reinforced so that they accelerate desired change and how the conditions which oppose change can gradually be weakened

Changes in human society are determined by various factors physical and psychological, material and spiritual These depend upon what human beings do willingly or unwillingly in response to social needs and requirements that emerge in the course of time The desired change can be brought about by reforming the mores and institutions by introducing law as the agent of change in a planned manner In modern times legislation is capable of performing its functions more forcefully and effectively

The relationship between law and social change is further complicated by the dual character of law The whole of the law in a given society forms a system consistent within itself and with a whole network of internal relation-

ships, which constitute a subsystem of that society's total culture and is intimately linked with its law-making, law-applying and law-enforcing institutions and processes[3]

Furthermore, law is a pervasive element of every social institution and plays an important role in all of them e g family law forms a part of the totality of law and cannot be understood in isolation from the legal system as a whole, but at the same time family law is also an internal and essential part of the family institution and cannot be fully understood without consideration of it Thus, it becomes obligatory to understand the entire cultural milieu in relation to the legal system The relationship between law and social change has been summed up succinctly by Dror (1978), who notes that "social changes and changes in the law are constant and interacting processes, present to a considerable extent in all contemporary societies By examining and defining the conditions under which law can induce social change and by emphasizing the limits upon the use of law to induce social change, a significant contribution can be made to the development of law making as a main subject of policy studies"[4]

AN OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION

British Period Prior to British rule in India, the issues which modern social legislation attempts to tackle were not dealt with so much by statutes as by the traditional institutions like new interpretations and commentaries on *Dharma Shastras,* the functioning of the joint family, the caste system, religious channels and, only occasionally, by the state Even before British rule had been consolidated, British educators and missionaries had begun to address themselves to issues like child marriage, polygamy, infanticide and *Sati* British education, imbibed as it did a liberal tradition, began to spread its gospel of equality and support for the underprivileged sections

During the British period, a large number of acts were passed dealing with issues like abolition of slavery, prevention of exploitation of women and children, humanisation of the institution of marriage, labour relations and agrarian reforms It must be noted that the British adhered to a "cautious approach" This approach, in essence, stated that the religious sentiments of the Indian people must in no way be hurt by passing Acts having no consent or approval of the Indians and being so innovative as to shock the public conscience

An epitomisation of the foreign ruler's approach can be noted in the attitude of the colonialists to the obnoxious practicer of *Sati* Despite the fact that the practice shocked the British, no definite stand was taken until it was supported by the advocacy of the educated section of the Indian population and had been discussed in public forums as not being enjoined by religion It was at this stage that the *Sati* regulations were made statutory

While individual Acts passed or contemplated by the British were important in themselves, their larger significance lay in extending the supreme authority of statutory law in social matters This paved the way for leaders of independent India to complete the process of consolidating the diverse units into a unified India under a common legal system

After Independence Legislative reforms gained a marked impetus after independence The legal system and the rule of law were strengthened The objective of ensuring social justice and economic equality led to a considerable body of new social legislation The Constitution of India became the fundamental basis and source of all legislation, both social and other Part III of the Constitution confers certain Fundamental Rights on the citizens and Part IV enumerates certain Directive Principles as guidelines for promoting the welfare of the people

The fundamental rights (articles 12 to 35) assure individual freedom to the people They are primarily a guarantee against state action or interference, though some of them impose limits on private actions also The fundamental rights ensure equality before the law and equal protection of laws Further, there would be no discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, creed, sex and place of birth No person shall incur any disability, liability, restrictions or conditions with regard to access to shops, public restaurants, hotels and places of public entertainment or to the use of wells, tanks, bathing *ghats* and places of public resort maintained by the state In services, no discrimination would be done Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden Furthermore, there are other rights like freedom of speech and expression, formation of associations, right to acquire or hold or dispose of property and so on The liberty of the people is further protected by certain legal provisions, for instance, no person would be convicted of any offence except for violation of law, no person shall be compelled to bear witness against himself and so on Traffic in human beings, beggary and all forms of forced labour are prohibited All laws in force just before the commencement of the Constitution are declared void to the extent of their being inconsistent with the provisions of part III of the Constitution[5]

The directive principles (Article 76 to 81) direct the state to bring in a social order in which justice—social, political and economic—prevails The first provision among the directive principles is definitional and it simply says that unless the context otherwise requires, the state has the same meaning in part IV as in part III The other principles contained in part IV of the Constitution, though not enforceable by any court, are, nevertheless, to be treated as fundamental in the governance of the country It is the duty of the state to apply these principles in making laws The state is required to secure for the citizens, men and women equally, the right to an adequate means of livelihood, equal pay for equal work, protection against abuse and exploitation of workers' economic necessity It is the duty of the state to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and improve public health It shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health In addition, the state is to promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, particularly the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and protect them from social injustices and all forms of exploitation

It is against this background that large scale reforms have been attempted through social legislation Through enactment of legislation, efforts have been made to bring the provisions uptodate, consolidate the social thinking on some of the topics and improve Acts which were already on the statute book or enact new laws A brief review of the legislation in relation to some major social welfare areas is given below

LAWS AFFECTING SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The areas in which significant reforms have been made over a period of time include laws pertaining to marriage, inheritance, adoption, caste etc

Marriage This is an ancient institution The marriage of a man and a woman was considered to be a sacred union which could not be frivolously dissolved Under the old Hindu law a man was permitted to remarry even though he had a wife or wives living at the time of marriage Divorce was not permitted except under certain extreme cases and in some communities of lower strata Presently, marriage among Hindus is governed by Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 According to this law, monogamy has been introduced as a rule of marriage among the Hindus Divorce has been permitted to the par-

ties as per specified grounds under the Act The Act has also laid down certain essential conditions of marriage One of these conditions imposed is that the bridegroom should have attained the age of 18 years and the bride 15 years at the time of marriage This condition is in keeping with the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, generally known as the Sarda Act, which prohibits the marriage of a girl less than 15 and a boy less than 18 years old Recently, the age has been raised to 18 years in the case of girls and to 21 years for boys Similarly, laws have been enacted pertaining to different religious communities like Christians , Muslims and Parsis, (Muslim Marriage Act, 1938, Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872, Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, 1936) In order to facilitate marriage among persons professing different faiths, the Special Marriage Act was passed in 1954 This Act is a step forward towards secularising marriage laws in India It enables persons belonging to different religions to enter into a legally valid marriage provided certain conditions envisaged under the Act are complied with

Inheritance The law of intestate, as distinguished from testate succession, contains rules which govern devolution of property of a deceased person upon other persons, called heirs, on account of their relationship with the deceased person In ancient days, Hindu women occupied a dependent position in the family and their rights to hold and dispose property were subject to diverse restrictions All this was incongruous with the changed, modern social conditions The Hindu Succession Act, which came into force in 1956, has provided uniformity in the rules applicable to Hindus in respect of intestate succession and has introduced some fundamental and radical changes improving the legal position of women Under the Hindu Succession Act, where a person dies without making any will of his property, his widow, mother, daughter and sons, all classified together as class one heirs, take one share each Thus, a married woman takes a share in her husband's property and a daughter in her father's property

Adoption Adoption of a child, particularly of a son, is a social necessity as well as a security in old age for issueless couples In India, there is no common law of adoption applicable to all communities and religions Amongst the Muslims, Christians and Parsis, adoption is not permitted legally However, for Hindus, adoption is governed by the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 The Act has laid down certain prerequisites for a valid adoption It also defines the persons who can adopt, who may be adopted, as well as who may give in adoption

In 1965, the Indian Council for Social Welfare drafted the adoption of children bill which was sent to the Ministry of Law In 1967, Shrimati Tara Sathe introduced the bill in the Rajya Sabha In 1972, the Minister of Law also introduced an adoption bill But so far the bill has not been made into a law

Minority and Guardianship The Indian Majority Act, 1875, and the Guardians and Wards Act, 1890, lay down the general law relating to minority and guardianship respectively These Acts, however, contain exceptions protecting the special provisions of the personal laws of the Hindus and Muslims in some matters The Hindu law on minority and guardianship has been codified in the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956 According to that Act, 'Guardian' means a person having the care of the person of a minor or of his property or both his person and property, and includes a natural guardian, a guardian appointed by the will of the minor's father or mother, a guardian appointed or declared by a court, and a person empowered to act as such by or under any enactment relating to any court of wards The Act also defines the powers of a natural guardian under section 8, powers of a testamentary guardian, defacto guardian and a guardian appointed by the court

Mohamedan law on guardianship is not codified like the Hindu law Its provisions have to be gathered from judicial pronouncements and other authoritative sources of Mohamedan law To the extent provisions are made in the Guardians and Wards Act, the law is supplemented by that Act and accordingly all applications for the appointment of a guardian, the power of a court to make an order as to guardianship and matters to be considred by a court in appointing a guardian, are governed by the relevant provisions of that Act

LAWS PROTECTING INTERESTS OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS

Legislation pertaining to children at any given time reflects the consciousness and concern of the community for its children The directive principles of state policy lay down some guidelines for the welfare of children The welfare of children has also been stressed in the fundamental rights The first law concerned with the welfare of children was the Apprentice Act passed in 1850 Although it was largely punitive in nature, it sought to provide better treatment for children between 10 and 18 years of age The Reformatory Schools Act, 1876, modified in 1897, provided for special courts, which could order three to seven years' detention and training instead of imprisonment The enactment has now been replaced by the Apprentices Act, 1961 which is a more comprehensive Act, better suited to meet the needs of the new industrial society The modern legislative approach to the problems of children and the responsibility of the state for the welfare of children's brought out very well by the preamble to the Children Act of 1960 which states that children need maximum care since they are the most vulnerable group The Children Act, 1960, passed by Parliament, is a comprehensive piece of legislation on the needs of children in difficulty[6] It is applicable to the Union Territoires only The constituent States of the Indian federation could adopt the Central statute with or without modification It contains a number of commendable provisions Under this Act, delinquents are dealt with by a special court The Child Welfare Board takes care of neglected children The Act provides that 'children's homes' should be established for the reception of neglected children During the pendency of inquiry, a child may be kept away from parents, if the Board finds that they are unfit to take care of the child or are likely to neglect the child For the treatment of delinquent children, special schools have been established Observation homes have been provided for undertrials and after-care services have also been provided under the Act (section 12) for the rehabilitation of children after their release from children's homes or special schools

The Act penalises cruel treatment of a child (section 41), employment of a child for begging (section 42), giving intoxicating liquor and dangerous drugs to children (Section 44), and exploitation of children in the matter of employment (section 44) The report on the progress of a child by a probation officer is treated as confidential Publishing the names of children involved in any proceeding is also punishable

Apart from the Children Act, 1960, article 24 of the Constitution prohibits employment of children below the age of 14 in factories and mines This fundamental right was laid down keeping in mind that children should not be employed in dangerous and hazardous jobs and should not be overburdened with heavy manual labour

SCHEDULED TRIBES AND SCHEDULED CASTES

The Constitution contains a series of special provisions for the protection and advancement of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes These include provisions relating to scheduled areas and tribal areas, reservation of seats in the House of the People and in State legislative

The main weakness of the present legislation, therefore, is multiplicity, lack of focus, on prevention and control of drug abuse, and existence of several loopholes and inadequacies which hamper effective implementation There should in fact, be a single law which would deal with the prevention and control of abuse of drugs The severity of control and regulation should depend upon the extent to which a drug finds use in medical practice, its potential for abuse and the gravity of its consequences

Certain States already have legislation for protecting persons of minor age from the habit of smoking by penalizing selling or offering of cigarettes to minors

The recent Cigarettes (Regulation of Production, Supply, and Distribution) Act, 1975, is an instance of substantial regulation and control of the cigarette trade in the interest of public health and welfare The act strictly requires that producers, suppliers, distributers of cigarettes or persons carrying on trade in cigarettes or persons importing cigarettes shall not do so unless the cigarette package contains the specific warning that "cigarette smoking is injurious to health", which should be displayed prominently The Act also confers wide powers of entry, search, seizure and/or confiscation in respect of cigarette material not held in accordance with the provision of the Act

Untouchability The idea of untouchability which conveys a sense of defilement and pollution by touch existed in India from ancient times While differentiation based upon birth ensured that certain distasteful tasks necessary for society were performed the injustice of birth as a defining factor was not recognised for a long time Such anachronistic behaviour was sought to be abolished by legislation which prescribes punitive measures to stop this practice Such legislation is congruent with democratic values which recognise that the choice of a social function is the individual's prerogative based upon his capabilities In no way should the circumstances of his birth limit the individual's aspirations, as is the case under the legacy of the caste system among the Hindus

Additionally, the fact of social segregation and untouchability is repugnant to every democratic society Such practices, despite having a limited degree of traditional acceptance, are sought to be abolished by the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, now amended and called the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976

Dowry The system of dowry prevalent in India is not of recent origin The system is a social custom which consists of giving gifts in cash or kind or gifts in the shape of property, movable or immovable, as a part of marriage solemnisation, from one party to another [7] The system is regarded as a social evil when it forms a consideration for marriage and as such is universally resented by a large section of society Yet, the system continues to exist in some form or other The factors responsible for this system have both economic and traditional background with a psychological tinge of social prestige There have been attempts made by the States to eradicate this social malady At the central level, as early as 1961, the Dowry Prohibition Act was passed which made the giving or taking of dowry an offence The Act defines dowry, and provides various types of penalties under the Act

LEGISLATION ON SOCIAL SECURITY MEASURES

The I L O defines social security as "the security that society furnishes, through appropriate organisations, against certain risks to which its members are exposed These risks are essentially contingencies against which the individual of small means and meagre resources cannot effectively provide by his own ability or foresight alone, or even in private combination with his fellows" These risks include sickness,

endorsement of the traditional sanction in case the accused showed no signs of mending his criminal ways The Probation of Offenders Act provides a comprehensive code for all matters related with the release of the offenders on probation or after due admonition

LAWS FOR TREATMENT OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Increasing social complexity and development make it necessary to look at certain patterns of behaviour, not as individual aberrations, but as social problems The large-scale existence of such problems would adversely affect social harmony The line dividing individual idiosyncracy from a social problem is thin and indistinct Yet it is universally accepted that certain forms of behaviour are harmful These deviant patterns of behaviour create many social problems

Social problems for which legislation has been undertaken include beggary, prostitution, gambling, drugs and smoking, untouchability and dowry

Beggary Vagrancy and beggary arouse social concern mainly because they point out the extent of deprivation and poverty of citizens in the country Therefore, special Acts have been passed by most of the States to prohibit begging in public places In addition to these, municipal and police acts provide measures against begging To deal effectively with persons who kidnap children for the purpose of exploiting them for begging, the Indian Penal Code makes kidnapping or obtaining custody of a minor and maiming of a minor for the purpose of begging specific offences and provides for deterrent punishment which may extend to life imprisonment where children are maimed Most of the States have enacted laws in pursuance of the realisation of the objectives of the Prevention of Beggary Act, 1959 The Act defines a beggar and then stipulates the procedure for dealing with beggars and beggar offenders Legislative measures for dealing with pauper lepers have been provided in the Leper Act of 1893 which was enacted with the object of providing for segregation and medical treatment of pauper lepers and the control of lepers following certain callings

Prostitution The basic legislation relating to prostitution is contained in the Suppression of Immoral Traffic (in women and girls) Act, 1956, which is a central legislation passed in pursuance of the International Convention signed in 1956 In addition to this legislation, certain provisions of the Indian Penal Code also bear on the subject of prostitution All these legal measures aim at penalizing and controlling activities involving or actual carrying on of prostitution

Gambling Gambling in various forms encourages a spirit of reckless propensity for making easy gain which leads to loss of property and ultimate disruption of peace, order and harmony of society Therefore, some types of gambling are considered a grave social vice, which is opposed to the moral order In view of the widespread nature of gambling activity and limited scope of general provisions contained in the Indian Panel Code, several specific gambling legislations at the State level were enacted The primary object of legislation regarding gambling is to penalize certain kinds of gambling activities which are considered to be highly harmful socially

Drugs The consumption of drugs and cigarette smoking can also be looked upon as a new social problem in the modern industrial society as they have become profitable but dangerous commercial occupation The present legislation on the prevention and control of drug abuse has grown piecemeal over the last 120 years and consists of several laws passed at different times and with different objectives The central legislation on the subject includes the Opium Acts of 1857 and 1878, the Dangerous Drugs Act of 1936, the Drugs and Cosmetics Act of 1940, the Medicinal and Toilet Preparations Act of 1953, and the rules made under these laws

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maternity, invalidity, old age and death According to this definition, only schemes which provide the citizen with benefits designed to prevent or cure disease, to support when unable to earn, and to restore him to gainful activity may be rightly regarded as schemes of social security

A comprehensive scheme of social security consists of social insurance and social assistance Social insurance is the method through which benefits are provided to the beneficiaries (out of contributions made by them, the employers and the government) necessary for preventing want during old age, disability, sickness, unemployment and other contingencies of life Social assistance includes "non-contributory benefits towards the maintenance of children, mothers, invalids, the aged, the disabled and others like the unemployed" These benefits are provided to persons of small means in sufficient quantity so that their minimum standards of needs could be satisfied

The significant legislation providing for social security is described below

Workman's Compensation Act, 1923 Social security in India was given a start by the Workman's Compensation Act passed in the year 1923 Further steps were taken from time to time and the Act was modified The latest amendment was in 1976 raising the wage limit coverage from Rs 500 to Rs 1000 and the amount of maximum compensation payable for death from Rs 18,000 to Rs 30,000 for permanent total disablement from Rs 14,000 to Rs 42,000 and for temporary disablement from Rs 87 50 to Rs 175 per month The benefits provided under the Act are not available to those who are covered under the provisions of the Employee's State Insurance Act, 1948

Employees'State Insurance Act, 1948 The Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948 marks the first important step on the road to a comprehensive plan of social security for employees in the organised sector of industry It came into force in July 1950 in Delhi and Kanpur and was gradually extended to cities or areas in other States The risks covered under the scheme are sickness, maternity, and employment injury The services provided are sickness and extended sickness benefit, maternity benefit, disablement benefit, dependents' benefit, funeral benefit and medical benefit

Employees' Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provision Act, 1952 The Parliament enacted an Act in 1952 known as the Employees' Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provision Act with the object of making some provision for the future of the industrial worker after he retires, for the dependents in case of his early death and cultivating among the workers the spirit of saving The legislation aimed at providing substantial security and timely monetary assistance to industrial employees and their families Under the Act, the Central Government has framed three schemes called the Employees' Provident Funds Scheme, 1954, Employees' Family Pension Scheme, 1971, and the Employees Deposit Linked Insurance Scheme, 1976 The Act is applicable to every establishment which is a factory and is engaged in any industry specified in the schedule thereto in which 20 or more persons are employed Employees getting pay not exceeding Rs 1000 per month are eligible to become members of the fund irrespective of their length of service

Coal Mines Provident Fund Family Pension and Bonus Scheme Act, 1948 This Act provides for the framing of a provident fund scheme and bonus scheme for persons employed in coal mines It extends to all coal mines in the public and the private sector all over India

Maternity Benefit Act, 1961 Maternity benefit is "an indemnity for the loss of wages incurred by a woman who voluntarily before child birth and compulsorily thereafter abstains from work in the interest of the health of her child and her self" The Maternity Benefit Act,

1961, has been enacted to provide uniform standards of maternity protection It applies to all factories, mines and plantations except those to which the Employees' State Insurance Act applies This Act was amended in 1976 to extend the benefit to all women workers earning more than Rs 1000 in establishments covered by the ESI Act

IMPLEMENTATION OF LAW

In the preceding section, the laws concerning women, children, handicapped groups, vagrancy, immoral traffic and treatment of offenders have been described in some detail In this section, an attempt will be made to study the effectiveness of these legislations

There is a vast difference between putting the law on the statute book and seeing that it is actually carried out

Although laws have been passed covering all the major aspects of society, yet their implementation has not proved to be very successful This has been empirically shown by Mumtaz Ali Khan in his study *Social Legislation and the Rural Poor*[8] in which he has studied problem of indebtedness among the rural poor This has also been substantiated by B B Chatterjee (1971) in his study *Impact of Social Legislation on Social Change*[9] This study was conducted in and around Varanasi where the author examined all social legislation He concluded that the laws could not be implemented properly as they lacked public support and also had certain administrative loopholes The facts have been focused upon by Gangrade (1978) in the second volume of his *Social Legislation in India* in which a number of authors have contributed their articles and have assessed the functioning of different Acts For instance, Sivaramayya (1978), while examining the Indian Succession Act, 1925, says that when two Hindus marry under the Special Marriage Act, 1954, they are entitled to adopt a child under the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956, but the adopted child is not entitled to succeed to their property under the Indian Succession Act, 1925[10] Similarly dowry is vaguely defined in the Act As a result, even today the newspapers are full of dowry being given by the bride's father and accepted by the bridegroom's parents in one form or the other This social problem is as much in existence as it was before

When the legislature passes a law, it is left to the executive to bring it into operation by notification and is often conditional upon the setting up of a prescribed machinery The establishment of the machinery is left to the executive The quality of implementation varies much from one legislation to another

Finally, social laws are often not sufficiently supported by public opinion partly because the laws go against age old customs and partly because some laws are against the interests of the powerful class

As compared to the social security schemes of developed countries, with universal coverage, as the U K and Newzealand, as also in terms of the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, adopted by the I L O in 1952, the benefits provided by the social security schemes in India are yet quite modest[11] It would be correct to say that out of millions of workers, only a few lakhs have reaped the benefits of these schemes The agricultural workers, domestic servants and artisans etc are not yet covered by these schemes The measures adopted by the government so far for dealing with social security have been separately conceived and executed from an economically influential rather than socially necessary and beneficial point of view There is urgent need to evolve an integrated scheme of social security and also by covering that segment of the population which has not yet been touched under social security measures

ADMINISTRATION

The machinery and methods of enforcement depend upon the nature of the legislation Some

legislations prescribe certain degree of behaviour and kinds of punitive action in the event of violation In this case, a major responsibility lies upon the police in detection and apprehension of the offender and upon the court in prescribing punishment But other legislations, like the Children's Acts, go beyond this and stipulate the setting up of procedures and agencies for reform and rehabilitation The administrative machinery, generally speaking, rests upon the police, labour inspectors, boards and courts But the administration of the Employees' State Insurance Scheme, for example, is under a separate corporation Similarly, the Children's Acts depend for their enforcement on the child welfare board and the juvenile court

While the mode of administration and enforcement may vary from legislation to legislation, a common aspect is that their efficiency and effectiveness depend largely upon the implementing machinery The discovery or detection of a violation should be followed by quick judgement and punishment or rehabilitative services Unfortunately, this is not an easy task. This is primarily so because the legislations often tend to be ahead of the machinery For example, if all beggars were to be apprehended, the homes for beggars would not be able to accommodate them Furthermore, legislation often is vague on several points In recent times, it has been noted that the definition of dowry in the Dowry Prohibition Act is so vague that virtually no apprehension of offenders is possible

Social legislation in India is still in its infancy and the administrative machinery is even more weak and immature However, one can say that a step in the right direction has been taken and it is hoped that public opinion and pressure will root out the anomalies

ROLE OF PUBLIC OPINION

The effectiveness of all social legislation depends upon the will and cooperation of the general public The legislation can be as effective as the public will to enforce it Being an expression of an enlightened people's opinion, it can be effective only to the extent to which there exists a supportive opinion Even the Constitution's provisions abolishing untouchability and various legislative measures such as the Untouchability Act cannot root out the evil To take another example, the dowry system prevalent in our country is a curse which has ruined or even ended hundreds of innocent lives The government tried to curb this evil by passing a legislation which, in the absence of a strong public opinion, could not have any effect upon this phenomenon Similarly, although the Child Marriage Restraint Act was enacted in 1929, it failed to stop child marriage completely and one can still find its occurrence, in one form or another, particularly in the villages and tribal areas

Enlightened public opinion may, indeed, not only prepare the ground for a piece of social legislation, but even force the government to enact it The mass media, particularly radio and television, if properly used, can do much to develop public opinion in favour of social uplift through legislation All legislations should also be accompanied by intensive compaigns to bring about social preparedness to educate the people with a view to creating in them a faith in the utility of legislative measures This would help in changing their attitudes, beliefs and actions It is only then that the law can give a direction

FUTURE PERSPECTIVE

Laws cannot be static They must be dynamic and keep pace with a progressive society The rules of conduct have to be altered from time to time to suit changing social standards and patterns It is not possible for law to anticipate all the situations that may possibly arise since

human foresight is limited Some laws are educative of public opinion even though they may appear at the time of their passing to be ahead of their times, yet, as public opinion recognises its function in dealing with the social problem, its importance comes to be recognised and ultimately its effectiveness is enhanced Legislation may sometimes create public opinion in favour of it and sometimes, public opinion may force laws to be enacted by the legislatures The two are and should be interacting with each other in any democratic system The elected leaders and the mass media, the intelligentia and non-governmental organisations also have a vital role to play in accelerating and reinforcing the enactment and enforcement of social legislation Finally, economic development and social mobility will have a great influence upon the effective enforcement of social legislation For social legislation to succeed, the success of economic development problems must also be ensured

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SOCIAL REFORM

Social reform involves a deliberate effort to bring about a change in social attitudes, culturally defined role expectations and actual patterns of behaviour of people in a desired direction through processes of persuasion and public education The value orientation which defines a particular set of new attitudes, expectations and behaviour may arise out of the need to fit behaviour to changes in the social, economic or political context which, in their turn, may be due to internal technological developments as in the case of the process of industrialisation and urbanisation in 18th or 19th centruy Europe or due to operation of the forces of mercantile expansion and colonisation by European nations as happened in the case of the countries of South Asia. Social reform—referring to social movements of the nineteenth century—was the feature of a society governed by secular, middle class, liberal, democratic norms. Prior to industrialisation and the emer-

gence of democratic liberal states in West Europe, major societal changes took place and were legitimised largely within the religious framework and such changes were more often than not attended with considerable violence The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gradually saw the spread of rational, secular norms, industrialisation and the emergence of an urban middle class which successfully obtained an increasing share in political power through expansion of the franchise Democracy was the political philosophy of this new and growing class The right to disagree and to try to persuade others to one's own views through free expression was an essential part of this political philosophy It is in this context that one can think of social reform as a strategy for bringing about social change Social reform is essentially gradualist in its approach, it has a faith in the use of the democratic political process as the basis for persuasion In nineteenth centruy England an expanding economy provided the economic as well as the political stability needed for such a gradualist change

Most social reform movements seem to emanate from one major premise of the liberal philosophy—recognition of the dignity of the human individual and, therefore, of the responsibility of the privileged to widen opportunities of life for all segments of the population Social reform measures in this sense are aimed at promoting equality or, atleast, at reducing social inequities of one type or another For example, the suffragist movement aimed at extending the right to vote to women, thus reducing the civic inequality between men and women, and the movement for free education aimed at increasing opportunities for the poorer segments of the population The value of equality was common to liberalism as well as socialism, but the liberal movements initially limited themselves only to civic equality and sought to achieve the goal gradually and within the framework of law In course of time the socialism movement—and, particularly, its successes in Soviet Russia—added an edge of urgency to the liberal plea for equality in the social, economic and political spheres The widening of the franchise and widening the opportunity of education for all was followed by recognition of the rights of workers to form associations, to protect their economic interests and, still later, by recognition of the right of the individual to work, to income maintenance and to varied forms of social security The liberal reform movements—challenged and supported by the socialist creed—led finally to a document like the Charter of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1946

In their pursuit of the goal of equality and the widening of opportunities for all human beings, social reform and socialism differ from each other not only in their acceptance or rejection of violence as was pointed out above, but also in the 'public' to whom they seem to address themselves The social reformer seems to appeal to the advantaged or privileged sections of the community to give up their privileges or to share their opportunities with others who are denied them, the socialist would probably seek to arouse and organise the disadvantaged to enable them to 'throw off the yoke' of subordination and disprivilege This does not mean necessarily that the reformer and the socialist are themselves drawn from different segments of society The chances are that both of them—especially in the initial stages of the socialist movement—are drawn from the relatively privileged segment of the community But their strategies of change are different The reformer is motivated by a faith that change through education and persuasion is possible and the political framework is flexible enough to respond to a changing consensus in society

Mahatma Gandhi provided a third modality to the problem of bringing about a change in social values He believed in educating public opinion and in persuasion through appeal to the

good in man, to his senses of justice, but foresaw the possibility that structural changes might not be conceded by the privileged through such means alone, on the other hand, he abjured violence of any kind He suggested non-cooperation in the operation of an unjust system and self-suffering in the assertion of a cherished social value—*satyagraha*—as the way to attain the desired objective For him it was necessary that the stated objective as also the means utilised for their achievement be socially justifiable He adopted for examples, the method of *satyagraha* to gain for the Harijans the right to enter temples

The basic assumption of the social reformer as well as the *satyagrahi* is that human beings, irrespectives of their social identity, have a basic sense of right and wrong and are amenable to perceiving the rightness of a new cause and the error of their own or of society's past practice and that such perception can result in attitudinal and behavioural change No physical coercion is necessary or morally justified

Social reform movements have generally succeeded in situations of relative economic stability and in a political framework where the right of dissent, the right to freedom of expression, and the right of free association are recognised Where these conditions do not obtain social reform movements cannot exist There can be secret movements of protest and equally there can be state-supported movements of attitudinal change through indoctrination, but not social reform in the sense in which the term has been generally used Social reform in this sense is mostly a 'voluntary' activity, though it is conceivable that state agencies may also undertake programmes of value and behavioural change through education and without use of coercion

In India social reform movements in the 'secular' sense may be said to have begun in the nineteenth century, though reform and protest movements aimed against caste tyranny and the dominance of the priesthood were a common feature of Indian history even prior to the nineteenth century Since by attacking the caste system and ritualistic prescriptions and the middleman's role of the Brahmins, these movements—e g Buddhism, Vaishnavism, Veerashaivism, etc —were also aiming at removing social inequalities or disabilities ,they too could be considered social reform movements The dialogue, however, took place largely in a religious context

SOCIAL CONTEXT OF REFORM MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Here, the substantive discussion will relate primarily to reform movements among the Hindus

The context within which the reform movements of the nineteenth century arose was provided by the consolidation of British rule with all its implications This consolidation, among other things, meant the propagation of a centralised and universalistic system of justice, the partial introduction of western technology as represented by the telegraph, the railway, and the textile mills, the introduction of a new system of education, and an accentuated influence of Christianity and the Christian missions, despite the resolve of the British rulers to keep out of all matters religious The influence of the last two factors was significant and needs some discussion for an understanding of the social reform movements of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries in India

The education system as introduced by the British proved to be crucial in many ways It provided those who received education in the new schools with job opportunities under the East India Company and, later, under the British government It also gradually widened the opportunity for the traditionally white-collar castes to gain entry into the modern, urban occupational system—more particularly into the modern urban 'learned' professions of law, medicine and engineering

The new system of education was also important for the package of ideas and values that it conveyed through its substantive content These ideas could be broadly described as those constituting liberal philosophy—a faith in reason and in modern science, a questioning of superstitions and ritual practices, an emergence of the concept of civic equality and of democratic procedures Education combined with the reality of British power led to a general westward orientation among the educated elite in their search for new and, by definition, 'progressive' ideas in the social and political spheres The liberal content of education was reinforced by the access to new knowledge and new thought-currents that became accessible to the newly educated because of their introduction to the English language Knowledge of English facilitated their occupational placement and mobility, at the same time it made accessible to them books and periodicals published in England and even in the United States of America There is evidence that atleast one social reformer of Maharashtra—Jotiba Phooley—was greatly influenced by the American movement for the liberation of slaves and he dedicated one of his books to the leaders of this movement as early as the 1850's

Among the first impacts of this new education was that it motivated those who had benefited from it to spread education to others Initially the English schools were established by the Christian missions and by government By the middle of the nineteenth century there were efforts by individuals to carry this education to those living in moffusil areas made up of the smaller towns and larger villages There were also efforts simultaneously to extend the benefits of education to groups that were traditionally deprived of any education—women of all castes and members of the intermediate and backward castes Special schools for girls and special hostels for non-brahmin caste children were built as a part of the movement to spread education Still later, at the end of the century, large scale work was undertaken by educational societies established by educated and socially committed young men in different parts of the country Calcutta, Bombay, Pune and Madras were the first centres for the development of educational societies Some of the societies were established by religious and caste groups though in most cases the institutions were open to all students, irrespective of sectarian affiliations

The second important consequence of this new education and the particular context in which it spread was to promote a new awareness and an examination of the Indian religious, social and cultural heritage This second impact, namely, the re-examination of Indian identity, is a continuous process which is still incomplete, but in the nineteenth century it was aided and reinforced by the external criticism to which Indian society was subjected at the hands of foreign Christian missionaries Protestant, evangelical Christianity had struggled to defend itself against the spirit of the Enlightenment in Europe and had responded by developing a faith which was free from the dominance of priesthood in the medieval sense and from the worship of any idol, even in the form of the image of Christ or Virgin Mary, it had freed itself on the one hand from inquisitions and witch-hunting and on the other from cults built round saints, it had simplified the hierarchy within the church and was more equipped to meet the needs of a middle-class-based egalitarianism of contemporary Europe The representatives of this new Christianity found India—particularly Hindu—religious practice full of superstition, thoughtless ritual and priestly dominance They also found the caste system to be a blatant negation of the concept of equality—equal access and equal eligibility for salvation—as visualised in Christianity These men representing the nineteenth century churches of England and Europe made no secret of their contempt for certain aspects of Hindu religious belief and practice The educated Indians who could read these criticisms

and could otherwise communicate with the local representatives of the church found themselves under pressure to examine the social and religious practices of their times and either to defend them, deny them or seek their modification

Out of this examination arose religious reform movements, social reform movements and the first essays in Indological studies We will not discuss the growth of Indological studies nor directly the religious movements of the nineteenth century

However without being concerned with the details of the religious debate or the several religious movements that arose about this time, one has to be conscious that the distinction between the religious and the secular aspects of life was even less clear in the nineteenth century in India than it is today and any one who sought to work toward social reform had inevitably to counter arguments based upon religious or quasi-religious texts Also, most of those who were in the vanguard of the religious reform movements were also simultaneously active in one or more areas which appear today to be wholly questions of social reform At any rate, as suggested above, the new education with its liberal value orientation and the religious debate which arose in the context of the activities of the Christian church in India were both responsible for making educated Indians conscious of their own society in a new way and undertake an examination of its mores and customs in the light of the values of equality, rationality and freedom from idolatry The last of these had more specifically a religious implication and need not concern us here, but the values of equality and rationality had religious as well as social implicastions Of these two, again, Indian social reform movements seem to have emphasised more the value of equality than rationality, though the latter was also present as part of a general acceptance of modern science and technology This was probably not an accident In a country steeped in religious tradition, social reformers who accepted rationalism and refuted any faith in God and religion could not have gained a following or achieved much by way of change Social reformers were often found to work for change on the bais of a reinterpretation of scripture or tradition rather than on its rejection Rationality came to be accepted not as a negation of God and religion but rather as a moderating principle in social practice This has also meant that 'secularism' in contemporary India does not imply a rejection of the religious categories but is rather a plea for religious tolerance and the building of a society in which religions may not divide Jotiba Phooley (1828-1890) and Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856-1895) in Pune and, later, E V Ramaswamy Naicker (1879-1973) in Madras were exceptions to this general rule

The value of equality has played a somewhat more seminal role Again, this concept of equality is drawn not so much from the Marxist tradition as from the liberal-humanist tradition Equality may at best mean equal opportunity, but otherwise mostly it means ' improved' opportunity for the deprived In the contemporary context, it is often used interchangeably with the concept of social justice In a caste-based society, even equality would not have been an acceptable value, but the political reality was such that no serious effort at mobilisation of the people could have been undertaken without at the very least the promise of equal opportunity However, even this movement toward acceptance of the value of equality has not led to the rejection of caste, but only to the limitation of its legitimacy to the spheres of personal and family life as against its earlier sway over social, economic and political spheres as well

Despite the refraction and the atrophy suffered by the twin values of equality and rationality, they seemed to provide—in the particular historical context—enough impetus to result in

a variety of social reform movements in India There are separate articles on some of them and there are, besides, articles on religious reforms and social legislation An effort is made in the following paragraphs to identify the major movements and their objectives

MAJOR AREAS OF SOCIAL REFORM

As pointed out earlier, one of the major social movements in the nineteenth century was the movement for the spread of education It might be argued that the education movement cannot be considered a 'reform' movement since it need not involve a change in social values or belief systems In the Indian context, it did Education in a formal sense had been traditionally limited only to the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas and to some of the castes that had adopted the occupation of scribes at court and village record keepers, most of the other castes had little education beyond what might be required for their limited occupational purposes Under British rule, education came to be one of the major channels of occupational mobility and a path to bureaucratic power Thus, some of the caste leaders who had themselves had little or no education found it necessary to encourage young children in their castes to join schools This was not easy and the movement for the spread of education required considerable persuasive effort and provision of special facilities to get the traditionally non-literate castes to benefit by it Later, particularly in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the importance of education among the landowning castes began to be appreciated because education had become necessary for effective political participation and protection of community interests within and through the nationalist movement Today, the task of taking education to all the different segments of the population is still incomplete The artisans and landless agricultural workers who respectively constitute the bulk of the backward and the scheduled castes and tribes remain by and large outsiders to the system of education despite efforts to bring them in

Another facet of the movement for the spread of education was the effort to extend formal education to women Efforts in this direction began as early as the first quarter of the nineteenth century when foreign Christian missions and some of the leaders of the Indian awakening, beginning with Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1838) in Calcutta and Jotiba Phooley (1828-1890) in Pune, sought to establish special schools for women Except in the case of Jotiba Phooley, the efforts were largely limited to bringing into school young girls of the urban, upper caste families Some of the social reformers, like Phooley and Mahadeo Govind Ranade (1842-1901) began by first educating their own wives In the case of Phooley, his wife became his main support in his efforts to educate women Later, in Maharashtra, the name of Dhondo Keshav Karve (1858-1962) came to be identified with this effort to bring education to women In Madras, the names of P S Sivaswamy Iyer (1817-1903), K Veereshlingam Pantulu (1848-1919) and Margaret Cousins (1878-1954) are associated with the movement for women's education The groups that responded to these efforts were largely those engaged in urban white-collar occupations—mostly the ones that made up the 'advanced' castes in any region Even today, except among the urban, advanced caste groups and among other white-collar families, women have less access to education than men, and among the upper castes, women are still under-represented as students in professional colleges and institutions

The reform movement aimed at the spread of education brings out the potentiality as well as the limitations of reform movements generally There is little doubt that without the active work of many devoted educationists who strove to

extend education to the increasingly remote and backward segments of society the degree of progress that has been achieved even today might not have been achieved But there is also little doubt that despite their sincere and tireless efforts education has spread differentially to groups that were in a position to benefit from it Here the type of education that was sought to be spread as also the objective economic condition of the target group have been important factors in determining whether or not it would accept and utilise the newly created educational facilities

The movement for the spread of education among women was simultaneously a part of two separate movements—one for the spread of education and the other for the improvement and amelioration of the conditions of women in Indian homes The latter was, in fact, the first area to attract the attention of social reformers The abolition of the *sati* system was the first social reform cause taken up by Raja Rammohun Roy While the *sati* system represents the extreme of the problem of the low status, powerlessness and degradation of women in the upper caste Hindu family, this condition manifested itself in a variety of other ways—the denial of any property rights to women , the denial of formal education, the prohibition of widow remarriage while a man could marry s second time even during the lifetime of the first wife But apart from these relatively structured forms of inequities, the daily life of a woman in the home required her to accept a lower status in relation to man—whether this man was her father-in-law, husband or her own grown-up son An upper caste Hindu woman who lost her husband had to remain a dependent in the husband's family and, if she had no son, the widow could not look forward to any possibility of a life of relative freedom or a home which she could call her own Custom required that marriages take place at an early age and this meant that quite a number of widows were still young girls who had not known the meaning of married life They had only a lifetime of despised widowhood to look forward to In most upper caste homes widows were required to shave off their heads, in an effort perhaps to make them unattractive to men and make it possible for them to observe the strong norms of continence

Even the memories of her early childhood were partially spoilt for the woman by her consciousness that she had probably been a burden on her parents, since at the time of her marriage her father had been required to give a dowry to the groom's father The social reformers addressed themselves to these various ills that women suffered in relation to the institution of marriage and family among the upper caste Hindus The reforms that they sought required both legal and behavioural changes

In terms of law they sought to raise the age of marriage by specifying a minimum age for girls and they also sought to establish the right of widows to remarry Through their writings in newspapers, through speeches and discussions in public forums, through the activities of associations specially devoted to particular causes and through the use of the medium of fiction and drama they sought to inculcate new values, new attitudes and patterns of behaviour They argued against unequal marriages in which aged men married young girls, they argued in favour of monogamy, they worked for the economic independence and rehabilitation of young widows, they pleaded for the abolition of the custom requiring widows to shave off their hair,they argued in favour of better treatment for women within the home and gradually worked toward acquiring for woman a share in the property of the family—both as daughters and wives But the process of change was a slow one and it was only at the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century that the Child Marriage Restraint Act, popularly known as the Sarda Act (1929) specifying a minimum age of mar-

riage for girls was passed, and the other changes relating to monogamy, property rights, etc came only after independence The quality of life and the status of women within the upper caste Hindu family has, however, undergone substantial changes for the better with greater education as also employment among women Many factors have contributed to this change The work of social reformers, the opportunity for participation offered to women by the nationalist movement, and the recruitment of lower middle class women to office jobs during the second world war and later have been the more important of these factors

The third major area of social reform activity was the area of caste relations The British administrator-scholars had broadly grouped the multiplicity of castes in India into advanced (learned) castes, intermediate (cultivating) castes, backward (artisan) castes and the untouchable castes Prior to British rule the literate castes in different parts of the country did not exercise a high degree of administrative authority in society though they were always respected and deferred to In the rural areas power was vested in the hands of the major landowning castes and the moneylenders, the Brahmins serving as priests or as village record-keepers In the urban areas, again, the literate castes occupied a relatively subordinate position vis-a-vis the actual rulers—Moslems, Rajputs, Nairs, etc —and the merchant princes It was only after consolidation of the British rule and the establishment of a centralised administration and judiciary based upon a written law that the literate castes who manned the lower bureaucracy, judiciary and the professions came to exercise disproportionate power vis-a-vis the other non-literate castes Real power was in the hands of the British rulers, but they had to exercise it through the mediacy of the caste groups that had acquired English education and could communicate offectively between the culture of the rulers and the culture of the ruled The Brahmins and the Kayasthas in the north, the Brahmins, the Brahmos and the Vaidyas in the east, the Brahmins, Kayastha Prabhus and Saraswats in the west, and the Tamil, Nambudiri and Saraswat Brahmins and the Pillais and Nairs in the south contributed more than their normal proportions to fill these strategic positions in the new bureaucratic and professional system They did not have much landed wealth to begin with, nor did they have absolute political power but they used their 'gate-keeping' positions in the newly emerging society with great skill and benefit for themselves

The caste problem in the nineteenth century has to be seen in the context of the high ritualistic status attributed to the Brahmin in traditional hierarchy and also in the context of this new acquisition of power by Brahmin (and other literate) castes after the establishment of British rule Over a period of time—particularly in the western and southern parts of the country—Brahmins emerged as the dominent elite who looked upon persons of all the other castes as Sudras

Some among these advanced castes responded spontaneously to the liberal vision of an open society which extended opportunities to groups at all levels for advancement and some were forced to take this position as a response to the challenge of Christian missionary activity They also found that the traditional exclusiveness and insularity of caste behaviour was not reconcilable with the new urban life The taboos of diet of commensality and of segmented social intercourse could not be observed in railway journeys, government offices and in the increasingly complex social life of a Calcutta or Bombay or Madras They thus became converts perforce to a more liberal social code These English educated, urban dwelling members of the new intelligentsia became propagators of the need for social change while at the same time they were consolidating the material base of their own elitist status In the area of

caste, while the idealistic religious reform movements of the last quarter of the nineteenth century as represented by the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Ramakrishna Mission argued for a rejection of the very idea of caste, most moderate reformers only sought a softening of caste discrimination and of its abolition from the sphere of public life Those who spoke of removal of caste barriers from public platforms would not allow an inter-caste marriage or even an inter-caste dinner in their own house They would find convenient excuses for their traditionalist behaviour in the sentiments of their aged parents or the 'ignorance' of their uneducated wives Even in comparison with marriage and family reform movements, the movement for caste integration remained either an idealistic statement or became operational only in the economic and political spheres of life Even these gains in the economic and political sphere came largely as a result of the post-1920 pressures in political life exercised by representative interest groups from among the affected cultivating castes in each region The role of the non-Brahmin movement in Bombay Province, of the Justice Party and later the Dravid Munnetra movements in Madras was particularly important from this point of view It was, however, only after independence that the 'intermediate' castes obtained control of the political machine in the States and the dominance of the advanced castes was countered to some extent While political leadership may have thus passed from one caste group to another, it cannot be argued that the goal of a 'casteless' society is any nearer

The other flank of the caste reform movement was the removal of untouchability Like our constitution-makers, the religious reformers of the nineteenth century sought to solve this problem by proclaiming the abolition or non-existance of untouchability within their own new faiths In actuality, not even Islam or Christianity have been able to prevent the observance of untouchability by their followers in their daily life in India Untouchability has proved an intractable problem so far and the valient efforts of a Mahatma Phooley or a Mahatma Gandhi only tend to highlight the deeprootedness of our prejudices In a sense, both Phooley and Gandhi worked in a somewhat simpler context At the time they worked it seemed that the backward castes and the intermediate castes could make a common cause with the scheduled castes against the 'villainy' of the advanced castes—particularly the Brahmins But now that the Brahmins are not at the helm of political power the scheduled castes find themselves pitted against the backward castes and the landowning castes who are neither so few nor so uninvolved in the operation of the rural economy as the Brahmins have come to be

PARSI AND MUSLIM SOCIAL REFORM

While no substantive discussion of Parsi and Muslim social reform movements need be undertaken here, one may note in passing that the two communities reacted in two entirely opposite ways to British rule and to English education The Parsis welcomed the new opportunities and took avidly to English education the Muslims initially withdrew into a shell as a result of their natural resentment against the 'usurpers' of political power They held back from the new education—despite great efforts by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and later by many others including Dr Zakir Hussain in the twentieth century Social reform made even slower progress among the Muslims than among the Hindus and certainly much slower than among the Parsis Even today Muslim Personal Law has remained largely unchanged

ACTIVITY CONTENT OF REFORM

It will have been seen from the discussion

above that while education, women's status and caste relations were three different areas of 'social reform' activities, much of this reform consisted of 'education' of public opinion The two forms of activity were mutually supportive and intertwined though they could be analytically differentiated Another aspect of reform activity was that apart from seeking a change in attitudes or values through a process of community education, a good deal of the reformist's attention was devoted to seeking new legislation which would either consolidate the changes already effected or help in bringing them about For obtaining this new legislation the reformers were dependent upon the alien government Sometimes it appeared that social reformers had subordinated the instrumentality of educating the people to one of statutory change as though they felt that once a statutory change had been achieved they would have no need to continue with the educational activity This can be one of the weaknesses of social reformist activity anywhere, particularly in societies where the elites who are seeking to bring about change set themselves apart—by class, caste, education and occupation—from the mass of the people who are expected to abide by the change The reformer seems to leave the task of bringing about behavioural change to the coercive processes of law To the extent this happens the reformer has missed his original mission of bringing about change through education and persuasion Reformist activity which is heavily based on law often becomes ineffective because a change in law which is not supported by a change in popular attitudes and in social context cannot achieve its goal Efforts at social change through coercive or mandatory legislation often fail since the social practice which is sought to be changed is deeprooted in society, besides, in the absence of any value change, the exercise of policing such legislation is likely to prove expensive and to lead to the evil of corruption

SOCIAL REFORM AND SOCIAL WORK

Apart from education of public opinion and legislation, social reform has a third facet consisting of direct organisation of services for those who are adversely affected by the older social practices which are sought to be changed The purely reformist and the service organisation activities are mutually supportive though not all 'reformers may have the organisational ability or the patience to undertake the latter This activity of organising services is characteristic of the social 'worker' as distinct from the social 'reformer' The social worker has to have the orientation of a reformer—unless his activities have become routinised or bureaucratized, and the social reformer should have a service orientation—unless he looks upon his task only as that of a preacher who admonishes or of a disseminator of ideas who has no responsibility for action Social work may sometimes lose its reformist orientation where it has become a professional activity and social reform may also lose its work orientation where it becomes preoccupied with legal change

SOCIAL REFORM, SOCIAL WORK, SOCIAL ACTION

Social reform, social work, 'social action' and social protest may be seen as serially linked Just as social work can be seen to be related to social reform in its value orientation, it may be said to be linked with 'social action' in its activity orientation 'Social action' is an effort on the part of social workers to achieve social and structural change—with the help and on behalf of the underprivileged groups in society—but within the norms laid down by law for seeking change The initiative and leadership in 'social action' is still with the outside leader who may be a member of the 'establishment' or the elite group in society

REFORM AND PROTEST

Activities which begin as social reform and

social work undertaken by members of the elite to improve the conditions of particular deprived groups in society may lead, designedly or other-sise, to the development of active 'interest groups' among the deprived, who then exercise pressure to convert a reform movement into a movement of protest by the deprived against real or imputed injustices perpetrated by the elite Examples of such substitution of reform movements by protest movements are to be found in the case of the caste-based movements which we have referred to earlier and the movement for the amelioration of conditions of industrial workers In both these cases the initial leadership came from the elite groups—upper caste, white-collared individuals—who sought to improve the conditions of the deprived through a process of appeal to the elite and education of the deprived for self-improvement. The workers' movements began as movements led by socially sensitive white-collar individuals who sought to improve the living conditions of the workers, reduce their long working hours, provide for work-safety measures, and extend education to workers and their children The reformist stance was one of doing something for the workers But in both cases the reform movement gave place to movements of interest groups for self-protection and protest In the case of backward and scheduled castes, the upper caste leadership was replaced by a leadership from within the affected caste, in the case of industrial workers individual leaders are still often drawn from among non-workers But they claim to represent the deprived groups and act on their behalf and not as educators and teachers drawn from the elite The effort no longer is to seek a change of heart but rather to precipitate a conflict which is to be resolved by a trial of strength The caste movements used the political electoral process to achieve their goals, the workers movements used the political strategy as well as the strategy of testing out the strength of the opposite group through a legally guarded conflict channelled through such actions as 'go-slow', 'work-to-rule', total strike and an increase of direct or indirect intimidation

Much of the writing in the preceding pages of this article has used the past tense and examples from the past to illustrate social reform movements Without necessarily implying that social reform movements do not exist today, it may still be true to say that we have experienced a period of discontinuity in the social reform movement since around the nineteen-thirties Beginning with 1920 and more particularly since 1930 the movement for national independence occupied the centre of the stage and social reform took a second place Many idealistically motivated individuals who would have involved themselves in social reform persuaded themselves that national independence would make many of the reformist causes obsolete since independence would usher in a new era of progress Since independence the emphasis has shifted from private initiative to governmental legislation and governmental initiative It is only over the last few years that a realisation has come to the Indian liberal groups that legislation and governmental initiative are not the best road to social change and they must return to their task of public education and mobilisation

But there is also a question whether social reform is not an instrumentality of the past The present environment is charged with conflict and assertion of one's group interests Social reform has normally been undertaken in the context of a value consensus and it presumes that the reformer is able to take a total view of society over and beyond the views of constituent groups May be a new consensus will emerge in our society based on democratic socialist values When it does, there may again be scope for reform activities from this new value base

M S GORE

SOCIAL POLICY

It is customary in the academia to define basic terms and concepts before entering upon the main discussion While this may facilitate immediate communication, definitions by their very nature tend to be rigid After all, in defining terms and concepts one tries to capture in words, which are essentially static, concepts and meanings which are essentially dynamic

With this limitation in mind one may attempt a brief amplification or clarification of the term 'social policy' The key word 'policy' implies adoption of a sagacious course of action in order to achieve the desired objective(s) This function is usually associated with a government or a political party which is expected to set out its policy However, it is possible for a non-political organisation or an individual also to have a policy as a guideline for its/his own plans and actions

The qualifying word 'social' is sometimes used in the broader sense of 'societal' because in that case everything becomes 'social' Modernisation of society, implying adoption of science and technology, raising the national standard of living, building up civic and political institutions to suit the changed and changing needs and problems and generally to work towards an open, pluralistic society of equal opportunity, could with all these elements be regarded as the pith and substance of societal policy The adjective 'social' is not usually intended to mean 'sociological' More often it means 'non-economic' aspects or more particularly the 'human element' in nation-building endeavour featuring as much as an agent as a beneficiary of development

It may also be clarified that the term 'policy' is not being used here in the sense of what is expedient or advantageous for the time being In other words sometimes what is pragmatic is called policy and what is based on principles is referred to as doctrinaire Therefore, it is better to say that social policy is designed to specify social objectives, the manner of harnessing the available resources and the pattern of their deployment for achieving those objectives The social objectives themselves are set out in or are derived from formal national consensus as reflected in the constitution of the country

SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY

It is important to distinguish between social policy and social welfare policy The nature and scope of social policy as described in earlier paragraphs covers at least four elements as follows (i) social objectives of national development plans, (ii) social service programmes in successive five year plans, (iii) concern for the protection and promotion of the interests of the weaker sections of the population, and (iv) peoples' own involvement in the formulation and implementation of policies and plans at various levels

As against this, social welfare policy, as it deals with a particular sector of national endeavour , is something more specific and limited It cover those purposeful and organised interventions necessary to protect and rehabilitate such segments of the population which are unable to cope with the demands of life on their own In their case the family cannot by itself find an adequate solution nor can it 'buy' the requisite service(s) in the market They are the people who need purposefully organised intervention by the community or state to provide need-based differential care Thus, one may generalise that while the underlying spirit in social policy is the concern for social justice, the principle behind social welfare policy is the urge to provide enabling measures for those who are unable on account of some innate or acquired social disability to benefit from the general pro-

grammes of social services available to the rest of the population Of late, there is a growing awareness that even social welfare policy could shift its focus from relief and charity to prevention and development

SOCIAL POLICY AND ECONOMIC POLICY

Since social policy is now expected to influence national development plans, a question is often asked as to the precise difference between economic policy and social policy In the first place, a policy designed almost exclusively in terms of economic objectives, like raising the national GNP and per capita incomes, and sophistication and diversification of science and technology in order to make the economy modern and prosperous are facets of economic policy Models of development plans based on such economic policies have been found to be one-sided and not very successful They are conceived in purely material terms relying on the input/output equations of material resources Economic policy can be supplemented and complemented by the objectives and operations designed to bring about equality of opportunity and narrowing the differences of wealth and income Such a social policy may also help bring about institutional or systemic change This is relfected in the rather simple definition of development which was at one time recorded in the U N documents It speaks of development as growth plus change or more elaborately economic growth with social change That is why there is the well known finding both on theoretical considerations and practical experience that economic growth is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for development One might note that the case for reinforcing economic growth with social policy came towards the end of the fifties when the sixties were declared as the first United Nations Development Decade Taking that experience into consideration, the international strategy adopted by the U N for the Second Development Decade referred to it as 'integrated development' The integration sought to be achieved was not just of social change with economic growth but social justice in its protective, promotive and distributive sense This was reflected in preambles to the official documents on five year plans with phrases like 'growth with justice' In fact, in some instances, it went further to advocate growth for justice In extreme cases it has even been referred to as 'justice with or without growth' In any case, the difference of emphasis and approach is sufficiently indicative to bring out the difference between economic and social policy

CONSTITUTIONAL BASE

Most writings on social policy in India have drawn heavily upon the Indian Constitution drafted, debated and adopted in the Constituent Assembly of India set up specifically for the purpose shortly before the attainment of political independence in 1947 The second equally, if not more, important source of social policy in India has been the series of official documents on five year plans which have outlined policies, social and economic, in considerable detail

Within the Constitution, Part IV on the Directive Principles of State Policy is usually cited as the main source of India's social policy Specific Articles like 38 and 46 are often cited as relevant sources of social policy Most of the legislation that has been enacted during the last thirty years whether for institutional changes like land reforms or for the protection of the weaker sections of the population (e g removal of untouchability) is also regarded as indicative of social policy in operation

One chronic myth that has been exploded in the light of experience is the implicit assumption that India is a Welfare State—at least one in the making. This is altogether unsubstantiated

either by the textual provisions of the Constitution or by the laws enacted under it Social security measures for the bulk of the population against the major contingencies of life are not only non-existent on the statute book but there is no possibility of providing them, economically speaking, in the foreseeable future A low-income country having between forty to sixty per cent people below the poverty line, a mixed economy with a commitment to socialist objecives cannot claim to be a Welfare State as well The reason why we have assumed India to be a Welfare State is found in the language of the Directive Principles of State Policy which is very much influenced by 'welfare statism' that was thick in the air at the time when India's constitution was being formulated In fact, however, if one were to refer to the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution which gives the Union, Concurrent and State Lists of legislative subjects, one finds no evidence at all of any substantial or significant content of a Welfare State programme assigned to the Government at any of the three levels

The following items listed variously give an indication of the nature and extent of social welfare responsibilities assigned to various levels in the government under the Constitution These are, reformatories, borstal institutions and other institutions of a like nature (item 4 of the State List), relief of the disabled and unemployable appear under item 9 of the same list As against this, the Concurrent List provides for programmes for the regulation of vagrancy and for the relief and rehabilitation of nomadic and migratory tribes (item 15), places for the reception and treatment of 'lunatics' and mentally deficient (item 16), welfare of labour including conditions of work, provident fund, employers' liability, workmen's compensation, pensions for the invalid and the aged and maternity benefits (item 24), charities and charitable institutions, charitable and religious endowments and religious institutions (item 28), and relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons (item 27)

Certain other items in the State List do have a bearing on the wider aspects of social needs and problems These, for instance, cover administration of justice, local governments, public health and sanitation, intoxicating liquors and drugs, etc Only item 20 of the Concurrent List provides for a broad cover for other aspects of social policy under the omnibus term 'economic and social planning'

Although social security and social insurance are listed under item 3 of the Concurrent List, progress in the provision and enlargement of benefits under social security/social insurance has been very tardy and fragmentary In a country where unemployment and underemployment are chronically high, where self-employed persons far outnumber those who are employed and where the bulk of the people do not pay income tax, the idea of social security/social insurance remains only notional Over the years except for a sizeable proportion of the industrial working class and the core of personnel in Government agencies, social security benefits have scarcely touched the bulk of the population

SOCIAL POLICY IN DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Since national Planning was chosen as the main instrument of development, the working of the various consitutional provisions on social policy can best be seen in the actual programmes planned and in their implementation This may be examined under certain broad heads In the first place, there are the social objectives of a development plan such as eradication of poverty, promotion of employment, narrowing the disparities of wealth, income and opportunities (conversely prevention of concentration of economic power in the hands of a few), development of human resources, bringing about the necessary attitudinal and institu-

tional changes, ensuring peoples' participation in the formulation of policies and plans and in their implementation at various levels, protection and promotion of the interests of the weaker sections of the population and creating conditions in which they could develop in accordance with their own cultural genius

Among the weaker sections, there are either those who are yet not sufficiently integrated with the mainstream of the economy like tribal communities or others who suffer from the double disability of social discrimination compounding and perpetuating poverty like in the case of the scheduled castes Other backward classes suffer from a lag in development arising from traditional social stratification and chronic poverty Besides, there are the other handicapped or maladjusted sections of the population who have been traditionally special clients of social workers These are the other groups who are in need of special care owing to some physical or mental handicap or a condition of economic deprivation and social neglect

A review of most of these aspects yields the following general observations which have been fairly well documented both in the official evaluation reports and in non-official studies

SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

As for the redistributive objective of social policy, the report of the Committee on Distribution of Income and Levels of Living (Mahalanobis, 1964) came up with an equivocal finding It pointed out that income disparity in the urban areas had widened more than those of rural areas It was not until the beginning of the Fourth Five Year Plan that the twin objective of 'growth with justice' was officially incorporated in the preamble to the plan Even so, it was made out that the claims of distributive justice often clashed with economic imperatives, in the short run at any rate, and it was hoped that eventually they would reconcile This is a complex issue and needs deeper and more detailed analysis From the policy point of view, however, it may suffice to mention that certain legislative and executive measures were introduced to prevent concentration of economic power in the hands of a few and for curbing undue and unearned incomes and consequent ostentatious expenditure These were introduced in pursuance of a socialist policy to promote egalitarianism However, when such attempts are made in a low-income country, with a small class of the rich and a large mass of the poor (below the proverty line), the result is only 'levelling down' The converse process of 'levelling up' may take a much longer time and could only be the cumulative result of the total developmental process In the interim, such a policy only belies the principles of distributive justice in the context of development, which is that it should distribute wealth and not poverty

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Social policy implications of technological change also became evident both on empirical grounds as well as on doctrinaire considerations It was found that modern technology, whether adopted wholesale from the more advanced countries or adapted to suit local conditions, was itself not enough for the modernistion of the economy Certain institutional changes were gradually but surely recognised as the necessary concomitant of the transfer of technology Take for instance, the so-called green revolution With a qualitative and quantitative improvement in the agricultural inputs, it was possible to bring about a certain increase in the output This produced spectacular results over a short period of time—a season or two, given suitable weather, even a year or two—but sustaining such an increase and the improvement of production on an enduring basis required much more than mere material input

While modernisation of the implements and inputs is essential for increased production, it is not by itself enough to sustain it This could be done only by bringing about side by side a suitable institutional change, for instance, land reforms to match with the green revolution This is another example of the relevance of social policy to economic growth and its impact on the social aspects of development

EMPLOYMENT PROMOTION

During the earlier periods of planning, it was assumed that with progressively larger investment, employment would automatically be generated In fact, by working out some kind of a ratio between investment and employment, the employment potential of each plan was announced at the beginning of each plan period Very often, it was found that this employment potential failed to materialise to the extent estimated Here again, although the correlation between investment and employment was admitted, it was discovered that the actual extent of employment potential depended on several factors in addition to investment, e g, the backlog of employment and under-employment, the rate of growth of population, the number of entrants into labour market year after year, rural-urban migration, and the choice of technology—all these have vital impact on the employment potential of a project It needed considerable modification in the strategy of development planning, the choice and adaptation of the technology, and balancing the claims of modernisation and 'economies of scale' with human needs Concern for more and better employment became evident in the revised strategies of development The equal importance of employment with the growth in the GNP has come to be regarded as much a concern of social policy as of sound economic growth This is yet another area which clearly brings out the indivisible nature of the development process wherein the social and the economic elements must fuse together to produce the desired impact

THE WEAKER SECTIONS

The most important single element of social policy relates to the special Constitutional safeguards and provisions made for the protection and promotion of the interests of those segments of the population which had traditionally suffered from discrimination, isolation or alienation The special measures for the weaker sections fall broadly in three categories First, there is abolition of discrimination or segregation in the public places (Article 17—abolition of untouchability) This was further backed up by appropriate Central and State enactments The second category of measures provided reservation of a certain percentage of places in educational and training institutions as also in employment in government organisations and public undertakings This was initially stipulated for a period of 10 years which has been extended till 1990 The third category of programmes comprise development and welfare projects as part of successive five year plans These include a wide range of schemes and projects for settlement on land, grants for subsidiary occupations, credit for economic projects in agriculture and industry, provision of house sites and assistance for housing, a massive and mounting programme of freeships and scholarships at all stages of education and a series of other measures to suit the specific needs of different sections of the backward classes

Several reviews have been attempted to evaluate the impact of all these measures If one were to judge them from the base line (position before the measures) these special programmes provided for the weaker sections have cumulatively made a significant impact on awakening consciousness of their rights and privileges under the constitution and in law, promoted articula-

tion of their demands and organisation on their part with the explicit intention of building up pressure lobbies The level of aspirations has certainly gone up very appreciably However, in terms of actual working and living conditions or in terms of the subjective satisfaction of the concerned people, much remains to be done

The problem is, however, not of 'how much' but whether this policy can ever achieve success in the desired direction, namely, to make the weaker sections so self-reliant that they can emerge from the dependency status and whether the need for special measures would cease The trend does not seem to be in that direction It is a dilemma for policy makers whether the developmental and welfare programmes for the weaker sections should be caste related or need based The decision is not easy because under adult suffrage law the weaker sections constitute a very substantial proportion of voters They constitute a political strength that cannot be easily ignored Secondly, it has been represented that even within the weaker sections, the slightly better off groups and communities have benefited to a significantly greater extent, leaving the weakest among them still further behind

SOCIAL SERVICES

From the viewpoint of social policy, social service programmes in India's five year plans need to be examined from two angles First there is the relative importance of social services sectors and major economic sectors of agriculture and industry, secondly, the *inter se* priorities and relationships among social services themselves also need to be examined As for the first, there has been a standing grievance that social services as a whole have been given a rather secondary place in the order of priorities The assumption seems to have been as though the economic sectors are autonomous and that once they generate enough resources, social services can expect to get a better deal The mutually reinforcing inter-relationship between the social and economic sectors came to be appreciated after the unhappy experience in the earlier plans Many of economic projects remained unimplemented or under-implemented because of lack of right attitudes, appropriate institutions and scientific base or technical knowhow Alternatively, some gains of economic growth were nullified because of 'population explosion' The reordering of priorities in the subsequent plans especially for education and health and of course for population control came on the rebound, as it were

As for the second point, it is noticed that education and health have received much greater emphasis than other social sectors like housing or social welfare In fact at the end of thirty years of planned development, the housing position is perhaps worse than it was at the beginning This is so because the bulk of the population cannot build for itself, the private builders will not build for them because it is not profitable and the state cannot build enough because of the substantial and perpetual subsidies required for low-income housing

SOCIAL WELFARE

Before the entry of the state in the welfare field, it had been primarily the operational area of the voluntary organisations Partly in recognition of the pioneering role of voluntary organisations in social welfare, the policy has been to encourage them to continue to shoulder a major responsibility for maintaining and developing welfare services The fact that the voluntary agencies alone could lend the human touch so essential in welfare work has also been cited as an additional reason for the major role envisaged for them The extreme paucity of resources available for welfare work in the earlier stages of economic development was also responsible for the reliance on voluntary organisations which could mobilise the resources directly at the com-

munity level. Perhaps it would not be incorrect to infer that it was a combination of principle and expediency that shaped the policy of dependence on the voluntary effort in social welfare

The state, however, took upon itself to help the voluntary organisations in maintaining and developing welfare services Isolated and sporadic action, widely differing standards in the services, increasing difficulty in raising community resources to cope with greater demands for welfare agencies and the paucity of trained personnel were regarded as some of the major short-comings of voluntary action in the years immediately after independence A special body with an unorthodox status and a large measure of autonomy was set up in the form of the Central Social Welfare Board for promoting voluntary action in the welfare field The idea was to provide a national perspective for welfare activities, to introduce an extensive system of grants-in-aid for improvement and development of services, and to sponsor new programmes and services through non-official effort, wherever such gaps were noticed The Central Social Welfare Board created a network of its own in the States and also at the district and block levels through which they administered both aided and sponsored programmes The Board's organisation consisted of composite bodies of officials and non-official social workers

In terms of programmes, the boundaries of social welfare field were slowly but perceptibly being demarcated with some precision As stated earlier, when the Constitution framed its legislative lists for the Union and the States as also for concurrent jurisdiction, there was no such clearly identified field as 'social welfare' The Working Group for the Third Five Year Plan, which for the first time drew up a comprehensive framework for planning social welfare services, covered within its compass, subjects such as child welfare, women's welfare, welfare of the handicapped, social defence, youth welfare, welfare of slum dwellers and also training, research and administration the Fourth Five Year Plan Working Group made only a slight modification in retaining the welfare of non-student youth in the welfare sector and included the aged and infirm along with the handicapped But the number and variety of schemes that were formulated by the Central and State Governments and the voluntary organisations under these broad heads were so many that the limited resources were spread too wide and thin

In terms of priorities, emphasis has notionally been placed on child welfare The categories of children, the content of programmes and the manner of their organisation have, however, changed considerably since the inception of these programmes in the First Plan Preoccupation with handicapped children has been reduced in preference to the needs of otherwise normal but socio-economically deprived children The nature of programmes has also changed from curative to the positive and promotive services The priority for child welfare and development is being canvassed on the grounds of importance of building up young human resources of the country In terms of finanical allocations, greater outlays are also being set apart especially for nutrition but the organisational effort in the field is still not quite commensurate with the priority placed on it

As regard social welfare services, a clear and rational policy has to be formulated While certain encouraging trends in terms of positive, promotive and integrated services have no doubt emerged, in operational terms efforts continue to be dissipated over a large and fragmented area A schematic pattern of welfare services built from the community level upward has yet to be evolved, extended and stabilised It is such a schematic pattern of minimum welfare services that will have to be the base of a pyramid supporting a graded structure of specialised services at the appropriate levels The

administrative pattern needs to be rationalised and the partnership with voluntary organisations has to be made real Training of welfare personnel has to be standardised in the context of clearly identified job positions at various levels of welfare agencies In fact, a composite and complex job of manpower assessment on the one hand, and standardisation and gradation of training, on the other hand, has to be attempted in order to give effect to any rational welfare policy

CONCLUSION

Thus, social policy in India has had a chequered history However, of all the social issues there is one in respect of which national policy has been consistently reaffirmed and progressively intensified That is the ever alive issue of protection and promotion of the interests of the weaker sections of the population In early 1981, Parliament comprising representatives of a wide range of political opinion and independents reiterated unanimously the national resolve to continue to provide as long as necessary reservation of places in educational institutions and public employment to scheduled castes and tribes That is regarded as a national pledge given by the people and the Government of India to honour the Directive Principles of the State Policy in this behalf

There are, however a large number of other issues in social justice which have become more pointedly articulate than visualized by the founding fathers There are a whole range of social issues arising from mass poverty and related to distributive justice which are now crying out for speedy and effective remedial action In most cases the claims of justice have been conceded in principle The shortfalls are in varying degrees in the nature of non-implementation or inadequate implementation

Over the years there has remained very little difference in the ideological base of national policies Barring the extreme right and left, policy statements (manifestos) of most political parties have a more or less common core of social ethos representing an amalgam of three terms, namely, secularism, socialism, and democracy The difference lies in the extent to which the social consensus is spelled out in specific application to issues of poverty and disparities Since there is no single authoritative official statement of national social policy as there is for industrial policy, the contours of social policy have to be discerned from occasional announcements or statements made in order to cope with the exigencies emerging from time to time or with particular aspects of development The announcements/statements are sometimes made also to polarise public support for on-going or projected programmes The public response, in turn varies, depending upon how vigorously and conscientiously the declared policies are implemented The time is past when powers that be were judged by their policies declared and promised Now they are judged by their deeds People, it seems, even though largely unschooled, are politically mature enough to articulate their needs in policy terms and expect the policymakers to respond with timely, relevant and operationally effective policies

P.D KULKARNI

SOCIAL SECURITY FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Over a long period, employment under government has been considered attractive from the point of view of both status and security

The glamour for government jobs has not weakened even after the independence of the country and growth of private sector establishments providing lucrative jobs The main reason for this appears to be the job security and better retirement benefits provided by the public/government establishments

There has been continuous increase in the government work load ever since India became independent For this the reasons are well-known which it is not necessary to repeat

A significant feature of the personnel system in India has been the continuous and rapid increase in the number of employees under the government both at the Centre and in the States While in 1939, the Central Government of undivided India had on the payrolls about 8 lakh employees, the number rose to about 12 lakhs in 1951 It further increased to about 21 lakhs in 1961, 28 lakhs in 1971 and 32 lakhs in 1981 According to 1981 population census, the employment in the Central Government establishments accounted for 4 2 per cent of the total non-farm working force in the country, excluding Assam In State Government establishments, there were about 30 lakh employees in 1961, their number increased to 41 5 lakhs in 1971 and 57 5 lakhs in 1981 There were other quasi-government establishment (both Central and State) and local bodies in the public sector which accounted for 45 5 lakh and 19 9 lakh employees respectively in 1981

In order to receive the utmost attention, full effort and whole-hearted devotion of employees during their working life, the state has to ensure that after retirement they would continue to have adequate financial and other support in old age

The Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935 enacted during the British rule had incorporated provisions concerning the services under the government The Constitution of free India has embodied relevant provisons for the services under the Union and the States in Part XIV thereof Article 309 in this part relating to the recruitment and conditions of services of persons serving the Union or a State makes the following provisions

> "Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, Acts of the appropriate legislature may regulate the recruitment, and conditions of service of persons appointed to public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of any State
>
> Provided that it shall be competent for the President or such person as he may direct in the case of services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union, and for the Governor of a State or such person as he may direct in the case of services and posts in connection with the affairs of the State, to make rules regulating the recruitment, and the conditions of service of persons appointed, to such services and posts until provision in that behalf is made by or under an Act of the appropriate legislature under this article and any rules so made shall have effect subject to the provisions of any such Act"

Under these statutory provisions, various rules and regulations have been framed by government from time to time laying down conditions of service including retirement/terminal benefits to its employees

In the administrative system, retirement is compulsory at the pre-determined age of superannuation which is 58 years for Central Government employees, Some State Governments have fixed different age of superannuation The retirement system provides for payment of monthly pension and other benefits like gratuity, insurance, provident fund, etc to the retired persons The provision for pension was initially made by the Royal Commission on Civil Establishment of 1881 The Government of India Acts of 1919 and 1935 made further

provisions The government introduced the provident fund and insurance schemes for its employees in April 1950 It liberalised the retirement benefits from time to time *suo moto* or on the basis of recommendations made by the central pay commissions and other bodies In fact in a welfare state, the provision of social security measures by government and their liberalisation is a continuous process and from time to time orders are issued providing for greater facilities for government servants

Currently the following benefits are available to Central Government servants at the time of their retirement/superannuation

(1) Pension Scheme As already stated, there are two main schemes of retirement benefits for Central Government employees, viz the pension scheme and the contributory provident fund scheme Pension is the more important of the two

At present most of the non-industrial staff in various government departments other than the railways are governed by the pension scheme An employee governed by this scheme gets a recurring monthly payment for life and a lumpsum gratuity at the time of his retirement, both determined with reference to the length of his service The grant of pensionary benefits is governed by the Central Civil Services (Pension) Rules, 1972, as amended from time to time The minimum service for earning full pension is 33 years Government servants who retire after 33 years of service are entitled to monthly pension at rates ranging from 43 per cent to 50 per cent of their "emoluments", as per the formula indicated below

		Amount of monthly pension
(i)	Upto first Rs 1,000 of average emoluments reckonable for pension	50% of average emoluments
(ii)	Next Rs 500 of average emoluments reckonable for pension	45% of average emoluments
(iii)	Balance of average emoluments reckonable for pension	40% of average emoluments subject to an over-all ceiling indicated below

Officers with less than 33 years of service are entitled to pension in the same proportion as the number of years of service bear to 33

(2) Contributory Provident Fund Scheme Industrial staff in government departments, persons employed on contract basis for specified period and scientific and technical personnel entering government service at a relatively advanced age are generally covered by the contributory provident fund scheme The scheme is governed by the Contributory Provident Fund (India) Rules, 1962 Under this scheme, in addition to the government servants themselves the government also makes a contribution at a prescribed percentage of the employee's monthly emoluments to his account The accumulated amount earns tax free interest and incentive bonus at prescribed rates

(3) Service Gratuity Government servants who retire before a minimum of ten years' qualifying service are not entitled to any pension They are paid service gratuity worked out approximately at the rate of one month's pay for each year of service rendered

(4) Lumpsum payment in lieu of a portion of Pension One-third of the amount of pension can be exchanged for a lumpsum payment, calculated on the basis of a commutation table The normal age of retirement is 58 years and the value of each rupee of pension exchanged for a lumpsum payment is Rs 125 62 immediately after that age

(5) Injury/Disabled Pension. Government servants who are disabled for reasons attributable to official duty are eligible for injury/disabled pension

(6) Invalid Pension. Invalid pension may be granted if a government servant retires from

service on account of any bodily or mental infirmity which permanently incapacitates him for service

(7) Dearness Relief on Pension The retired pension holder gets dearness relief on pension at the rate of 2½ per cent of the pension subject to a minimum of Rs 2 50 and a maximum of Rs 12 50 for each rise of 8 points in the 12 montly average of the consumer price index for industrial workers

(8) Death-cum-retirement Gratuity Death-cum-retirement gratuity is paid at the rate of one-fourth of "emoluments" for every six-monthly period of qualifying service subject to a maximum of 16½ months' emolument or Rs 50,000 whichever is less D C R G is admissible to a retiring person only if the qualifying service rendered by him is not less than five years

In the event of death of a government servant, while in service, after completing five years' qualifying service, the D C R G is subject to a minimum of 12 times his emoluments at the time of his death In the case of a government servant who dies before completing 5 years' qualifying service but after more than one year of qualifying service, the D C R G will be equal to six times the emoluments at the time of death In case where the death occurs in the first year of the qualifying service, the D C R G admissible will be equal to two times the emoluments at the time of death

(9) Encashment of leave Earned leave up to a maximum of 180 days at the credit of the government servant at the time of retirement is allowed to be encashed The encashment is based on pay plus dearness and additional dearness allowances

(10) Group Insurance Under the Central Government Employees Group Insurance Scheme, 1980 introduced from 1 January 1982, a government servant who dies while in service, is entitled to Rs 10,000/Rs 20,000/Rs 40,000/Rs 80,000 according to his rank as Group 'D'/Group 'C'/Group 'B'/Group 'A' Officer At the time of retirement, an amount ranging from Rs 23,000 to Rs 1,87,000 for 35 years' service is payable on account of savings fund element

(11) General Provident Fund Government servants who opt for the pension scheme are required to subscribe to the general provident fund at a minimum rate of 6 per cent of pay The G P F accumulation earns tax free interest and incentive bonus at prescribed rates

(12) Central Government Health Scheme (CGHS) Retired government servants can avail of medical facilities at a station where the C G H S operates

Various benefits have been extended by the Central Government to the family members of the government servants who die while in service These are listed below

(i) Family pension,

(ii) Dealth-cum-retirement gratuity,

(iii) Immediate relief to the family in the shape of hard cash which is adjustable against D C R G , leave salary, etc

(iv) Balance of provident fund and C D S,

(v) Sum of Rs 10,000/Rs 20,000/Rs 40,000/Rs 80,000 according to rank as Group 'D'/Group 'C'/Group 'B'/Group 'A' Officer, payable under the Central Government Employees Group Insurance Scheme,

(vi) An average amount under deposit linked Insurance scheme for subscribers to provident fund,

(vii) Leave encashment upto 180 days,

(viii) Children education allowance and tuition fees re-imbursement,

(ix) Travelling allowance to family to home place,

(x) Retention of government accommodation by family for a specified period,

(xi) Assistance from welfare and compassionate funds,

(xii) Funeral expenses can be met by government,

(xiii) Employment of one dependent of the deceased government servant in relaxation of the recruitment rules, and

(xiv) Medical assistance to family members

C B SHARMA

SOCIAL SECURITY FOR WORKERS

The term "social security" signifies the formal assumption of specified risks by the state through legislation Social security legislation binds individuals and their dependent members with the state through social contracts which establish mutual obligations and benefits By its very nature social security must rest upon compulsory dues payable either by workmen or employers, or both, in return for specific obligations and transfer payments made in cash or kind by the government The social security system must be compulsory with no option for individuals to leave or join except in terms of employment contracts which must also be in accordance with law The more elaborate the social security system the greater is the element of compulsion and the smaller is the scope of individual choice Likewise, it also delimits the scope of collective bargaining The sphere of social security usually lies outside that of collective bargaining In view of obvious restrictions on individual choice as well as on trade unions, if the demand for social security nonetheless continued to grow it was because of its liberating character Having been freed from the responsibility of assuming anticipated risks of disease, ill-health, injury, retirement, unemployment and premature death, the individual is free to devote his energy to seek other ends, both material and cultural, for which he might otherwise have no time or money In the same manner the trade unions are also enabled to concentrate on purely bilateral issues and secure more benefits for their members In a tripartite system the unions may also be involved in the overall governance of the social security system

In view of the above approach, all other schemes which do not rest upon legislation should stand logically excluded from the scope of the term 'social security' Bilateral agreements between unions and managements, or unilateral employer determined schemes providing for protection of workers and their families against certain risks, such as, temporary unemployment, retirement and medical benefits, etc would not lie within the scope of the term even though they may be as extensive as a formal social security scheme under the aegis of the state Likewise, purely informal arrangements within the joint family system for the care of the aged and the needy should also be excluded However, private plans which derive their sanction from legislation and are accountable to the government in important respects, may be included Thus defined, the term "social security" becomes restrictive, no doubt, but the advantage is that it unambiguously stands for the assumption of social responsibilities by the state through a legally executed social contract In India, the restricted definition is also in keep-

ing with the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution and the long-run responsibilities of the state prescribed therein

The Constitution enjoins upon the state in the Directive Principles to make "effective provisions for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want" subject to its economic capacity and development (Article 42) Despite the Constitutional directive the government has not been able to ratify any substantive social security convention of the ILO The only convention, which is essentially procedural in nature, which this country has ratified is the one on Equality of Treatment (social security) of 1962

In India the social security schemes do not form part of a comprehensive plan As yet a large majority of population has remained uncovered, though certain benefits such as health care and educational facilities are gradually being extended to reach the entire population They are also partial in the sense that each scheme follows a different set of definitions and the total coverage does not add upto a comprehensive whole In the discussion that follows these aspects will be explained The concluding remarks will dwell upon the course of action that might be considered if the existing partial schemes are to be integrated into a comprehensive social security system for organised workers

SIZE OF WORKING CLASS

According to data released by the Directorate General of Employment and Training the total employment in the public and private sectors stood at 228 lakhs in 1979 This figure excludes establishments employing less than 10 workers A large body of employees do not lie within the purview of DGET (Director General Employment & Training) and are thus excluded However the figure comes close to the number of potential participant employees likely to be covered by one or more social security legislation In 1979, public sector establishments, including the railways, accounted for nearly two-thirds (155 8 lakhs) of employment, the "large" private sector establishments, employing 25 or more workers, had 64 5 lakh employees, and the remaining 7 7 lakh employees were employed in "small" private establishments employing 10-24 workers

An important consideration in the context of possible extension of social security schemes is to know where the future beneficiaries are employed, whether the employments are perennial or seasonal, whether the jobs are regular or irregular, and to have a reliable estimate on the ability to pay of both employers and employees It appears that, by and large, the greater increase in employment generation has occurred in categories of employment with a rather low social security potential These are agriculture, rural development, village and small-scale industries, construction and other services It is only in public administration that substantial employment potential happens to coincide with the requirements of social security schemes In the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) the total employment in standard person years, (based on an individual working for 8 hours a day for 273 days of the year) for 1979-80 was estimated at 1511 10 lakhs This estimate is not comparable with the DGET figure, nevertheless, it is evident that the latter comprises only about 15 per cent of the total While evaluating the scope of social security in India it is this magnitude that may be kept in view

SOCIAL SECURITY HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Retirement benefits, such as provident funds, pension plans and gratuity have been in existence for a much longer period than the legisla-

tion on these subjects Even now a number of private schemes continue to operate and are recognised by the government under the various legislations Moreover, a large number of employees, who are not workers and draw salaries above the stipulated statutory ceilings, are not covered by the social security statute They are protected by private schemes which are often better in a number of respects

The oldest social security legislation in the country is the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923 It was widened in 1926 to reflect the ILO Convention on Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases) of 1925 In 1959 it underwent important amendments in respect of waiting period, amount of compensation, periodicity of payment, etc The legislation was again amended in 1962 and 1976 The last amendment has substituted an upward revised schedule of compensation payable in the event of death, permanent total disablement and temporary disablement This was needed because the old schedule of 1962 had become out of date both in respect of monthly wages as well as of compensation The Act was extended to Jammu & Kashmir in 1970

The next major step was taken with the passage of the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948 Although this Act does not ratify any convention as such, it does take into account a number of requirements dealing with sickness insurance in industry Earlier, in 1931, the Royal Commission on Labour had pointed out that in the absence of an estimate of incidence of sickness among workers it would not be possible to have an insurance scheme Nevertheless, in 1940 it was decided to ascertain the extent of support to the idea of a contributory "Health Insurance Fund" among the employers and worker In 1943 the government appointed Professor B P Adarkar to prepare a scheme for the purpose, and he did so in 1944 This was later on examined and modified by ILO experts and the aforesaid legislation was adopted in 1948 It was substantially amended in 1966, and again in 1975

Retirement benefits, prior to the legislation on provident fund, had existed for railway workers only The first major legislative step was taken for the benefit of coal miners, entitled The Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Scheme Act, 1948 This scheme became popular and gave rise to a demand for similar schemes in other industries The government decided to implement the idea on a wider scale with the promulgation of an ordinance towards the end of 1951 which was followed in 1952 by the enactment of the Employees' Provident Fund Act Three years later the Government of Assam launched a provident fund scheme for tea plantation workers In 1966, the Seamen's Provident Fund Act was also placed on the statute Though the Employees' Provident Fund Act, 1952, covered in the beginning only six industries, by 1979 it had been extended to 156 industries or classes of establishments The Act has been amended a number of times for extending its scope, expanding the benefits, and for starting new schemes

The Act underwent a major amendment in 1971 for starting the Employees' Family Pension Scheme This scheme provides protection to the family of the worker in the event of his premature death The EPF Act was amended again through an ordinance in 1976 for the purpose of introducing the Deposit-Linked Insurance Scheme The scheme provides a life insurance cover to all the members of the Employees Provident Fund and the Coal Mines Provident Fund without payment of any insurance premium. Now the families of a member are entitled to receive, in the event of his death, in addition to his provident fund accumulations, an amount equal to the average balance in the provident fund account in the last three years

Maternity benefits legislation commenced with the Bombay Maternity Benefit Act, 1929

This was followed by the C P Maternity Benefit Act, 1930 (in the then Central Provinces) Following the recommendations made by the Whitley Commission, a number of provinces passed legislation based upon the Bombay Act By 1953 all the States had maternity benefit legislation on their statute books However, the Government of India moved more slowly In 1941, a legislation for the mines had been enacted The main legislation came twenty years later The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961, covers the whole of India and all establishments except those under the purview of the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948 In 1972, this Act was amended to make sure that because of dual coverage no woman was left out of its benefits The Act was further amended in 1973 and 1976 for extending the coverage and improving the benefits

At present maternity benefits are provided both under the Employees' State Insurance Act and under the Maternity Benefits Act The number of claimants is, however, not very large In 1974, only 1 1 per cent of women employed in factories and plantations made claims The number of complaints are also few—in 1974 there were only 36 complaints in the factories and 157 in the plantations and none in the mines

As in respect of maternity benefits, so in the sphere of gratuity, the lead was given by the State Governments Kerala and West Bengal had passed legislation on this subject in 1970 and 1971 respectively This led to a demand for Central legislation with all-India coverage Thus, largely patterned on the West Bengal Act, the Payment of Gratuity Act, 1972 was passed by Parliament and was immediately enforced The Act covered 25,55,048 employees at the end of December 1978

The salient features of each social security scheme are briefly described below

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

Workmen's compensation is provided under the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923 Compensation is paid for accidents that lead to death or total or partial disablement for more than three days The accident should have occurred in course of employment Compensation is also payable for a number of occupational diseases which workers may contract in the course of employment

The Act applies to certain categories of workers earning wages upto Rs 1000 per month All factory, mine and plantation workers, other than clerks, are covered by the Act All those employed as seamen, in the loading and unloading, fuelling, constructing and repairing etc of ships, and related jobs, in the building and construction jobs including dams roads and bridges, canals and marine works and in many other similar occupations are protected under the Act The protected employments are listed under 32 subheads Similarly, the list of occupational diseases forms part of the Act However, employments of a casual nature are excluded

Responsiblity for the payment of compensation rests with the principal employer But no compensation is payable if the accident is caused by the fault of the workers, e g due to the influence of drinks, drugs, wilful disobedience of an order, etc A list of injuries that are deemed to result in permanent total disablement is given in Schedule I of the Act Therefore, whenever an injury of the kind specifically mentioned in schedule I is suffered, the worker concerned is "instantly entitled to compensation prescribed by the schedule without any further investigation" The rates of compensation are also prescribed In the case of death, the compensation payable ranges from Rs 7,200 at the lowest wage to Rs 30,000 for the highest. For permanent total disablement the compensation varies from Rs 10,000 to Rs 42,000 Compensation

for permanent partial disablement depends upon the calculation of the percentage loss suffered by the worker in his earning capacity

In all cases of fatal accidents, in respect of which the employer has admitted his liability, the full amount of compensation must be deposited with the commissioner It is the latter's responsibility to inform the dependents, who are defined in the law, and pay the amount The commissioner is the key authority under the Act for determining the nature of the accident or illness, the extent of disablement and the amount of compensation in all cases of partial disablement All disputes are settled by the commissioner Indeed, no court has any jurisdiction on any matter under this Act that requires to be settled, decided or dealt with by a commissioner The State Government may appoint one or more commissioners and regulate their work

The law allows the two parties to reach an agreement and get the memorandum of agreement registered with the commissioner The latter may enquire into the genuineness of an agreement and satisfy himself that the compensation payable is adequte and that the agreement has not been obtained by fraud or under the influence of improper means On the other hand, the commissioners are not allowed to entertain any application for the settelement of any matter unless some questions have arisen between the connected parties which they are unable to resolve Only dependents seeking compensation are allowed to approach the commissioners directly

Applications for reviewing half-monthly payments, payable due to partial disability and for legitimate reasons, can be made by either party Employers may seek a review if, since the determination of compensation wages have gone up Workers may do so for exactly the opposite reasons Reviews can also be sought if fraud or improper means are alleged to have been used and if there is a mistake or error apparent on the face of the record The commissioners have the added authority to invest the compensation money for the benefit of dependents in the approved manner[1]

The principal weaknesses of the Act are as follows first, the concept of unilateral liability of the employer has led to a tendency to evade the payment of compensation Employers cannot insure their liability and, therefore take recourse to unfair means Second the Act ignores the age of the victim Whether young or old the same compensation is payable In this respect the ESI Scheme is much better Third there are unavoidable complaints of delays and of paltriness of compensation Fourth conceptually, the Workmen's Compensation Act is out of date and does not accord to international norms

At one stage the government had mooted a proposal for amending the Act with a view to extending its provisions to ships and aircraft registered in India so that compensation could be paid for accidents occurring abroad The government had also considered the idea of (i) removing the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children, (ii) inclusion of adopted children on par with the natural born, (iii) providing for the rights of unborn children at the time of death of workman who are subsequently born alive, (iv) providing for the totally dependent, divorced daughters, and amending the term "dependent" in a number of other ways Likewise it was proposed to include casual labour within the coverage of the Act to abolish the existing wage-limit and to redefine the term "workmen" to make it more broadbased In fact the proposals mooted by the government would have amounted to a comprehensive amendment of the Act However, the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in 1979 placed the amendment proposals in cold storage Until they are revived in the form of a new bill their fate must be deemed to be uncertain

SICKNESS INSURANCE

Industrial workers are principally covered by the Employees State Insurance Scheme under the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948 The scheme was inaugurated in 1952 and though it started on a small scale, it has gradually expanded to cover all the industrial centres, factories and establishments employing 20 or more persons The coverage of the scheme now extends, amongst others, to hotels, restaurants and newspapers establishments The ESI Scheme is the largest medical operation in the country It covers the whole of India and protects employees earning not more than Rs 1000 per month Government employees, universities and colleges and a number of other establishments are excluded from its purview The Central Government Health Scheme, started in 1954, now covers the Central Government employees, pensioners and widows of employees in all the major cities of India Where this scheme is in force the protection under the State Government schemes ceases

The ESI Scheme provides benefits in the events of sickness, maternity and employment injury The scheme also provides for dependents' benefits and extended medical care in certain illnesses even after the insured employee has stopped making contributions

The scheme is financed out of a common fund created by contributions made by employers and employees which may be supplemented by grants received from the Central and State Governments Whereas, employees' contributions are related to their average daily wages, employers may contribute either in accordance with the wage received by the employees or as a percentage of the total wage bill Workers earning less than Rs 2 per day are exempted from making any contribution The highest rate of contribution at Rs 3 75 is for those workers who earn Rs 24 and above per day The employers' contribution is twice that of the workers and it ranges from Rs 0 75 per week at the lowest, to Rs 7 50 at the highest This schedule may be waived if employers in an industry, on an all-India basis, agree to pay a stipulated percentage of the wage bill as their contribution Since 1970, in the implemented areas, this has stood at 4 percent of the wage bill [2]

The daily standard benefit rates vary with the wage level These range from rupee one per day for those earning less than Rs 2 per day to Rs 15 for those at the wage level of Rs 24 or more per day The number of beneficiaries is very large In 1975-76 nearly 390 lakh persons attended the dispensaries and clinics, over 2 11 lakh were admitted to hospitals, more than 43,000 received permanent disablement benefits, and more than 2 50 lakhs received temporary disablement benefits Likewise, there were beneficiaries in other categories as well In December 1981, the scheme covered 63 62 lakh employees By extending the duration of sickness benefit from 56 days to 91 days in 1977 the government has complied with the standards laid down by the I L O for the developing countries

The scheme provides dependents' benefit to the dependents (widow or children) in the event of an employment accident resulting in death The widow receives a pension all her life, or till she remarries, and the children till the age of 18 years In the case of daughters, the benefit is paid till they marry, or reach the age of 18 years, whichever is earlier In addition, a small amount of funeral benefit is also paid in cases of death of insured persons [3]

The ESI Scheme has been subjected to a number of reviews and appraisals On the whole, the review reports are favourable The review committee appointed in 1965 had recommended the extension of the scheme to all factories registered under the Factories Act and to all shops and commercial establishments employing 10 or more workers This has not been

implemented yet though the plea for raising the wage ceiling to Rs 1000 has been met as part of the statute The National Commission on Labour was of the opinion that the ESI should establish and finance medical institutes It had also recommended raising the wage limit for exemption from workers' contribution to Rs four per day and for formulating a scheme of 'no-claim bonus' with a view to eliminating false claims However, these recommendations have not yet found acceptance by the government

The ESI Scheme has been criticised for making very slow progress, for being too modest, and for not providing adequate medical services at any level that can be considered satisfactory Moreover, the scheme does not provide resettlement and rehabilitation of disabled persons who lose their jobs due to a second injury or retrenchment The scheme has also been found wanting on the grounds that the government does not contribute to the common fund, that its administration is not sufficiently democratic, and by the employers, for promoting absenteeism and indiscipline Evidently, the scheme is not able to cope with the demand for medical services among the insured personnel due to inadequate manning of medical personnel and insufficient supplies of drugs and medicines There are also complaints that occupational diseases are neglected often due to lack of training amogst the insurance doctors In order to review the working of the ESI scheme the government has recently set up a high power committee to examine the substantive as well as the administrative and procedural aspects of the Act Judged by the questionnaire issued, the committee will examine every significant complaint and suggestion for improvement including possibilities of expanding the coverage of the scheme to establishments and work force not yet covered by it

RETIREMENT BENEFITS

There is no general retirement benefit in the country In the organised sector, retirement benefits take the form of provident funds, pension plans connected with the provident funds and gratuity The government usually provides its employees some retirement benefit or the other Permanent employees of the Central Government receive pension, in addition to gratuity and the accumulated amount contributed by them to their provident funds In a number of situations the government offers the employees some choice, viz, as between a pension and gratuity, or a lumpsum payment of the provident fund and gratuity The employer's responsibility towards the retired person ceases with the payment of his claims

Retirement benefit is provided through the provident fund legislation, and an additional benefit has been secured through the Payment of Gratuity Act, 1972 However, in both cases, lumpsum payments are payable to employees on termination of service There is no provision in law to preserve provident fund accounts of members until the age of retirement Therefore, in the case of persons who change jobs several times, it is possible that the retirement benefit may not be commensurate with the number of years in service In this sense both provident funds and gratuity fall short of the norms of social security

The principal legal instrument for providing provident funds and family pensions is the Employees Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1952 Before the amendment of 1976, it was called the Employees Provident Fund Act and its purpose was to institute compulsory provident funds in factories and establishments which would be under its coverage Prior to this legislation the government had operated a provident fund scheme under the Coal Mines Provident Fund and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1948 Under this Act, the Coal Mines Family Pension Scheme, 1971 and the Coal Mines Deposit-Linked Insurance Scheme, 1976 have been started These are patterned

after the principal schemes launched under the Employees' Provident Fund and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1952

The main legislation, The Employees Provident Fund and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1952, applies to all establishments employing 20 or more workers However, newly established factories and undertakings are exempted for five years, if they employ less than 50 employees, and for three years, if they employ more than 50 persons Once an establishment is covered by the Act, it cannot be withdrawn until the employment drops to 15 persons for a continuous period of one year The Act does not apply to cooperatives, tea plantations and tea factories in Assam (where a State legislation is in force) and certain categories of charitable institutions In 1963, the coverage of the Act was extended to contract workers by enabling the principal employer to recover the contributions from the contractors for the workers employed through them In September 1981 the number of subscribers to PF had stood at 113 10 lakh[4]

The employees' contribution to the provident fund was at first fixed at 6 25 per cent in establishments employing 50 or more workers Employers contribute an equal amount The aggregate amount is credited to the employee's provident fund account This amount cannot be assigned or charged and is not liable to attachment under any decree or order of court in respect of any debt or liability of the employee However, the full share of the employer's contribution cannot be claimed before the completion of 15 years in service and proportionately less for shorter spans of service If an employee becomes a member of the provident fund after attaining the age of 55 years, he is entitled to receive the full amount to his credit regardless of the length of his service

The contributions made by the employer are exempt from income tax upto a ceiling that is fixed by the Finance Act from year to year Similarly, the rate of interest to accrue on the provident fund account is also fixed by the Central Government and is exempt from income tax Full accumulations with interest are payable to the account holder, or his nominee, in the event of death, permanent disability, physical or mental incapacity to work, retirement, retrenchment, or migration from India, or leaving the service after the completion of 15 years In privately managed provident funds, set up under the Income Tax Act, the full share of employers' contribution accrues to the account holder on the completion of a shorter period, viz five years in most cases

In 1971, the Provident Fund Act was amended for introducing the Employees Family Pension Scheme The main purpose of the scheme is to protect the family of a worker in the event of his premature death Its coverage is the same as the provident funds and it is compulsory for those who join the provident fund after the introduction of the scheme The older members were given a choice of joining the scheme, and by the end of 1976 over 32 10 lakh account holders had opted for it The fund for financing this scheme is based on tripartite contributions The employee's share at 11/6 percent of his pay is transferred from the provident fund account to the Fund An equal contribution from the share of the employer is simultaneously made The Central Government also makes a cash contribution of 11/6 percent of the employee's pay and represents a net gain to the members collectively

The family pension is payable only after the contributions have been made for at least two years These range from Rs 40 to Rs 150 per member but go up to Rs 300 if death occurs after a membership lasts for 7 years The retirement benefit of Rs 4,000 is paid on superannuation at the age of 60 years, or earlier in the event of death, provided contributions had been paid for at least two years A life insurance cover of Rs 1,000 is also provided to younger members

However, in order to take advantage of this additional protection a worker should have become a member of the scheme before the age of 25 years The family pension scheme also provides for withdrawal benefits if, for reasons other than death, membership ceases before the age of 60 years, but not before a minimum of two years of membership is completed

The retirement age of 60 in the scheme is used only for computing the retirement benefit and is not to be treated as a condition of service On reaching this age the employee would cease to be a member of the Family Pension Fund If a member dies before this age, but has made contributions for two years, the amount to his credit in the fund together with interest at 5 5 percent per annum is refunded to the family member entitled to receive the pension (i e widow, or eldest surviving minor son or the eldest surviving unmarried daughter until she is 21 of age or gets married) There are a number of other rules for ensuring the safety of the fund, its proper investment and administration and for protecting the rights of members and their families Exemptions from the scheme may be granted to an employer only if he has a scheme which is more favourable to the employees

As already mentioned, in 1976 the Central Government amended the PF Act again to start the Employees' Deposit-Linked Insurance Scheme This is an added social security for members of the Employees' Provident Fund and the Coal Mines Provident Fund The main advantage is that members do not have to pay additional premium to cover the benefit which in the event of death, the dependents of the deceased members would receive as an additional amount This is equal to the average balance to the members' credit in the PF account in the last three years subject to a ceiling of Rs 10,000 There is yet another condition that this benefit can be claimed only if the average balance to the credit of the member is maintained at a minimum of Rs 1000 The contributions by the employers and the government are in the ratio of 2 1 Employers pay 0 5 percent of the aggregate wages every month In addition, the Central Government pays 0 25 percent The coverage of this scheme is the same as the EPF Act and the Coal Mines Provident Fund Act, and all members of the provident funds created under them are automatically insured This scheme was intended to benefit about 78 lakh employees in 1978

Since the provident fund legislation has imposed an additional cost upon the employer, there is a tendency to evade it The law has made provisions for penalty, including imprisonment for delay or default in payment of contributions to the Provident Fund Commissioner The EPF authorities are competent to recover damages from the erring employers even after a lapse of several years Indeed, the employees cannot be deprived of their claims whether or not the contributions were remitted by the employers However, despite the penal provisions, cases of non-compliance continue to occur Delays in the remittance of provident fund contributions are not uncommon and there are instances of misinvestments of funds Problems of arrears and misuse of provident fund accumulations are often linked with industrial sickness and mismanagement of industry in general In such cases the penal provisions of the Act are of little help

The problem of arrears has progressively worsened In September 1979 the arrears stood at Rs 22 54 crores as compared to Rs 12 17 crores in 1968-69 This increase has been attributed to adverse economic conditions in particular industries, e g the textile industry alone accounted for 50 per cent of total arrears in 1979 In a number of cases the establishments had gone into liquidation or had been taken over by the government In fact, once the money has been used as working capital and losses suffered, there is no practical way of recovering

the arrears The answer lies in prevention and in taking timely action so that delays in remittances do not occur The government must also find a solution to the problems of mismanagement and malpractices leading to sickness It has also been suggested that special courts may be set up for handlig legal cases relating to the Employees Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions Act Perhaps they will relieve the authorities of provident funds from legal problems who can then devote more time to detecting defaulting employers and preventing arrears from accumulating

GRATUITY

Gratuity is a form of retirement benefit But, since it is payable on the completion of five years of service it also takes the form of termination of service benefit The Payment of Gratuity Act, 1972 provides for a scheme of payment of gratuity to the employees in every factory, mine, oil field, plantation and railways and also to every shop and establishment in which 10 or more persons are employed Such other establishments or classes of establishments in which ten or more persons are employed can also be notified under the Act Under this Act an 'employee' is any person, not including one employed in an administrative or managerial capacity and who is employed on wages not exceeding Rs 1,000 per month Gratuity is payable by the employer to every such employee on the termination of continuous service for not less than five years, superannuation, retirement, resignation, or death or disablement This condition is waived in case of death or disablement

Continuous service is not deemed to be interrupted by sickness, accident, leave, lay-off, strike or lock-out or work stoppages not due to any fault of the employees Seasonal industries are also covered by the stipulation that a person should have been in service for not less than 75 per cent of the number of days the factory or establishment was in operation

Under the Act, wages include all emoluments but not bonus, commissions, house rent allowance, overtime and other allowances For piece-rated workers, daily wages are computed on the average of total earnings for three months preceding the termination of employment but excluding overtime wages The last drawn pay forms the basis of payment of gratuity Gratuity is calculated at the rate of 15 days' wage for every completed year or part thereof in excess of six months In seasonal establishments, gratuity is calculated at the rate of seven days' wages for each season But permanent employees in seasonal industries must be paid at the rate of 15 days of wages per year The total amount of gratuity is limited to 20 months' wages

MATERNITY BENEFITS

Maternity benefits are provided under both Central and State legislation but an employee can receive benefits only under one, not both The Central legislation, the Maternity Benefit Act, 1961, covers the whole country and every establishment except those to which the ESI Act is applicable This law lays down the eligibility conditions, the period for which the benefit is payable and the rates of benefit Six weeks of absence after delivery and the actual period of absence before are required to be compensated at the rate of average daily wages The maximum period of paid absence on account of maternity is 12 weeks Certain benefits arising out of illness or complications connected with pregnancy are also provided in the Act A woman's job is protected during this enforced absence

In 1974 this Act had been extended to 18,480 establishments employing about 300,000 women However only 3,140 women claimed

benefits under this Act Those covered by the ESI Act are in addition to this number and were about 18 400 in 1974

PRESENT POSITION AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

The aforesaid record of social security schemes shows that during the post-independence period the country has made considerable progress in making a beginning in the direction of a comprehensive social security system Indeed, the achievements during this period are in marked contrast to the extraordinary bleakness of the record of the colonial regime But in relation to the goals laid down in the Constitution it appears that the series of steps taken thus far mark only a beginning

Indeed the most rapid progress was made in the first decade after Independence (1947-57) Not a single new scheme was introduced in the second decade (1957-67) though the existing schemes, i e ESIC and P F were enlarged and extended to industries and areas not yet covered In addition, in a numer of States, labour welfare funds were also constituted, but they cannot be mistaken even as a remote proxy for social security The only genuine expansion of social security took place in the third decade (1967-77), mostly in the form of retirement benefits, insurance cover to meet untimely death, etc Moreover, all existing schemes were also updated and improved But there the matter rests

The basic problems of Indian social security system are (a) its relatively narrow population base and (b) its fragmentary legal and organisation character The former weakness is the more serious one So far social security schemes have been confined to the employees in the organised sector Permanent government employees in civil and military establishments also enjoy similar benefits, often on a higher scale Very gradually the Central Government has extended the scope of these schemes viz health insurance, pension-cum-gratuity-cum-provident fund schemes etc to semi-government employees as well But basically social security has retained the character of a privilege reserved for employees in the organised sector who, however, comprise no more than 10-15 per cent of the work force

The regrettable omission of social security in the Sixth Plan implies that there is no proposal for integrating the set-up under the various statutes into a common framework with a common set of definitions of workers (or employees), wages (or earnings), dependents, etc and a common legal code, not even for integrating the ESI Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Maternity Benefit Act Since it is not possible to have a unified system of social security until the laws are rationalised, which in turn would pave the way for merger of existing organisations and the creation of a new set-up, it may be assumed that the much needed advance in this direction has not yet been placed on the agenda for action Nevertheless, such progress as may yet be made will depend largely upon the reports of the various review committees and the legislative programme of the government

Even if radical changes in the existing set up cannot be contemplated, it should be possible for the government to remove a number of anomalies First, the terms "Worker" or "Workman" should be replaced in every social security legislation by the term 'employee' The purpose would be to abolish irrelevant class distinctions between workers and supervisors The only category that may be left out of the scope of the term "employee" is the term, 'manager' This would rest upon the presumption that employers will devise private social security plans for managers that are, at the minimum, no less beneficial than the statutory schemes Second, the wage/salary

ceiling should be high enough to include all personnel who are not managers This may be fixed at Rs 2,000 per month and should be uniform to all establishments Third, the distinction between industrial and non-industrial employments should be abolished The basic test should be that, above the exempted size-class of establishments whichever categories of employees are not covered by the existing schemes should be progressively brought under their coverage These may be banks, trade or commercial establishments, non-profit activities, public utilities or quasi-government bodies, etc The statute should establish common rights for all employees and their families and, then, seek complete coverage subject only to organisational and financial limitations

It is obvious that even if these legislative reforms are implemented the country would still be far from its goal However, the government would have advanced from an apparently frozen position and the possibility for further progress would open up It may be added that in the sphere of social security the long-term national interest is identical with those of the employees Through this instrument the developmental process acquires a personal meaning for every protected family, the process of alienation of people vis-a-vis the state is reversed, society takes a quantum jump in creating integrative bonds on a tripartite basis and the pace of democratisation of society is speeded up

C K JOHRI

NOTES

1 For a historical review of the Act and other legislation, see P K Sinha, *Social Security Measures in India*, Classical Publications, New Delhi, 1980

2 Government of India, *Indian Labour Year Book*, Labour Bureau, Simla, 1977 p 264

3 For a brief review of legal aspects of the various schemes under the Act see N D Kapoor *Hand Book of Industrial Law* Sultan Chand & Sons Delhi, 1980

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SOCIAL WELFARE BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES (URBAN AND RURAL)

Welfare services are provided by a wide array of agencies at different levels including local authorities in urban and rural areas According to the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, local government may be loosely defined as a public organisation authorized to decide and administer a limited range of public policies within a relatively small territory which is a sub-division of a regional or national government The local authority is at the base of the pyramid of governmental institutions, with the national government at the apex and the intermediate governments in States, regions or provinces occupying the middle position [1] Local authorities are broadly classified as urban and rural It is noteworthy that while organisation of village panchayats is one of the Directive Principles of State Policy (Article 40) under the Constitution urban local government does not find a place therein [2] Local authorities are creatures of State statutes except for such authorities in the Union Territories without legislatures and Cantonment Boards which have their orgin in Union laws

Starting in 1687 with Madras, local authorities have traversed a long journey The ancient

local bodies were constituted on the basis of caste and thier duties were confined to revenue collection and protection of life However, present day local authorities provide a wide range of services A British Royal Commission grouped the services of local authorities under two heads (a) environmental' and (b) 'personal services'—which in the Indian context would be education, health, housing etc and are termed as 'social services'[3] The term social welfare services is used to refer to that set of services which are intended to meet the special needs of persons and groups who by reason of social, economic, physical or mental handicaps are unable to make use of or are traditionally denied the use of amenities normally provided by the community[4]

PATTERNS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Local authorities in India are broadly divided into two main patterns viz panchayati raj and municipal administration Panchayati raj covers the rural population and consists of a three-tier system of popular institutions, from the village to the district known as the Gram Panchayat the Panchayat Samiti and the Zila Parishad The nomenclature however, varies from State to State There are at present five types of urban local authorities in the country These are (1) Municipal Corporations, (2) Municipalities, (3) Notified Area Committees, (4) Town Area Committees, and (5) Cantonment Boards While the first four types are created under State laws cantonment boards owe their existence to a Central Act called the Cantonment Act, 1924

LOCAL AUTHORITIES—RURAL

Following the recommendations of the Balwantray Mehta Committee,[5] almost all States have introduced the panchayati raj system for local governance in the rural areas of the country An examination of the organisational structure of panchayati raj institutions in various States and Union Territories shows that even though the goals and objectives are similar, the functions, powers, mode of representation, personnel pattern and the nature of inter-relationships among the different tiers are not uniform[6] The three tier system of panchayati raj consisting of gram panchayats, panchayat samitis and zila parishads, is in existence in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and the Union Territories of Arunachal Pradesh and Chandigarh The two tier system consisting of gram panchayats and panchayat samitis is in operation in the States of Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa There are only gram panchayats in Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Manipur, Sikkim, Tripura Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Delhi and Goa, Daman and Diu These institutions are set up under different Acts At the other levels the pattern of general administration prevails At the end of March 1979, there were 2,12 105 gram panchayats in the country covering 5 98 lakh villages which, in turn, constitute 98 per cent of villages in the country In addition, there were 4,469 panchayat samitis and 252 zila parishads[7] in 1979

Based on various panchayati raj Acts, there are Subject Committees and Standing Committees to look after different development functions at the local level At gram panchayat level, the States of Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh have committees on social welfare At panchayat samiti level, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar Gujarat and West Bengal have standing committees on social welfare In Andhra Pradesh, in adddition to social welfare, there is a separate committee on women's welfare At the apex tier of Zila Parishad, Bihar, Gujarat and Maharashtra have committees exclusively for social welfare States like Him-

achal Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and the Union Territory of Chandigarh have merged social welfare with other subjects such as administration, health and education[8] In Maharashtra, according to a recent amendment, it is a statutory requirement that the social welfare subject committee shall be presided over by a councillor belonging either to scheduled castes or scheduled tribes The district social welfare officer is the *ex-officio* secretary of this committee

LOCAL AUTHORITIES—URBAN

While basically rural local authorities and urban local authorities are similar, the main difference concerns their system of supervision and control Municipal institutions do not have any relationship among themselves and have no democratic controlling agency below the State level Structurally, urban local authorities follow more or less the same pattern in all States in respect of the elected council, system of committees, the executive, taxation powers, functions, etc However, differences exist depending on the size and area of the city/town, in respect of size of the council, extent of delegation of authority, and quantum of control exercised by the State authorities Municipal corporations enjoy more autonomy and are somewhat strongly placed in the matter of mobilisation of resources Municipalities, however, have to depend more on State Governments both in administrative as well as financial matters

FUNCTIONS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The Acts enumerate in detail the functions which are expected to be performed by various local authorities These functions may be obligatory or discretionary An obligatory duty is one for which the local authority shall make adequate provision, while, in respect of discretionary duties, the local authority may, in its discretion, undertake them wholly or partly

There is no uniformity with regard to the nature and types of functions assigned to panchayati raj bodies in different States In Punjab, under the Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishad Act, 1961, panchayat samitis have been assigned the functions of (a) establishing information, community and recreational centres, (b) formation of yuvak mandals, mahila mandals, farmers clubs, etc, (c) establishment of libraries, and (d) encouragement to sports and games In Andhra Pradesh, the welfare programmes transferred to panchayati raj bodies under the A P Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads Act 1954 are (a) rural housing schemes, (b) eradication of untouchability, (c) programmes for women and children in rural and tribal areas, (d) maintenance of diseased beggars' homes, and control of vagrancy, and (f) promotion of voluntary social welfare organisations In Gujarat, under the Gujarat Panchayats Act, 1961, the taluka panchayat is responsible for (a) rural housing, (b) prohibition, (c) welfare programme for women and children, (d) maintenance of craft centres, welfare centres, and educational centres for women and children, and (e) establishment and maintenance of beggar homes The district panchayat is entrusted with (a) assistance to institutions of social welfare, (b) organisation of social welfare programmes in the district, and (c) arrangement of fairs and festivals other than those organised by the government[9]

A review of the distribution of functions related to social welfare among different tiers of panchayati raj within the country in 1969 showed that only four states, viz, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, had social welfare listed among their functions out of a total of 13 States having zila parishads It was also seen that the middle tier, viz panchayat samiti had been assigned a paramount position in social welfare These social welfare activities include balwadis, programmes for

women and children, disabled persons, and diseased beggars, and promotion and coordination of voluntary welfare agencies [10]

As regards urban local authorities, a majority of the Municipal Corporation Acts and Municipal Acts contain provisions relating to social welfare Among the Municipal Corporation Acts, Section 115 of the U P Nagar Mahapalika Adhiniyam (1959), Sections 43 and 44 of the Delhi Municipal Corporation Act (1957) and Section 141 of the Kerala Municipal Corporation Act (1961), for instance, spell out the obligatory and discretionary functions of municipal corporations regarding social welfare To illustrate, construction and maintenance of hospitals, dispensaries, and primary schools, care of the mentally ill and leprosy affected, organisation of services for maternity and child welfare, contribution of funds for relief of human suffering, provision of dwellings for the poor, shelter for destitute and homeless persons, and poor relief,are enumerated as obligatory and discretionary social welfare functions in Sections 63, 65 and 66 of the Bombay Provincial Municipal Corporation Act (1949) When compared to the Municipal Corporation Acts the scope of social welfare is considerably restricted in the case of Municipal Acts Among these Acts, section 150 of the Himachal Pradesh Municipal Act (1956), section 394 of the Bengal Municipal Act (1932), sections 351 to 357 of the Orissa Municipal Act (1950) and section 49 of the Maharashtra Municipalities Act (1965) specify the different obligatory and discretionary social welfare functions entrusted to the municipalities However, the Municipal Acts of Andhra Pradesh (1965), Karala (1960) and Madras (1920) do not make any direct reference to social welfare

This leads us to conclude that the local authorities in rural and urban areas have statutory responsibilities for rendering social welfare services in the geographical areas over which they have jurisdiction But in actual practice, most panchayat and municipal bodies perform very few social welfare functions Their inability to provide adequately for basic civic amenities has been a matter of concern While there has been considerable increase in the incidence of problems due to urbanisation and industrialisation, the welfare functions of local authorities have not expanded much over the years Nevertheless, the municipal corporations in metropolitan cities are rendering social and welfare services to a somewhat greater extent than the other municipal bodies, doubltess due to their better financial position

SOCIAL WELFARE BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

While in several newly liberated developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, welfare services are centrally directed, among developed countries, Britain provides a good example of the growth of social welfare services at the local level A long time after the 'Poor Law' welfare provisions, Great Britain set up in 1948 local authority children's departments and added preventive family welfare services in the 1960's Since 1971, based on the recommendations of the Seebohm Committee, every local authority in the United Kingdom has a fully autonomous department of personal social services as a major unit of local government [11] While certain services are mandated by legislation (care for the dependent, the neglected, delinquent, the disabled and aged), other services are 'permissive', varying with local preferences, needs and resources Probation and parole remain part of the correctional system except in Scotland where these functions are looked after by local authorities

A unique feature of Yugoslavia is the system of self-management at local level based on 'communities of interest', which also include child welfare, women's welfare, and care of disabled persons In the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany, the accent is

on voluntary agencies for delivery of welfare services at local level along with public agencies In East European countries, volunteers play a crucial role Poland has about 65,000 volunteers providing referral, counselling and guidance to the needy at the local level They are mostly retired civil servants devoting 2-3 days a week to social welfare The 1966 Canada Assistance Act provides for a 50 50 federal-provincial cost sharing for welfare services at local level [12] Though varying in scope and content, personal welfare services are well established at the local level in the developed countries

SOCIAL WELFARE BY RURAL LOCAL AUTHORITIES—A REVIEW

Some writers have attempted to identify the bottlenecks in smooth implementation of social welfare programmes by panchayati raj bodies These include (a) lack of finance, (b) inadequate data on the needs of the rural population, (c) lack of trained personnel, (d) absence of proper leadership, (e) dominance of the upper castes over the backward classes, (f) low priority given to social welfare in budgetary allocations, (g) inexperience in organising welfare services, (h) diversion of social welfare funds to other sectors, (i) failure of cooption as a mechanism for the involvement of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and women in the decision-making process, and (j) inadequate representation for weaker sections on panchayati raj bodies [13]

In most of the States there is no separate unit handling social welfare in the zila parishad At the local level, most of the social welfare programmes are executed by the Directorate of Social Welfare In Andhra Pradesh, the functions of the district social welfare officer include acquisition of land for distribution as house-sites for weaker sections The Evaluation Committee on Panchyayati Raj recommended that there should be a separate organisation in the zila parishad for dealing with the subject of social welfare, the parishad social welfare officer should be declared as a head of department and the post upgraded to class I rank It also recommended that at the level of the panchayat samiti, the subject of social welfare should be dealt by the extension officer (panchayats) [14] However the Committee was silent on the aspect of social welfare organisation at gram panchayat level

Gradually, panchayati raj institutions are getting divested of various development functions and the concerned personnel are being drawn back into the relevant parent departments for programme implementation, bypassing these local bodies on the plea of political interference and structural inadequacies [15] Broadly speaking, the growth and decline of social welfare activities by rural local authorities is linked with the rise and fall of panchayati raj institutions which seem to have undergone three phases since inception the phase of ascendancy (1954-1964), the phase of stagnation (1965-69), and the phase of decline (after 1969) [16]

SOCIAL WELFARE BY URBAN LOCAL AUTHORITIES—A REVIEW

During the post-independence period, separate departments/deirctorates of social welfare have been set up at Union and State levels, buttressed by promotion of voluntary agencies through the Central Social Welfare Board An analysis of the delivery of welfare services in urban areas reveals that the general tendency has been to bypass municipal bodies in the provision of welfare programmes Many of the urban local bodies, in particular municipalities, do not possess any administrative organisation for promotion of social welfare and community organisation However a noteworthy attempt to provide municipal bodies with some administrative machinery in this regard has been the launching of urban community development projects in some cities An evaluation report on these projects recommended their continuation

and further expansion on a priority basis [17] Yet, many of these projects have ceased to function

A study of the social welfare services actually provided by different municipal corporations shows that beggar homes, homes for the leprosy affected and cash assistance to destitute old persons without means of support, have received attention Many municipal bodies do not implement social welfare schemes, except perhaps marginally In municipalities, social welfare programmes if any, are largely handled either by their education wing or by the general administration wing In the case of municipal corporations the administration of welfare services is generally entrusted to the social welfare unit and in its absence to health and education units Generally, welfare programmes are managed by administrative officers of the executive branch The Delhi Municipal Corporation has a Department of Community Services which deals with public relations emergency relief and social education In addition the corporation aids a number of voluntary agencies It is desirable for the municipalities to have a separate division for social welfare headed by an officer of suitable rank to plan and implement welfare services The functionaries and elected representatives of local bodies need to be oriented to the changing horizon of social welfare through short-term orientation courses, seminars and workshops

The performance of local authorities in creating community awareness and enlisting community participation in social welfare programmes has been far from satisfactory [18] Many welfare services are organised in such a way that the beneficiaries or clients are unwilling to take advantage of the institutional programmes However, the efficient delivery of social welfare services would depend on an efficient municipal administrative structure and liberal income transfers from government

FINANCES OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

Local bodies derive their income from three major sources (a) tax resources comprising property tax, including water tax, conservancy and drainage tax, octroi and terminal taxes and other miscellaneous taxes like vehicle, cinema tax, etc , (b) non-tax resources comprising fees, fines, etc , and (c) share of taxes and grants from State Government [19] As early as 1951, the Local Finance Enquiry Committee noted that the finances of local bodies are inadequate for performing even the basic functions entrusted to them [20] Thus, although local authorities are expected to provide a variety of social welfare services, actual conditions do not always correspond to the legal provisions laid down in various panchayati raj and municipal Acts

A recent study on expenditure for social welfare by corporations shows that Cochin and Madras earmarked more than one per cent of their budget for social welfare while Allahabad, Indore, Madurai and Raipur allocated less than one per cent Varanasi did not provide any funds for social welfare Delhi, Poona and Sholapur did not show any budget provision even though they reported some programmes [21] This discrepancy could have been due to the difficulty in separating the provision for general social welfare programmes from special social welfare programmes

A higher priority for social welfare is called for by local authorities Quite often, even the meagre resources earmarked for welfare schemes are frittered away as schemes are initiated without proper planning This has to be checked

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

In the final analysis, to improve the planning and development of social welfare services by rural local authorities, some steps are necessary

e g (a) creation of statutory committees on social welfare at every tier, (b) reorganisation of social welfare as a separate technical department, (c) creation of posts at district and block level separately for women and child welfare, youth welfare, Harijan welfare and tribal welfare, (d) earmarking of funds on the basis of population with stipulation against reappropriation, and (e) as far as possible, professionalization of the administration of welfare services to improve the quality of service delivery

In regard to urban areas, the Sixth Plan recognised the need "to strengthen local bodies organisationally as well as financially so that they can themselves improve the infrastructure and services in their towns"[22] The Conference on Social Welfare at Local Authority Level (1969) suggested some programmes which could be added to the social welfare functions of urban local government These are adult literacy and adult education, comprehensive urban community development, programmes for family and child welfare, institutions for care, treatment, training and rehabilitation of socially handicapped persons like orphans, destitutes, physically handicapped and the aged, community recreation and cultural programmes, disaster relief welfare of backward classes, housing, social security programmes like old age pensions, slum prevention, improvement and clearance, welfare of pavement dwellers, labour welfare programmes, workers' education, prevention of crime and delinquency[23] As stated earlier, at present only some of these form part of the welfare function and that too only under municipal Acts Reviewing the performance of local bodies, the Rural-Urban Relationship Committee observed that, it noticed a sense of despair and lack of confidence in the capacity of local bodies to tackle problems that face the towns and the cities[24] Analysing their organisational situation, the report expressed anguish at the deep malaise and insecurity of tenure of several democratically constituted local bodies reflected in the growing tendency on the part of State Governments to take over more and more local functions either directly or by creating special purpose agencies[25] This has been justified mainly on grounds of poor performance and inefficiency of local bodies, inadequacy of efficient staff, factionalism, maladministration, and indifference of citizens to civic affairs Similar views have been echoed time and again on the state of panchayati raj bodies Political scientists attribute this phenomenon of managerial malaise to incompatibility between the acculturation processes of bureaucratic elites and the political elites While the former is supposedly wedded to "rationalistic" values, the latter is a harbinger of "particularistic" values deeply grounded in their socio-cultural milieu Hence the main concern is given the economic and administrative circumstances of urban and rural local authorities in India, how to strengthen and expand their social welfare functions? Three major trends need to be taken cognisance of Firstly, as stated earlier, there has been a gradual earosion of the functions of local authorities in the rural and urban areas Secondly, governmental intervention has been on the increase and many new special purpose agencies are being set up to perform functions which could be performed by local bodies in the sphere of development and welfare Corporations are being set up for the welfare of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, women, and the handicapped in several States Thirdly, of late, voluntary agencies are entering the arena of delivery of social welfare service in urban and rural areas catering to the needs of women and children and other needy groups The growing multiplication of specialized functional corporations at State and city levels and their tendency toward expansion are bound to create structural strains for local self-government Keeping in view the record of experience of the failure of local self-government, and the emerging conflicts and challenges in institutional and

functional terms eroding the concept of local self-government, the future of social welfare at local level seems to lie in the convergence of State efforts in strengthening of local administration rather than in local self-government alone

There is a large gap between supply and demand for services Bridging this unmet demand for welfare services is indeed a difficult task Needless to add, the pivotal participants of the system—the citizens—need to play an active role both as purveyors and recipients of the services and also to ensure a minimal quality of service delivery

MUKKAVILLI SEETHARAM

NOTES

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SOCIAL WELFARE STATISTICS IN INDIA

Availability of valid and up-to-date statistics is now commonly regarded as an essential prerequisite for effective planning for development For carrying out any work programme, seven distinct phases can be usually identified (i) assessing needs, (ii) surveying availabilities, (iii) identifying gaps, (iv) formulating policies and programmes for reducing these gaps, (v) implementing the programmes, (vi) monitoring of progress and feedback of achievements through timely reporting, and (vii) appraisal and evaluation

Reliable statistics on different aspects of the work programme are required virtually in all the seven phases cited above for successful implementation of the programme In the economic development plans of developing countries, considerable emphasis is, therefore, laid on setting up of appropriate data base for different sectors of the economy

In the initial stages of our planning process it was felt that rapid growth of national income and per capita product could be considered as the optimum strategy for national welfare However, with the passage of time there has been a growing disillusionment with such measures of economic growth alone It is now generally recognised that improvement of quality of life cannot be achieved merely by an increasing material capital investment The importance of human capital is now widely accepted as a major contributory factor to the growth process There is also a much greater degree of awareness of problems connected with inequality in income or the distribution of the benefits of public services and facilities amongst different sections of the society Thus, besides growth in national income, emphasis is being laid in current development plans on ensuring wider diffusion of the benefits of the growth process, and for this purpose it is realised that much greater attention needs to be paid on timely compilation and maintenance of social statistics Social statistics, however, have a very wide coverage as they comprise all statistics relating to society, including social structure, social life, social services, social welfare and social security

An operational classification of social statistics in terms of their relation to observable social actions and conditions was suggested under the following ten heads by Prof M Mukherjee[1] at the National Seminar on Social Statistics organised by the Central Statistical Organisation in collaboration with the Indian Council of Social Science Research, the Indian Statistical Institute, and the United Nations Children's Fund in 1975 (i) population and vital events, immigration, emigration and tourism, (ii) labour conditions, manpower and employment, (iii) consumption, income, level of living, disparity, recreation and leisure, (iv) housing and environment, sanitary services, and water supply, (v) health and nutrition, (vi) education, research, culture and religion, (vii) welfare and social security, (viii) justice, crime, delinquency, public safety and order, (ix) groups, classes, institutions, and their behaviour, and (x) others

In this article only one important aspect of social statistics, namely the present status of statistics pertaining to social welfare, will be discussed

SCOPE OF SOCIAL WELFARE STATISTICS

The scope of social welfare statistics in any country is generally determined by the scope of social welfare services and programmes undertaken in the country concerned There are several concepts of social welfare services which are in vogue The restricted or the narrower concept is based on the 'residual' approach, while a wider concept uses an 'institutional' approach The residual view of social welfare services con-

siders welfare as an emergency function to be utilised when the normal needs-meeting channels of the individual, the family and the market economy are unable to meet these needs adequately The institutional point of view about social welfare treats social welfare as a necessary function of society not only in relation to specific unmet needs for food, shelter and so on in times of crises but also as a normal service to help individuals realise their potential and achieve self-actualisation Social welfare statistics may thus refer in the restricted sense to those aspects which reflect all the facets of welfare of physically and socially handicapped, maladjusted and unadjusted individuals and groups, the aged, women and children needing special care In the broader sense, however, it may include those statistics which highlight the development of social services that enhance the quality of life of individuals and groups

There is yet another concept of social welfare statistics which includes all those statistics that would bring out the impact of all economic, social and even political measures which can promote the welfare of society and of the weaker sections in particular However, the most commonly used concept of social welfare statistics is based on the restricted definition cited above and refers to those statistics which deal with the special needs of persons and groups who by reason of some handicap—social, economic, physical or mental— are unable to avail themselves of, or are traditionally denied, the amenities and services provided to the general masses Social welfare services relate to a variety of fields such as family and child welfare, women's welfare, special nutrition for children, expectant and nursing mothers, labour welfare, social defence, rehabilitation of physically and mentally handicapped persons, etc

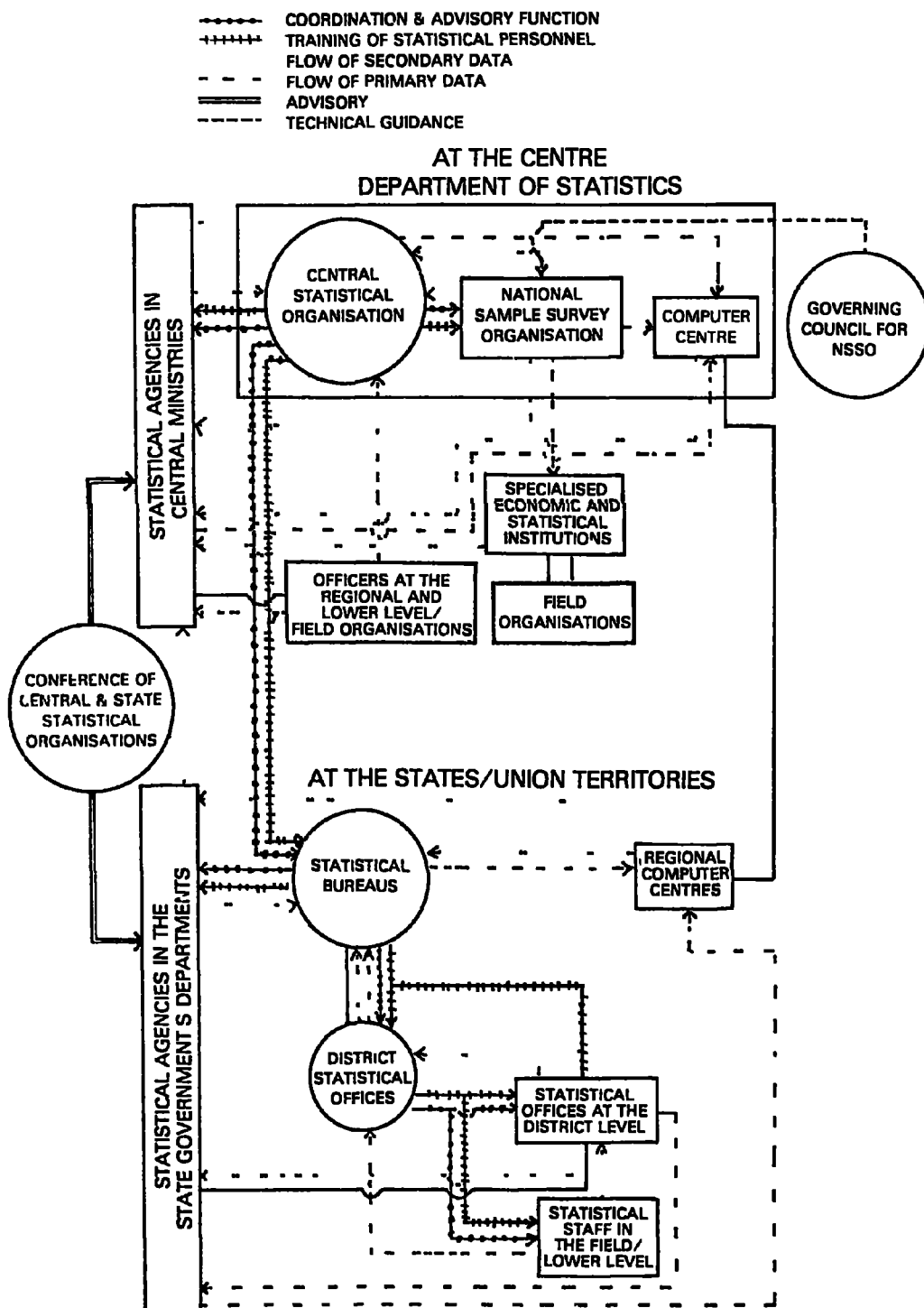
ROLE OF SOCIAL WELFARE STATISTICS

Social welfare statistics are essential measuring tools for planning, analysis and review of social welfare services and facilities These statistics are invaluable for identifying and conceptualising the problems of social welfare The statistical series enable planners to identify the components of trends and often provide clues to factors responsible for any malfunction and offer valuable guidelines for the planning of alternative options These statistics are needed virtually at every stage of the planning procees—for diagnosis of the social situation, identification of needs, determination of planning objective, development of policy, setting of priorities, formulation of projects, monitoring and implementation, and evaluation of progress Without such statistical series it is not possible to appraise the social welfare programmes on a rational basis particularly when dealing with the subtle and complex social mechanisms that concern vulnerable and weaker sections of the population

STATISTICAL SYSTEM

India has a federal statistical system with much of the statistical activity falling in the concurrent list of the Constitution where both the Central and State Governments operate The authority and responsibility for collection of statistics relating to a particular subject are determined by the overall responsibility for the subject under the Constitution The Central Statistical Organisation is responsible for coordination of statistical activities at the national level while the statistical activities at the State level are coordinated by the respective state statistical bureaux The enclosed chart on page 3 gives an overview of the statistical system existing in India

One of the weakest links in the Indian statistical system is perhaps social welfare statistics Work relating to social welfare services is decentralised and more than one Central Ministry is involved in implementing such programmes at

STATISTICAL SYSTEM IN INDIA

the national level Moreover, social welfare programmes are implemented in India not only by the Central and State Governments but also by a large number of voluntary organisations Social welfare statistics, therefore, concern several central ministries, state departments and other government or non-government agencies

One of the main obstacles which stood in the way of development of a proper system of social welfare statistics has been the relatively low priority given to this sector in the past This is apparent from the declining percentage of expenditure on both social services and social welfare services in the first three Five Year Plans (vide Table 'A') Even after the Third Five Year Plan the position has changed little in regard to plan expenditure on social services, although the percentage expenditure on social welfare services in relation to social services has shown a slightly rising trend from the Fourth Five Year Plan onwards It should, however, be noted that the expenditures shown in Table 'A' do not include the provisions made by the State Governments outside their plans for development of social welfare activities for which separate figures are not available Consequently, the precise trend in the percentage expenditure on social welfare services (both plan and non-plan) cannot be studied on the basis of available data The relatively low priority assigned to social welfare services in the earlier plan periods was probably based on the view prevalent at that time that social welfare should be primarily the concern of voluntary efforts Subsequent developments, however, brought into sharper focus the need for a sustained and larger role of government in welfare activities, this ultimately led to the establishment of a fullfledged Department of Social Security in the Ministry of Education in 1964 This Department was reorganised a couple of years later and was redesignated as the Department of Social Welfare and in 1979 as the Ministry of Social Welfare With increase in the scope of activities of the Department of Social Welfare, there has been a progressive induction of professional and technical personnel into the Ministry culminating in the setting up of a Planning, Research Evaluation and Monitoring (PREM) Division of the Department This Division is striving to systematise the collection of requisite statistics for planning, monitoring research and evaluation

Because of the absence of a regular agency in the past to coordinate the activities in diverse fields of social welfare, an appropriate strategy for development of statistical and other data in the social welfare sector could not be evolved, no regular statistical series could be planned or compiled in respect of the basic and operational statistics pertaining to the major social welfare services undertaken The data needs for social welfare had not always been spelt out in the light of the policies and objectives This resulted in the extreme paucity of reliable data on social welfare problems and programmes which in turn hindered effective policy formulation, planning and implementation of social welfare schemes Available social welfare statistics are compiled mostly as a by-product of reports brought out by the Ministry of Social Welfare, national voluntary organisations and bodies such as the Central Social Welfare Board National Institute of Social Defence (formerly Central Board of Correctional Services), National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development (formerly Central Institute of Research and Training in Public Cooperation), and other departments associated with certain social welfare aspects such as the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, the Department of Education, Department of Rehabilitation, Ministry of Home Affairs, etc While the Ministry of Social Welfare publishes the basic statistics covering different aspects of social welfare, various other agencies present social welfare statistics from their own perspectives and thus do not reflect a unified view of the social welfare services in the light of accepted policies and objectives The scope and coverage

TABLE—A
Plan Expenditure· Total, Social Services and Welfare Services

Plan	Total	Social Services	Social Welfare Services	Percentage of	
				Social Services to Total	Social Welfare Services to Social Services
	(Rs crores)				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
First Plan (1951-56)	1,960	412	1 60	21 02	0 39
Second Plan (1956-61)	4,672	727	13 44	15 56	1 85
Third Plan (1961-66)	8,577	1,296	19 40	15 11	1 50
Annual Plans (1966-69)	6,625	853	11 58	12 87	1 36
Fourth Plan (1969-74)	15,724	2,458	76 50	15 63	3 11
Fifth Plan* (1974-79)	28,257	4,237	58 89	14 99	1 39
Annual Plans					
1978-79	11,004	1,777	29 31	16 15	1 65
1979-80**	6,549	1,170	14 60	17 87	1 25
Sixth Plan (1980-85)					
1980-81***	14,832	2,075	47 93	13 99	2 31
1981-82	18,211	2,487	53 61	13 66	2 16
1982-83	21,357	2,953	72 77	13 83	2 46
1983-84	25,481	3,682	94 79	14 45	2 57

* The Fifth Plan was terminated in 1977-78 i e one year before its normal term of five years

** Relates to State sector only, expenditure on social welfare in Central sector was Rs 17 82 crores in 1979-80

*** Excludes advance plan assistance for relief against natural calamities

Source Ministry of Social Welfare, Government of India, New Delhi

of some of the important publications brought out by various Ministries/Departments/Organisations are briefly indicated in the next section

PUBLICATIONS DEALING WITH SOCIAL WELFARE STATISTICS

(1) Handbook of Social Welfare Statistics (Biennial) Brought out by the Ministry of Social Welfare since 1974, the "Handbook" brings together the social and welfare data available from diverse sources The issue consists of two parts devoted to social statistics and welfare statistics Social statistics are given in Part I under the heads, demography, vital statistics, health and family planning, education, employment, housing, backward classes, rehabilitation and levels of living, leisure and recreation Part II gives fairly comprehensive data on social welfare mainly at State level covering the following items plan outlays, child and women welfare programmes, welfare of physically handicapped, social defence, social work education, training and research, social security, Central Social Welfare Board and administrative set up

(2) Statistics brought out by the Central Social Welfare Board The Annual Report issued by the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) since its establishment in 1953-54 gives an account of the activities of the Board during the year The report presents information on plan expenditure in the States on various programmes operated by the Board like Mahila Mandals, holiday homes, welfare extension projects, working women's hostels, border area programmes, field counselling and inspectorates, socio-economic programmes, condensed courses of education for adult women, training and nutrition programmes, etc It also gives the amounts sanctioned for vocational training courses and other schemes under socio-economic programmes The Central Social Welfare Board also brings out *ad hoc* statistical compilations relating to its programmes

(3) Statistics of Community Development Blocks (Annual) This publication of the Department of Rural Development dealing with the general community development and tribal development blocks provides information on Balwadis/nurseries and Mahila Mandals in existence, number of drinking wells constructed and number of smokeless *chullas* installed, types of facilities in tribal development blocks, and number of Gram Sahayak training camps organised and number trained

(4) Special Tables for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Population Census, are issued in two parts Part I relates to scheduled castes and Part-II to scheduled tribes The Tables give detailed information on social, economic and demographic characteristics relating to the two groups of communities in the population census year

(5) Progress of Education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Annual) The publication brought out by the Ministry of Education and Culture describes educational facilities available to children belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and reviews the progress of education among the children of these classes, state-wise The data relate to the enrolment of children at different levels of education

(6) Crimes in India (Annual) This publication of the Bureau of Police Research and Development, brought out regularly since 1953, is the basic source of data on crime and juvenile delinquency The publication presents crime statistics relating to India at district, State and national levels It contains information on incidence of crime, persons arrested, disposal of cases by courts and extent of juvenile delinquency along with their socio-economic background

(7) Applied Nutrition Programme in Rural Development (Annual) Brought out by the Administrative Intelligence Division of the

Department of Rural Development, the publication presents the essential statistics relating to applied nutrition programmes, namely poultry, pisciculture, horticulture and feeding programme undertaken by the various States in India Some tables on persons trained in various fields under the programme are given

(8) Health Statistics of India (Annual) Brought out by the Central Bureau of Health Intelligence, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, the publication provides health statistics at the State level, with rural-urban breakdown where practicable The data include morbidity and mortality by causes, results of special surveys on leprosy and goitre control, maternity and child health services, social security services, immunization against cholera, plague, T B , etc

(9) Social Defence (Quarterly) It is a quarterly journal published by the National Institute of Social Defence of the Ministry of Social Welfare The publication provides State-wise and year-wise data on the different administrative aspects of the correctional services

(10) Indian Labour Statistics (Annual) Brought out by the Labour Bureau of the Ministry of Labour It contains *inter alia* statistics on the statutory labour welfare provisions, besides statistics on social welfare, child labour, women labour force, working conditions, etc

(11) Indian Labour Year Book (Annual) The Year Book brought out by the Labour Bureau, Ministry of Labour, provides an account of developments in the field of labour together with data on various aspects of labour including labour welfare, health and safety, and industrial housing

(12) Accidental Deaths and Suicides in India (Annual) The publication is being brought out by the Bureau of Research and Development of the Ministry of Home Affairs It has three parts Part I gives data on incidence of accidental deaths by natural and other causes and by sex and trend in volume of accidental deaths per one lakh population Part II deals with data on incidence of suicides classified by causes, means adopted, age groups and sex as well as trend in volume of deaths per one lakh of population Part III provides State-wise and metropolitan city-wise details of the accidental deaths and suicides

Apart from the above publications, some information is available on certain aspects of social welfare from many *ad hoc* reports or surveys conducted from time to time by various agencies Some of the important publications dealing with these aspects are detailed below

(1) Publications of the National Institute of Nutrition (NIN) and the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) are the major sources of information on health and nutrition status of children and pregnant and nursing mothers NIN, Hyderabad, has carried out a number of surveys on food and dietary intakes ICMR undertook a sample survey of the incidence of blindness all over the country

(2) UNICEF publication on Statistical Profile of Children and Youth in India in 1973 This publication was prepared for the UNICEF by the Institute of Economic and Marketing Research, New Delhi. The publication gives useful statistical data pertaining to children and youth It is divided in two parts Part I has sections on economy, demography, health, food, nutrition, child welfare and education Part II deals specifically with demography and statistical data on children, adolescents, and youth in underdeveloped districts of India A section 'Indicators of Economic Development at District Level' is also appended

(3) Five Year Plans The finalised or the draft five year plans contain some consolidated statistics on social welfare but these are mostly in terms of financial allocations and expenditures and programme goals and targets

(4) Reports of the Study Groups/Task Forces set up by Planning Commission The reports of such groups are an important source of information, statistical or otherwise, about the welfare programmes However, such reports are generally available only for official use

(5) Surveys Conducted by National Sample Survey Organisation The NSS has also covered aspects of social welfare in some rounds, e g 25th Round (1970-71) covers economic condition of weaker sections of population, 28th Round (1973-74) covers maternity and child care

Reports of studies, reviews, etc , brought out by some other agencies as listed below, contain useful information on certain aspects of social welfare Reports of (i) the National Institute of Social Defence, (ii) the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, (iii) Charity Commissioner of State Governments/Union Territories, (iv) Voluntary Social Welfare Organisations, (v) Directorates of Social Welfare, (vi) Harijan Welfare Departments of State Governments/Union Territories, (vii) Employees' State Insurance, (viii) Life Insurance Corporation of India, and (ix) Employees Provident Fund Organisations

CRITICAL REVIEW

The system of social welfare statistics is still in the process of evolution It is one of the weakest links in the Indian statistical system Social welfare statistics suffer from a number of shortcomings which are also common to statistical series pertaining to several other sectors Chiefly, although a mass of information is often collected through censuses, surveys and administration of public services, only a fraction of these are subsequently analysed and published due to various constraints, such as shortage of trained manpower, equipment, printing facilities, etc Even the published data are not utilised fully for purposes of planning and decision-making due to unsatisfactory systems of storage, maintenance and retrieval of statistical information Collection, compilation and processing of data are sometime left to inadequately trained personnel This results in delays and errors creeping into published data Moreover, potential users of data seldom get access to the basic primary data Published statistics are not generally available at disagregated and lower area levels This poses serious problems for planning at the micro level Moreover, regular collection of data is mostly confined to the organised or registered sectors only Available statistics, therefore, fail to provide a total picture

A comprehensive review of the present status of social welfare statistics, highlighting the data requirements for social planning, current data availability and major gaps and deficiencies in the existing social statistics, was undertaken in the National Seminar on Social Statistics organised in 1975 Some of the important points brought out in the Seminar for improving the system of social welfare statistics in the country are reproduced below, since the position obtaining even now is not much different from that prevailing in 1975

(1) Bulk of the available social welfare statistics is a by-product of administration of social services, these statistics are derived from the records furnished by social welfare institutions and voluntary agencies The system of administrative records obtaining in the country is, however, far from satisfactory in regard to its contents, coverage and timeliness Rationalisation of forms following uniform concepts and definitions for collection of social welfare statistics from the administrative or voluntary agencies should be undertaken at regular intervals, with a view to collecting information required for formulation and monitoring of social welfare programmes

(2) Available statistics on social welfare are often deficient in terms of scope, coverage and quality These mainly relate to the number of beneficiaries and expenditure incurred

Detailed data required for assessing the actual progress or the effectiveness of on-going programmes are often lacking Information on the distributive effects of social welfare measures is virtually non-existent

(3) Available data are mostly restricted to programmes implemented by governmental agencies or voluntary organisations assisted by government although a large number of private agencies are engaged in social welfare programmes It is necessary to collect data from all agencies to get the total picture For this purpose, the scope of Registration of Societies Act, 1860, or the Collection of Statistics Act, 1953, may be enlarged or suitable legislative measures like the Bombay Public Trust Act, 1950, may be enacted for collection of the necessary statistical data from all voluntary agencies

(4) For an appraisal of the real progress keeping in view the objectives and policies of social welfare goals, suitable statistical indicators need to be developed with respect to each programme A proper assessment of progress can be made only if the indicators are related to the specific objectives, targets and instruments envisaged to achieve these objectives Some specific recommendations in this regard are contained in a U N publication[2] in which social welfare indicators have been broadly divided into two panels relating to (a) the number eligible for and in receipt of benefits, and (b) revenues and expenditures connected with social security and social welfare services (vide Table 'B') A number of social welfare indicators belonging to category (a) have also been suggested by Miss K Khandekar[3]

(5) Cross-sectional analysis of social welfare statistics pertaining to various sectors should be undertaken for a proper appreciation of the inter-relationships and interaction existing amongst various social welfare programmes

Various deficiencies in the existing system of social welfare statistics as brought out in the previous section need careful consideration with a view to evolving suitable remedial measures and improving the system of social welfare statistics in the country An important area that calls for priority attention is the development and regular maintenance of appropriate statistical indicators which could measure the real progress being achieved in the light of the agreed objectives and policies of social welfare Perhaps the most important task to be vigorously pursued on a priority basis for improving the system of social welfare statistics is to set up viable statistical machinery at the Centre, State and district levels Fortunately, efforts in this direction are under way both at the Centre and in the States The setting up of a full-fledged Ministry of Social Welfare at the Centre and of a Planning, Research, Evaluation and Monitoring Division with competent social scientists within the Union Ministry of Social Welfare are important steps taken in this regard

It is gratifying to note that availability of social welfare statistics has shown some improvement during the last few years due to a large number of research projects being sponsored by the Union Ministry of Social Welfare Social welfare problems by their nature require empirical study for diagnosis of the situation, for identification of the areas and groups requiring priority attention and also for evaluation of the programmes The research projects being sponsored by the Ministry of Social Welfare in increasing numbers should go a long way in supplying valuable insights for formulation of plans, policies, project implementation and evaluation not only in the traditional welfare activities relating to relief, rehabilitation and care of the physically and socially handicapped, but also for initiating measures which play a preventive and developmental role

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TABLE—B

Social and welfare services items of data, classifications and social indicators

Items of data	*Characteristic classifications*	*Other classifications*	*Social indicators*
	A Number eligible for and in receipt of benefit		
(a) Social security provisions			
1 Number of individuals eligible	Type of provisions	Age, sex, latest industrial attachment	Proportion of relevant group eligible
2 Number of individuals in receipt of benefit	As above (add duration of receipt, size of benefit)	As above	Proportion of eligible in receipt of benefit Proportion of relevant group in receipt of benefit Inmates in welfare institutions as a proportion of relevant group
(b) Public assistance			
1 Number of families and no- family households in receipt of assistance	Type of assistance reason for assistance duration of receipt, size of benefit	Geographical area, urban or rural area, size and type of family, no-family household age of head, national or ethnic origin	
(c) Other welfare services			
1 Number of families or individuals in receipt of service	Type of service, reason for service duration of receipt, size of benefit, type of institutional arrangement	As above (add individual, omit no-family household)	
2 Numbers of individuals in welfare institutions	Type of welfare institution	For individuals age, sex, national or ethnic origin For institutions institutional sector	
	B Revenues and expenditures connected with social security and welfare services		
(a) Revenues and expenditures arising in the provision of social security and welfare services			
1 Money values set out in the accounting form outlined in the System of National Accounts	Type of provision, assistance or service	For services institutional sector, kind of economic transaction For benefits geographical area, urban or rural area, size and type of family (no-family household, individual), age of head, national or ethnic origin, socio-economic class of recipient.	Benefits as a proportion of available income Average size of benefits received at constant consumer prices
2 Standard rates of benefits	As above	As above	Standard benefits of constant consumer prices

Source Towards a system of social and demographic statistics, Studies in Methods, series F No 18, United Nation, New York, 1975

NOTES

1 M Mukherjee, "On a procedure for obtaining Social Statistics in India", National Seminar on Social Statistics, C S O , New Delhi, 1975

2 "Towards a System of Social & Demographic Statistics", *Studies in Methods*, Series F, No 18, United Nations, 1975

3 M Khandekar, "Social Welfare Statistics", National Seminar on Social Statistics, C S O , New Delhi, 1975

SOCIAL WORK

In order to understand the activity called social work, we must examine (i) who engages in this activity, (ii) towards whom is this activity directed, (iii) what is its nature, and (iv) what is its purpose The answers to these questions have varied in terms of organisation of society and its level of development

The purpose of social work has always been to assist people in need The identification of situations in which need for assistance exists has depended upon knowledge of factors, both within and outside the individual, which incapacitate him, cause him distress or prevent his functioning in a manner conducive to his own betterment and to the welfare of society In addition to knowledge, values cherished by society have also been instrumental in revealing situations of disability which require remedial action Handicaps due to physical disabilities such as blindness were always obvious Recognition of other disabling situations such as widowhood is, however, relatively recent

Most handicaps are rooted in social situation Changes in society may result in some individuals and groups, which were well-adjusted before, becoming handicapped as a result of changes In a rapidly changing society new handicapped groups may be identified and some who were handicapped before may cease to be so The liberating influence of urbanization on traditionally oppressed groups is obvious

SOCIAL WORK IN TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES

In traditional societies handicap was seen as an expression of divine wrath or of incompetence or improvidence on the part of the individual The object of assistance was primarily to provide relief and action towards this end was motivated by a feeling of pity or compassion for the individual in distress Human intervention could not possibly hope to counteract divine dispensation, it could at best seek to modify the effects of such dispensation Helping activity was a spontaneous response of individuals to the suffering of other individuals It was not an activity collectively undertaken for social betterment

The nature of the activity was simple It involved, mainly, provision of material aid on an *ad hoc* basis There was no assumption of responsibility for continued assistance Advice and guidance to people in mental distress was also given by priests and prophets to those who sought them

In all societies the needs of the individual were met primarily within the family The few whose needs could not be met within the family for one reason or another became the objects of charity Charity was a duty enjoined by religion Through charity one could seek salvation Begging was regarded as a legitimate activity for those who belonged to a religious order and had voluntarily severed family ties

Charitable activity, by its very nature, could not be a specialised activity All were urged to engage in charitable activities which came to acquire the sanctity of a religious ritual Though

there were always certain prescribed norms regarding whom to give, when to give and how to give, charity was generally indiscriminate in its operation Its purpose was relief of the receiver and salvation of the giver The efforts toward regulation of charity with a view to improving its effectiveness are relatively recent and the emergence of modern social work is tied up with these efforts

Charity implied a situation of inequality Because of their generosity which involved some sacrifice those who gave were on a higher pedestal than those who received In fact the recipients, except those who were religious mendicants, were sometimes regarded as morally inferior, lower beings from whom society had to be protected

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES

In Western societies, changes in the socio-economic structure, specially in the wake of industrialisation, made it necessary to have special social provision for those adversely affected by these changes Migration from the rural areas to the cities, the weakening of kinship ties and the perception of new needs in the changing socio-economic context led to the assumption by the State of certain basic responsibilities in respect of destitution Social concern for the ills of industrial society which were becoming increasingly obvious was expressed by social thinkers and social reformers who advocated a more equitable distribution of national wealth through social services such as health, housing and education which would be available to all irrespective of their economic status There was gradual recognition of special needs of certain sections of the population, such as the children and the aged The nineteenth century saw the expansion of the role of the State specially for the protection and welfare of industrial workers It also saw an unprecedented growth of philanthropic organisations It is within these organisations that the new concept of social work took root

The new concept emphasised proper investigation of the circumstances of persons seeking assistance, assessment of their needs and planned programmes of assistance—both material and psychological. The goal was to enable the individual, as far as possible, to stand on his own legs The scientific temper of the industrial age inevitably affected that area of human activity which so far was based mainly on sentiment It was felt that if the application of scientific methods could yield such spectacular results in the field of industry, it could do the same in the field of philanthropy However, if charity was to be organised on scientific lines, it was necessary to have trained personnel. Thus charity organisation societies in England and in the United States sponsored training courses which developed into full-fledged programmes of professional education.

Though in its early stages, this new social work included within its purview social reform, it soon became almost exclusively concerned with the problem of bringing about the adjustment of individuals to given social situations Though scientific in its orientation, the approach underlying the new social work was based on social Darwinism and *laissez faire* An individual in need of assistance was regarded as a sick person who was unable to adjust to the norms of society The nature of assistance required was more psychological than material.

MODERN CONCEPT OF SOCIAL WORK

Modern social work has come to acquire a special meaning It has lost its omnibus character in some countries of the West where it has staked a claim for recognition as a profession. Not all aspects of work connected with the delivery of social and welfare services are social work. Much of the work consists of nothing more than guiding people to appropriate agen-

cies which provide services on the basis of elaborate rules and regulations. Availability of services, however, does not ensure that those in need will be able to make use of them. It is the function of social work to help people to absorb assistance that may be available. Its goal is to improve and optimise the social functioning of individuals and groups. The work involves diagnosing their strengths and weaknesses and establishing the kind of supportive relationship which may stimulate effort for personal and social betterment.

The claim of social work to professional status has been questioned on the ground that it has no well-defined area of operation, that its knowledge base is weak, and that its skills are nebulous. Some have regarded it as a semi-profession. That social work will ever become a profession in the sense in which practice of medicine is a profession, seems improbable. It may be useful to remember that in the Western countries, in recent years, there has been strong criticism of the monopoly that professions claim in various areas of human activity and the power and control that they have acquired over the lives of people. However, the need for training those engaged in delivering services to handicapped and vulnerable sections of the population through programmes organised by public and voluntary agencies is generally recognised. Professional social work refers to those who have received broad-based education, both theoretical and practical, in the science and art of helping people.

The social work that thrived under the auspices of philanthropic organisations in the nineteenth century was moralistic in its approach to problems and accepted the philosophy of *laissez faire*. Professional social work has, however, moved away from its original moorings. It subscribes to values derived from liberal democratic tradition. It lays great stress on respecting the individual as a person irrespective of his sex, colour, caste and class. An individual should, as far as possible, be left free to shape his destiny. While advice and assistance may be given, he should have the right to choose his course of action. The professional approach to human problems eschews a moralistic and condemnatory posture towards those who have deviated from the accepted norms of society. It is recognised that several factors are involved in any situation demanding professional attention and a total or holistic approach is more fruitful in tackling such situations. The profession believes in social provision for meeting the needs of individuals in distress. Assistance should be available as a matter of right and on terms that do not compromise the self-respect of the individual seeking assistance. Society should provide equal opportunities to all its members and it should be so organised that the individuality of a person is respected and protected within the overall constraints imposed by considerations of public safety and welfare.

BROADENING SOCIAL WORK RESPONSIBILITIES

In recent years professionals in social work have felt somewhat unhappy that their functions have been more or less restricted to those of caring and controlling the handicapped and the deviant. There is a movement, specially in developing countries, towards broadening the responsibilities of the profession to include social reform and development with a view to bringing about a more equitable social order. Conscientization, advocacy and social action are the new approaches recommended for adoption by professionals. It cannot, however, be said that the profession has as yet developed any special skills or competence in the broad area of social transformation.

Some radicals in the profession have gone beyond social reform and development to ascribe a revolutionary role for the profession. In their view the profession must concentrate its attention on bringing about basic changes in

social institutions and relationships instead of dealing with individual victims of an unjust social order For understandable reasons, revolutionary rhetoric of the advocates of redicalisation has so far failed to bring about any basic changes in respect of the area and nature of professional practice Societies do not provide for professional revolutionaries

Some factors connected with the development of the modern concept of social work are noteworthy It developed in the context of a democratic polity and a capitalistic economic system, primarily in the urban areas Its development took place during the period of rapid industrialisation and colonisation, both of which brought unprecedented prosperity to Western societies These societies found it possible to provide for social security programmes which guarantee assistance to people in circumstances impairing their earnings The approach and methods of modern social work were not designed to contend with the problems of mass poverty and deprivation of basic needs

SOCIAL SECURITY IN INDIAN SOCIETY

In Indian society, the joint family, caste and the village community have provided for support and protection to individuals in all exigencies of life The physically and mentally handicapped, the very old and the very young, the widowed and the orphaned were all covered under this social system The caste system, though inequitous, provided a measure of economic security through a network of relationships based on a reciprocal system of rights and obligations The individual was generally not left to fend for himself In fact, he could hardly claim any identity as an individual, his status and his whole life were entirely conditioned by the family and the caste to which he belonged The few whose needs could not be met within the social framework of the joint family and caste depended on charity Apart from charity practised by individual householders, religious institutions such as temples and *maths* also gave succour to those who, for one reason or another, had lost the support of their kith and kin It must be noted that, in the Indian context, those who asked for alms were not always looked down upon and giving in charity was regarded as a religious duty and a privilege Secular welfare activity under public auspices was limited to providing amenities for the traveller and to ensuring his protection It was during natural calamities, like floods and famines, that the king was expected to provide relief through remission of taxes and distribution of food grains During the muslim rule a tax *(zakat)* which was earmarked for charitable purposes was imposed Giving by individuals as well as by the State tended to be indiscriminate Social work as an activity undertaken on a systematic basis for the relief and rehabilitation of the destitute and the handicapped did not exist

NINETEENTH CENTURY SOCIAL REFORM

In the nineteenth century the liberal ideas and institutions of the West and the proselytizing activities of christian missionaries made their impact on Indian society This led to the identification of social abuses and of oppressed groups A social reform movement which emphasised social and political equality came into existence The reformers concerned themselves, first, with the problem of women and later, towards the close of the century, with the inequities of the caste system Earlier, beginning from the twelfth century, many saint reformers had preached the message of social equality Their approach, however, was religious, what they were specially keen to ensure was that in matters of worship there should be no discrimination based on caste, creed or class The approach of the nineteenth century social reformers was basically secular Most of them were persons with a legal

background. They were not so much concerned with securing equality in the religious domain as equality in the area of civil rights. They pleaded for legislative action on the part of the government and carried on public education through the press and the platform for a change in social institutions and values Unlike in the West, where action for social reform came in the wake of major economic changes resulting from industrialisation and in the context of a responsive political system, in India it was entirely the consequence of contact with an alien culture The message of social reform was neither reinforced by a new economic order emphasising the freedom of the individual from feudal bonds nor did it receive the active backing of the government. Towards the close of the century social reformers received a distinct setback as it was felt that in the order to create a strong and united political platform it was imprudent to emphasize social reform issues It was left to Gandhi to bring about a synthesis between the movements for social uplift and political emancipation He recognised that mass mobilisation for political regeneration was not possible without a prior commitment to an equitable social order

SOCIAL REFORM AND SOCIAL WORK

Social reformers made a seminal contribution to social work both at the level of thought and action They established a tradition of rational thinking and critical examination of social issues and created an awareness of social problems which needed to be tackled They were also instrumental in setting up institutional services such as orphanages, widows' homes, homes for the aged, the destitute, and the physically handicapped Thus the sweep of social reformers included a whole gamut of activities some of which were directed towards social transformation and some towards services to persons identified as in need of special care

With the development of institutional care there emerged a new bureaucracy concerned with the efficient management of resources available for the provision of such care Institutional care involved assuming responsibility for care on a continuing basis It also involved some efforts towards rehabilitation of persons admitted to these institutions Much of the work was done on voluntary basis but some paid staff was essential

One important event in the history of the development of the modern concept of social work in India was the establishment in 1905 of the Servants of India Society by Gopal Krishna Gokhale The Society inducted persons, carefully selected personally by Gokhale, into a life-time career of social service after a five year period of study and field work Only graduates were eligible for membership The number of persons who joined the society was very small However, they distinguished themselves in such diverse fields as women's welfare and education, organisation of rural cooperatives, trade union work, welfare of the backward classes—specially of the tribal communities—and famine relief work Entirely secular in its orientation, the Society sought to provide highly trained personnel for social service activities Gokhale recognized that 'missionary' spirit was necessary but not sufficient for effective social service Training, both theoretical and practical under close supervision, was necessary The small salary provided to the members ensured that those who joined the Society did not have any illusions about taking up a lucrative career and were prepared for a life of sacrifice from the material point of view

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

The growing recognition of the need for some training to those who were engaged in welfare work as volunteers or as full-time workers sometimes led to the institution of short-term

courses organised on an *ad-hoc* basis These were run mainly through workers of long standing acting as instructors Thus the Social Service League organised evening courses for social workers in Bombay However, a major step in the creation of a professional social work bureaucracy was taken with the establishment of Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work (now known as the Tata Institute of Social Sciences) by Dr Clifford Manshardt of the American Marathi Mission, with financial support from Sir Dorabji Tata Trust The establishment of the School thus symbolised a combination of the religious impulse of charity with the modern scientific orientation represented by the house of Tatas who had pioneered in the field of industry The major concern was with the deteriorating social situation giving rise to numerous social problems in the industrial metropolis of Bombay The School was located in an area which presented all the problems of urban decay and social disorganisation The generic programme of education offered by the School was directed towards promoting an understanding of problems of social disorganisation and individual maladjustment and the manner in which these could be tackled The diploma given at the end of two years was in Social Service Administration The members of the Faculty of the School were not persons trained in social work, they were social scientists committed to the application of social sciences for the resolution of human problems. The small number of students admitted to the course were required to put in some field work in addition to attending classes

After the country became independent many more courses of a similar type were started in different parts of the country Almost all of them imparted instruction at the graduate level The pattern of education introduced at the School in Bombay in 1936 bore little resemblance to social work education in the United States of America However, gradually these courses were markedly influenced by the American model This was partly due to the programme of faculty assistance to these institutions through the U S Education Foundation and the U S Technical Cooperation Mission In recent years, there has been some awareness of the need to make social work education more relevant to the needs and resources of the country and some attempts have been made to develop curricula more responsive to its welfare problems and programmes

PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL WORKERS

It is the graduates of schools of social work who identify themselves as professionals in social work Their number today does not exceed 20,000 This includes women graduates, many of whom are not employed Amongst the rest at least 50 per cent are employed in the field of labour welfare, personnel management and industrial relations, an area which, in the view of some, has ceased to be part of the field of social welfare At a very liberal estimate the number of social work graduates employed in welfare jobs by the end of 1980 cannot be more than 4 to 5 thousands

The Factories Act requires that an industrial establishment must employ a person to look after the welfare of workers The qualifications laid down, as per rules framed under the Act, include a degree in Social Work As has been mentioned earlier many graduates in social work have taken up employment in the field of labour They are employed as labour/welfare officers Their welfare functions, which in practice constitute the least important part of their duties, are generally confined to supervising the amenities provided to workers under the Factories Act Most of their time is spent on those aspects of labour administration which are concerned with labour-management relations An industry is obviously not a welfare or social service institution and industrial workers, who

are highly organised, cannot be regarded as constituting a handicapped community The knowledge, skills and attitudes required of labour officers by managements who employ them are not identical with those required of social workers Those with social work qualifications holding positions in the field of labour generally regard themselves as belonging to the field of management and not to that of social work There are some industrial concerns which have established an elaborate network of services for their workers These include services in the areas of health, education and training, family welfare, counselling and guidance, youth welfare services, organisation of cooperatives and recreational and cultural activities In a few cases industrial concerns have taken up responsibility for development activities in rural areas However, opportunities for social work practice in industrial settings are, at present, extremely limited

Outside the field of labour, professional social workers have been employed in medical and psychiatric institutions and in institutions providing care and correctional services The employing agencies have been mainly governmental The employment of professionals has been almost entirely in urban areas While in medical and psychiatric fields and in probation work with adults and children the professionals have been engaged in direct service, in other areas such as institutional care for children, the destitute and the handicapped their work has been primarily supervisory and administrative

SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Professional social workers have felt that their expertise in a developing country should be used not only for providing ameliorative services for handicapped groups but also for generating developmental efforts amongst people When community development programmes were introduced in rural areas, it was felt that professional social work had a significant contribution to make However, though a few professional social workers were employed in rural community development programmes, specially as social education organisers, the contribution of the profession was more indirect than direct Professional social work educators contributed to the development of training programmes for village level workers, social education organisers and block development officers The contribution of the profession to urban community development programmes when they were started in the sixties was similar in nature though it was probably more substantial The training of urban community organisers included many elements from professional social work and a few schools of social work were closely associated with the urban community development projects

Family and child welfare programmes and subsequently the integrated child development services introduced by the Central Government provided yet another area of involvement, albeit indirect, in social development Some of the schools of social work were involved in the training of personnel for these projects The evaluation of these projects too was undertaken through these institutions Similarly, schools of social work have been involved in the implementation of the national service scheme which seeks to draw university students into development and welfare work on a voluntary basis

In recent years, professional social work has shown special interest in family planning programmes It was in the mid-sixties that the family planning programme in India was given a new orientation emphasising community education as its major instrument Many seminars and conferences of professional social workers have emphasised the need for major involvement in this area, interest in which has undoubtedly been stimulated by the action taken by U N and other international agencies in providing funds for manpower development and

research projects The international Association of Schools of Social Work set up a special project involving several schools in Asia for preparing social workers to take up responsibilities connected with the implementation of family planning programmes However, the direct involvement of the profession in family planning has been marginal · There are a few hundred professionals employed in family planning programmes throughout the country but they constitute a very small proportion of the total personnel involved in these programmes

The non-involvement of professional social work at the direct service level in most welfare and developmental programmes is directly related to the organisation of professional education at the graduate level The jobs at the direct service level do not have salary scales which can be attractive to those who graduate from schools of social work Some of these opt out of the social work profession, many go in the field of labour management and the few who stay in the welfare field operate more as social administrators than as social workers However, professionals have been involved in formulation and administration of training courses for field level workers and many of these courses show the unmistakable imprint of professional approach If training of workers at the direct service level has gained some acceptance, it is in no small measure due to the efforts of the professionals Thus the impact of professional social work on the welfare scene in India is more pervasive than the small number of professionals employed in the welfare field would seem to suggest

GANDHIAN SOCIAL WORK

Another important form of secular social work in India is Gandhian social work Like professional social workers, Gandhian social workers take to social work as a full-time career They operate, outside the framework of governmental programmes, through a variety of Gandhian institutions in which they are employed They work mainly in rural and tribal areas The activities in which they are engaged cover a wide range and include improvement of agriculture and village industries, rural health and education through planned programmes based on Gandhian ideas of developing a *Sarvodaya Samaj* through constructive work They have also been involved in distribution of land amongst the landless, organisation of agricultural labourers, setting up of cooperatives, rehabilitation of former dacoits and of persons suffering from leprosy Being free from the constraints of working within a governmental or a philanthropic organisation they have sometimes engaged in social action involving an agitational approach One example of such involvement is the *chipko andolan*—a movement for the preservation of forests

The element of sacrifice implied in the salaries drawn by Gandhian workers and their emphasis on frugal living standards for themselves make them more acceptable to people Like professional social workers, Gandhian workers also value training Their training, however, is less academic and more practical Considerable emphasis is placed on learning through contact with senior and experienced workers As compared with professional social workers there is probably greater emphasis on personal qualities than on work competence

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL WORK

'Public opinion does not always make a distinction between those who are the financiers of social services, those who are members of boards of management and those who are voluntarily involved in the day to day task of providing these services to those who need them The first two groups need never come in contact with the beneficiaries of these services while the last group inevitably must However,

the philanthropists and board members are also sometimes referred to as social workers *(samaj sewaks)* Much of philanthropic giving is for services provided on sectarian basis and the motive is to earn religious merit Secular philanthropy may be stimulated by mundane considerations such as building up a public image for business or industry and securing tax benefits

There are in all urban neighbourhoods persons of outgoing disposition who come forward to render assistance during periods of crisis like illness or death or on important occasions like birth or marriage They may, also give free advice and help people in the matter of obtaining their ration cards, registering complaints with the police or making a representation for providing a bus stop or a milk booth in the area They are the facilitators who have appropriate contacts and some skill in drafting petitions and in talking to people in authority Such persons are often identified by people as social workers Not unoften, the work that they do helps them in their political ambitions It is not surprising that many of those who are elected to representative bodies at various levels describe themselves as social workers At the local level there is not much distinction between a social worker and a political worker

A great deal of voluntary social work, sporadic and intermittent in nature, is related to large-scale devastation and suffering periodically caused by droughts and floods The work mainly consists of making collections in cash and kind and distributing these amongst those in need Some health work, both preventive and curative, is also undertaken Much of the work involves working *for* people in distress rather than *with* them Such work is generally undertaken through volunteers of youth wings of political parties and by religious-cultural organisations some of which have a standing corps of volunteers who can be mobilised to work in emergencies at short notice

The social work scene in India, thus, is a mosaic of different hues This is but natural, given the low level of economic development, persistence of traditional social structures and introduction of modern institutions which have yet to find their roots Even professions which are more specific than social work in respect of their area of operation, body of knowledge and methods of work have not yet been fully accepted Social work encompasses all aspects of society and the contours of even what is regarded as professional social work are somewhat blurred Professional social work essentially belongs to the modern sector though it can play a role in facilitating transition from traditional to a modern society It has no exclusive expertise in dealing with social reform or large-scale economic deprivation but it can help along with other professionals and non-professionals in promoting the former and mitigating the effects of the latter

SHRIDHAR NILKANTH RANADE

SOCIAL WORK IN CORRECTIONAL SETTING

The term 'social work' connotes a set of programmes with the objective of helping individuals or groups It is presumed that the social worker or the agency concerned is equipped with the necessary training and skills in handling such situations The help, moreover, is rendered through established methods and techniques of case work, group work, or community organisation, as needed in each individual case There is no 'charity', patronage or 'philanthropy' involved in rendering such an assistance

The skill of the social worker lies in manipulating the social factors, obtaining, as far as

possible, or giving to the client, a proper appraisal of his own problems, and an understanding of the antecedents so as to build up his own inner strength to help him to cope up with his own problems While the social worker exudes sympathy and kindness, he is not subjectively involved with the client, and situation of dependence has to be avoided Confidentiality in regard to the personal life or the history of the client on record is a basic principle and precondition in scientific social work Social work also needs the support of other disciplines very often

Correctional services are related to the enforcement of law and order and the interaction a society undergoes in the process of prevention of crime and the protection of society The felt needs are decided not by the social worker, but by the law makers, the police and the judiciary The judicial authorities and jails had not invoked or acknowledged the role of social work in correction and reformation till recently It was only during the Third and Fourth Five Year Plans that prison welfare officers were appointed in some States for the first time Social work has hitherto remained on the periphery of correction The services for children and young offenders really call for all the knowledge and experience that social work has to offer

CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

By and large, there are grave misconceptions among average citizens about the scope of services connected with the prevention of crime and the treatment of adult or young offenders The reaction is characterised by feelings of revenge or hostility against the offenders, more stringent enforcement of punishment by the police and judiciary, and longer sentences of imprisonment When one talks of prison reforms or treatment programmes, it is retorted that the prisoners get at least two square meals a day, while an honest man willing to abide by law and work outside has to starve This reaction is natural, as the increase in the number and complexities of crime, especially against the person and the property, as revealed in the daily newspapers and other mass media, create a sense of insecurity and fear in the mind of the citizens It is, therefore, necessary to clarify the basic facts in order to see the rationale behind the criminal justice system of which correctional services are a part Correction is that part of criminal justice system which seeks to prevent repeated criminal behaviour and simultaneously attempts to deal with the underlying causes of anti-social behaviour for the ultimate objective of rehabilitation of offenders back into society Crime has always been there in the form of violation of the socially-accepted norms of behaviour and conduct Some persons are always likely to come in conflict with law for various reasons The causes of crime are still being investigated, and what is crime is, itself, a relative issue A sane society should be alert in controlling or preventing factors conducive to crime and treating the offenders leading to their correction, thus ensuring the protection of society against crime in future

The crime statistics do not tell the whole story, at the best of times The crime rates are rising The crimes which are not reported or recorded are likely to be enormous The police and court proceedings are very slow Either the legislation is defective or the procedures of enforcement are very lengthy There is growing delay in disposal of criminal cases by the police and the judicial courts

PRISONS

Correctional institutions for adults, i e, the local and central jails are over-crowded The Working Group on Prisons, appointed by the Government of India (1972-73), made a forceful plea for a thorough review of the prison population and to reduce the number of undertrials, youthful offenders and short-termers in jails

through appropriate measures, including speedy trials, effective use of bail, admonition, fine, compensation, parole and others It recommended that all States and Union Territories should take a one-time review of the cases of undertrial prisoners, with a view to release all those who had committed offences only of a minor or technical nature, or were not habituals, or had had already undertrial detention for periods longer than what they might have been sentenced to at the trials The convict population also needed to be reviewed to determine which of them can be safely released on parole, with or without conditions[1] The Code of Criminal Procedure (as amended in 1973) places limitation on time taken for investigation and enquiry by the police The impact of revised Cr P C, if any, has not yet been evident

In India, the criminal law and procedure are codified as (i) The Indian Penal Code (1880), (ii) The Code of Criminal Procedure (of 1898, revised in 1973), and (iii) The Indian Evidence Act (1872) All of them are quite out-of-date Similarly, old and archaic state prison manuals, drawn up in different States are a great bottleneck for seriously extending any new correctional measures in the existing prison administration Though the All India Jail Manual Committee have drafted a Model Jail Manual as early as in 1960, most States have not yet been able to revise their respective prison manuals, regardless of the fact that the subject has been on the agenda of umpteen number of subsequent conferences and meetings and has been often repeated

The correctional settings need to be examined in the broad perspective of universal human rights in consonance with the U N Charter and provisions appropriate to the fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy A close scrutiny as to how the criminal justice system operates in reality and blatantly conflicts with human rights and fundamental freedoms has to be constantly kept in view by all thinking people and organisations Few might even be aware that the United Nations have framed standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners, both undertrials and convicts[2]

A large proportion of prisoners in several States are undertrials, who are not required to follow any education, training or work programme This is a sordid enough story Among the convicts, 80 per cent are languishing behind the bars for short periods of less than 6 months While short incarceration has a value in selected cases, few others get benefit at all out of the short term No reformative or therapeutic programme can be effective, even if it were there In sentencing practices, the judiciary should be considering all these aspects, if necessary with the aid of a suitable agency, before awarding the punishment and see if non-institutional penalties like fine, release on bond, probation with or without supervision, compensation to the victim, or community service will not be more constructive than idle days spent in prison

The prisons have still to establish their claim and capacity to reform Mostly, the present-day prisons are holding, herding together without much conscious effort at facility or classification Not unoften, children and young people get mixed up in the mainstream of the hardened and the casual, the repetitive and the first offenders Individualization of treatment has not been possible The types of training made available inside prisons leave much to be desired There is little stimulation to acquire literacy or pursue academic studies to even those who are capable of such activity In essence, most of the prisons are good for only 'holding on' operations in maximum security conditions, the planning for rehabilitation or individual treatment is poor

Women prisoners, also there either as undertrials or convicts, form about 4 to 5 per cent of the total strength of prisoners Due to their small number, no educative work or outdoor programmes are feasible It will be very useful if

women prisoners who are simple, illiterate and capable of learning are transferred to non-penal, women's residential institutions, where they can acquire literacy and some useful skills, in better environment, to stand them in good stead after release

YOUNG PERSONS IN PRISON

Almost 15 to 20 per cent of the prisoners are below 21 years of age They have very little to gain out of the prison All laws have propounded that children and youngsters should not be sentenced to imprisonment The Criminal Procedure Code (Section 360 and 361) clearly debars the imprisonment of youngsters below 21 years of age Similarly, the Probation of Offenders Act, 1958, also lays down the process to adjudge such offenders, based on a study of their background, and provides for suspending the sentence on certain conditions

Non-institutional forms of sentencing have been found everywhere to be more effective in the rehabilitation and assimilation of the offender back with the society Of prime importance in non-institutional treatment is probation and related measures The Criminal Procedure Code spells out the filing of the case, admonition, fine, personal bond with surety, probation with or without supervision, compensation to the victims and imprisonment

PROBATION

Probation is a method of dealing with specially selected offenders and consists of the conditional suspension of punishment while the offender is placed under personal supervision and is given individual treatment It developed as an alternative to imprisonment applicable to cases where guilt was established but where the judiciary considered that imposing of a prison sentence will do no good This was also due to the realisation of the ineffectiveness and actual harmfulness of short-term sentences This clear concept of probation is very necessary in order to remove various misconceptions about probation There is widespread tendency to view probation as a form of leniency, or as a "let off" This misconception obtains among lay people generally, among offenders themselves, among lawyers and sometimes among judicial officers and others charged with enforcement of the law This misconception is a legacy of the punitive approach to the treatment of offenders as apparently it looks as if the offenders escape penalty for their offences As enunciated by the United Nations through their various publications[3], probation is a method of dealing with offenders only where the guilt has been established It is thus an instrument of criminal justice of an enlightened character Probation is a method to be applied on a selective basis, and is an embodiment of a progressive criminal policy, namely the individualisation of treatment, the principle that the administration of criminal justice requires the study of the individual offender, and not only of his offences, and that the treatment should be designed to fit the offender rather than that punishment should be designed to fit the offence The use of probation thus is a discretionary function of the court Ideally, it should be unrestrictive in its scope of application, leaving altogether the selection of offenders to be put on probation to the discretionary function of the court However, in actual practice, the statute on probation often places statutory restrictions according to age, the previous record, the nature and the gravity of the offence, etc The actual selection is based on a careful investigation of the personality traits and social circumstances of the offender prior to the final judicial disposal of the case This brings in the very vital role of the Probation Officer and his pre-sentence investigation report required by the court

Probation involves the conditional suspension of punishment This implies that probation

itself does not constitute punishment The main point is that probation is not a "let off" The original offence remains punishable throughout the period of probation and the offender is actually liable to be punished in case of a violation of the conditions of his probation order The conditions are imposed with a view to promote the offender's rehabilitation While the conditional suspension of the punishment provides an 'authoritarian setting', probation should not be viewed as a measure of compulsion and its application essentially rests on the voluntary acceptance by the probationer of the conditions imposed The probation order thus presupposes the willing cooperation of the probationer to refrain from unlawful activities and to abide by the advice and guidance of the Probation Officer charged with his supervision

The essential feature of probation is that it is a form of treatment that is community based It permits a more normal social experience than institutionalisation[4] It does not disrupt the offender's relationship with his family, with his friends, with the opposite sex or with his occupations While involving the conditional suspension of punishment, probation is directed at the social rehabilitation of the offenders as self-supporting and law-abiding members of the society

The last, but not the least, the essential ingredients of probation are supervision and treatment Here criminal justice goes beyond giving the offender "another chance" subject to his keeping the peace and provides systematic assistance In this sense, probation which seeks to prevent the future unlawful conduct of the offender is a means of social rehabilitation of the individual, representing the prevention of future crime and thus ensuring better protection of society

Probation supervision is distinguished from police surveillance It implies a personal relationship between the probationer and the Probation Officer While the prospect of infliction of the suspended sentence is a negative factor, this is not so much emphasised as the positive individualised guidance and assistance, involving education, therapeutic and rehabilitative objectives In the language of social case work probation is "case work in an authoritarian setting" While the probation is a method of treatment, it can vary from case to case involving counselling, professional casework, psychiatric treatment, job placement, family readjustment, temporary shelter and assistance in cash or kind

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Juvenile delinquency is another sphere in correctional services which requires urgent attention of the society Legally speaking, any act prohibited under the Indian Penal Code or special laws, when committed by a person between 7 to 21 years, is defined as juvenile delinquency There has been a continuous increase in juvenile delinquency The statistics on delinquency may not wholly reveal the problem as it actually exists Deviance among children is largely dealt with through informal means of social control

The chief causes of delinquency can be summed up as deprivations at the childhood level in the family and rapid socio-economic changes forcing families and individuals to migrate to the cities, residing on the periphery of the cities in urban slums or ghettos and making the child more vulnerable to delinquency The temptations of easy money, adventurism and fantasies, and love of thrill incite these children to delinquent ways A situation of deprivations in early childhood creates a plethora of social, psychological and emotional stresses and strains and crime is the assured consequence

The national policy for children adopted by the Government of India in 1974 invokes that

"children who are socially handicapped, who have become delinquent or have been forced to take to begging or are otherwise in distress, shall be provided facilities for education, training and rehabilitation and will be helped to become useful citizens"[5]

The Children Acts and the Borstal Schools Act of the States are the primary instruments for fulfilling the hopes and aspirations reflected in the governmental policies But one sees inadequacies in pursuing the policy directives Children are still exploited by the parents, by school authorities or by employers A large number of children are deprived of the basic elementary education, as they have to earn a living Many poor children do not get an opportunity to realise their potential The traditional approach of social work has failed to provide the right kind of facilities to them The child, in whatever environment he may be, is taken note of by society and the government only when he comes in conflict with law Preventive measures of providing means and knowledge to the parents to bring up their children, to teachers so as to admit and keep the children usefully engaged at school, opportunities to develop useful skills to enable the child to be able to make a living, without being a burden to the society, are very inadequate

Correctional services are organised under the statutory provisions of Children Acts or Borstal Schools Act Ideally, all children should be treated alike The remand/observation home offers a place of safety and facilities for classifying the types of children to suitably plan the treatment services and placement of the child according to the needs of each individual child Each child has a different background and has to be followed by casework techniques of social work, recording the child's background, his family, economic and social conditions, school record if any, and causes which brought the child to the remand home The police are not to be in uniform while handling the child or presenting him before the juvenile court Ideally, the juvenile courts are not to be held in the court premises for the adults so as not to put fright into a child's mind The child's presence can be dispensed with during the hearing The judiciary or the competent agency of the juvenile court or child welfare board is expected to be well-informed of the physical and psychological needs of the children, and the factors behind the present problem which have brought the child before the court or the board The Probation Officer is expected to inform the court about the home and the school background of the child in a confidential report based on personal visits and meetings with the family A child, as defined in the Act, cannot be sentenced to a prison term While the child is awaiting his trail, his physical, health, emotional and education needs are met with Preference is given to the family, if there is a viable home, while ordering the placement of the child Institutionalisation is the last resort Well-trained and motivated probation officers, case workers, superintendents, house masters and teachers supplement each other in planning the future of the child The case record of each child has to be systematically built up for the use of the court or the special school or children's home, where he is to be sent Special schools are expected to keep children till they attain the age of maturity and provide education and training as provided in the Children Acts and the rules thereunder Borstal Schools are to follow the same principles, but have also to provide and cater to the needs of grown-ups in the age group of 16 to 21 years

AFTER-CARE

After-care of the prisoners discharged from correctional institutions is not obligatory in India on the part of the state, nor is it compulsory for the ex-criminal to go through it as a reorientation and smooth transition to the

society again A great many of those released from prisons come from rural areas and are peasants by origin If they have a piece of land to subsist on and a family awaiting the return of the ex-prisoner, the after-care problem does not arise But it depends on how, during his incarceration, his ownership of land and intactness of the family have been preserved by the authorities, especially in cases of long-term sentences It is often noticed that land is misappropriated by selfish family members or by money-lenders adept at manipulating records and with the connivance of others Several studies have corroborated this finding While the male member and the head of the family is serving his term in the prison, the records of his assets, especially land and building, must be protected and suitable steps taken or provisions included in the revenue rules and responsibility cast on other concerned departments to prevent land alienation and fraud The necessity for releasing a prisoner on furlough or long leave to be able to be with his family especially at sowing or harvesting time and thereby keeping the family vocation undisrupted fulfills this purpose Free legal aid should also be made available effectively to all prisoners for safeguarding their land and property while in prison

The balance of city bred prisoners who have no economic mooring or skill and who have a floating existence doing odd jobs while getting in and out of prison, poses a real problem for after-care Finding the outside world too hostile, he returns to the penitentiary, often with some petty or grave crime Such prisoners on discharge really need a place to stay, money for board and training in skill which has a value in the market, and a helping hand in securing work or employment and to ensure that he stabilises in the placement Workshops, hostels, casework and counselling and bare pocket money are required through official or non-official social work agencies Merely providing a hostel for released prisoners is not enough

MANPOWER AND TRAINING

The correctional settings, namely services for children, young adults, probationers, under-trials and convicts in prisons, parolees and after-care call for dedicated personnel, well-trained in humanities and correctional principles and practices, with a thorough understanding of the legal implications A post-graduate degree in social work alone is not enough and a special course covering genesis of crime, penology, and correctional administration including all the aspects and spheres involved is called for At present, some schools for social work offer at the post-graduate level, a specialization in criminology, juvenile delinquency and correctional administration The Jail Departments in Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana, offer in-service training for their executive and custodial staff The Ministry of Home Affairs runs a higher-level course in criminology and forensic science for short periods under the Bureau of Police Research and Development For the four southern States of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh, a Regional Correctional Training Institute has been established at Vellore, it receives senior officers on deputation for training from these States

It has been established that the prison personnel, especially at the subordinate level, have a heavy work load spread over 12 hours in two or three broken spells, are not properly paid and suffer from poor prospects of promotion In many States, the senior positions are reserved for promotions in the police department This is not a satisfactory arrangement and police officers do not bring to bear upon the subject the right correctional impact as they have a different professional training and outlook It will be desirable to constitute an All India Correctional Cadre to improve the tone and morale of the services Even if it is a State cadre, prospects of promotion and emoluments should not be lower than those in the comparable police cadres

One often comes across a discussion whether custodial personnel such as guards, jamadars, hawaldars, deputy jailors, jailors, etc are meant only for custody and not for social welfare or correctional treatment, and whether only the prison welfare officer or doctors and psychiatrists, if any, are meant to cure the criminal traits This is a misleading dichotomy The prisoners spend most of the time in workshops, kitchen and barracks, when they come in close contact with the guards and security staff, and who, therefore, should also be the means of correctional therapy and practice The social worker or the prison welfare officer, in a large institution, cannot by himself make much impact on the prisoners It is only the team work that can succeed, when all the officers and men are guided by uniform correctional concepts, supplementing each other's role, giving the image of wholesome leadership inspired by the same humane considerations, aiming at giving a helping hand to a frail brother who has lost his way and who has to be given back his dignity and self-respect The training at any level has to be guided by these considerations only Even the treatment personnel has to be fully conversant with security and custody requirements rather than functioning as a rival team working at cross-purposes

CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made in the foregoing paragraphs to briefly examine the correctional settings and to make out a case for modernisation of methods and techniques and to show the immense scope social work has in fulfilling the goal Social work in correctional services is no contradiction in terms Social work has not made much inroads in the correctional complex and there has been a tacit understanding or feeling that it has no place in an authoritarian situation It will be worthwhile for academic personnel, field work agencies and correctional experts to get together periodically alongwith other agencies involved and to see how universal human problems thrown up in correctional settings can be better tackled by the injection of possible social work methods and techniques, with a view to improve and upgrade the standards and effectiveness of the services

JYOTSNA SHAH

NOTES

1 *Report of the Working Group on Prisons in the Country, 1974,* Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

2 "Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners", United Nations, 5th U N Conference on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, 1955

3 *Probation and Related Measures* United Nations, Department of Social Affairs, New York, 1951

4 R Taft Donald, *Criminology 1950,* The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp 447-448

5 *National Policy for Children* Ministry of Social Welfare, Government of India, New Delhi

SOCIAL WORK IN EDUCATIONAL SETTING

Both social work and education include personality development and social change among their goals This common feature makes social work relevant to the education settings Both in the formal and informal education settings social work methods and techniques are significant As the formal educational process starts at the school level, any discussion on social work in educational settings should start from a look at school education

The purpose of a school is not just imparting formal education to its students and enabling them to secure certificates/degrees as passports to jobs A belief in the power of the school and a faith in literacy as a means of social problem solving is the hallmark of a developed society [1] Fredrickson rightly asserts that the school must, in addition to imparting information, help the child to use his mind and body and to develop social relations satisfying to himself and others. The school experience of the child must also be integrated with his social environment [2] Childhood involves the most formative years in the life of an individual A significant period of childhood is spent in school Hence, the school has a major role in the adjustment or maladjustment of the child and in the formation of his personality In many cases the child adopts one of his teachers as his role model The teacher has, therefore, to play a crucial role in respect of the development of the child's personality Since Independence our country has been making efforts to raise the level of literacy However, school education has major inadequacies both quantitatively and qualitatively These lacunae in the school system generate the need for school social services

SCHOOL SOCIAL SERVICES

Florence Poole defines school social services as "those services in the school program that are directed toward helping the child with certain aspects of social and emotional adjustment These include psychological and psychiatric services, attendance service, vocational counselling and school social work services" [3] The purpose of these services is to supplement the work of the teacher They are meant to make the work of the teacher more effective This is done by helping the teacher to understand the children better and by offering direct help to children and their parents in coping with problems which may prevent successful school achievement The persons manning the school social services act as regular members of the school staff These persons use their specialised knowledge and service for helping the child to cope with his health, educational, social, and emotional problems that prevent him from making the best use of the educational opportunities [4] School social work is thus a part of school social services It cannot be done in isolation from other school social services and requires a team approach in which each specialist benefits from the experience and expertise of the other and together they endeavour to help the child make the optimum use of educational opportunity and at the same time achieve and maintain better personal and social adjustment

Costin defines school social work as "an application of social work principles and methods to the main purpose of the school "[5] According to Costin, the goals of school social work include helping the students attain a sense of competence, a readiness for continued learning, and an ability to adapt to change School social work is increasingly focusing upon learning, thinking and problem solving as well as on traditional areas, namely relationships, emotions, motivation, and personality [6]

There are four areas which concern school social work These are the particular school system, the outside community, the characteristics of the pupils, and the social conditions they face School social work enables the school to pay attention to the unique individual needs of the child and to offer the opportunities for success and achievement to each child (student) At the same time, school social workers must concern themselves with the relationship of the school to other social institutions in the community

ROLE OF THE SCHOOL SOCIAL WORKER

Schools employ school social workers on

their staff in order to help children whose problems in the school have their genesis in social and emotional factors in the child, in his family, or in his social milieu The importance of social caseworkers has been well recognised by schools, because the caseworker has the knowledge and skill to help children (with problems), their parents and their teachers [7]

Friedlander maintains that the school social worker works with four parties (1) the child, (2) the family, (3) the school staff, and (4) the community [8] The school social worker is concerned with removing the maladjustment of the child and for this purpose he tries to change those attitudes of the child, the parents, teachers, and community groups which are detrimental to the adjustment of the child and to the requirements of the school [9]

Behaviour problems and questions pertaining to discipline are usually solved successfully by the school social worker He also enlists the support of other community resources, group work agencies, and family welfare agencies in order to change and improve those family conditions which might have been the cause of the failure or maladjustment of the child in school In this manner he changes the behaviour of the child so that he may adapt and adjust better with the conditions in the school and home The role of school social worker has also been recognised in preventive service involving constructive mental health programmes School children having physical or emotional problems need early help from the point of view of rehabilitation Some countries have included school social work in the school programme with the aim of preventing and combating juvenile delinquency [10]

It has now come to be realised that success in school is not just the attainment of an arbitrary intellectual standard A fuller measure of the child's success consists in the adjustment achieved by him in and to the life experiences to which he is exposed It has been noted that children who achieve successful adjustment in the school setting are also successful in making good adjustment in later life situations

The need of the school social worker is felt when the child's difficulties centre around his personality and behaviour, or around school adjustments, or detrimental conditions in the home that adversely affect the child's behaviour in school The school social worker in such cases may render service to the child, the teacher and the parent

Referrals to the school social worker are mostly made by principals and teachers, followed by parents and social agencies in that order [11]

The social worker may start his work with examining school reports, medical records and psychological tests However, his primary emphasis will be on personal interviews with the child, the parent and the teacher The teacher and the caseworker (school social worker) work closely together keeping their focus on the adjustment of the child to the school situation

School social workers in U S A have now recognised the need and importance of the services of public agencies for the child and his family He may make use of such public services as aid to the families of dependent children (AFDC), aid to the aged, child welfare services, unemployment insurance, and survivor's insurance [12]

The school social worker has to perform a variety of functions in the educational setting

(1) Providing casework services This will include working with the child, his parents, and teachers On the one hand, the worker will have to understand the physical and psychological needs of the child He will try to fulfil these needs through the establishment of personal professional relationship with the child and by offering counselling, emotional support and, if

need be, brief psychotherapy The dealing with transference phenomenon is vitally important for the worker By effectively handling the child's transference he can dilute/eliminate his hostility towards the teacher

The worker will have to examine the role performance and role expectations on the part of both the teacher and the pupil and will interpret the situation in a more objective manner so that the role expectations of both the child and the teacher may be more realistic

Similarly, the worker will have to examine the role performance and role expectations of the child vis-a-vis the parent(s) An objective interpretation will help alter these expectations and make them more close to reality

In short, the school social worker has to interpret the needs of the child, the parent and the school to each of the three parties and has to make an attempt to bring about a reconciliation between the needs, resources, and capacities of each of the three parties

(2) Dealing with the problem of drop-outs The problem of drop-outs in India is colossal The worker will have to unravel the incidence and causes of drop-outs The causes may range all the way from poverty, broken home, unsatisfactory school conditions, delinquency, truancy, etc In dealing with drop-outs the worker will have to enlist the support of the child, his parents, his teachers (the school system may require some change and improvement) and outside public and private agencies and resources Counselling and dealing with transference have a role in this area too

(3) Dealing with attendance problems Non-attendance may be the result of various causes ranging from the personality factors to poverty in the home requiring the child to work, lack of resources, lack of transport facilities, etc By attending to cases in a more personal way the worker can improve attendance in accordance with the exigencies of the situation

(4) Use of community resources The worker must be aware of the resources in the community that may be brought to bear on the problems of the school child This will include knowledge of and the capacity to utilize both public and private resources

(5) Knowledge of and participation in the administrative functions of the schools This is also important for the school social worker

(6) Helping children belonging to the socially and economically disadvantaged classes The social worker in the school setting should pay special attention to the problems of these children This will require acquaintance with their social and cultural background to meet them on their own terms without exhibiting an air of condescension It will be necessary to instill self-confidence in these children and bring special social services available in the community to bear on the problems of these children By his professional warmth, affection and respect for human personality the social worker in the school setting can mobilise the inner resources of the children and outer resources of the community The adjustmental problems of these children have to be seen in the light of the social and economic handicaps with which they have been suffering

(7) Providing referral services There might be cases of children requiring the services of some specialised agencies or specialists The social worker must have an up-to-date knowledge of such agencies and specialists and should the need for their help arise he should refer the child to such agencies or specialists

(8) Promoting group adjustment through group work activities The social worker in the school setting should organise group work activities in the form of recreation, story-telling and the like to increase the capacity of social

participation and constructive group interaction in the school children Through guided group interaction the worker can promote relatedness, belongingness and the feeling of identification among children which may result in the improvement of their social adjustment and the development of their personality Such guided group interaction can be of immense benefit to the child who is a loner or a narcissist or an introvert It can also demolish the barriers that prevent children from constructive social interaction In all such group work activities the worker should seek and obtain the cooperation of the school teachers

(9) Creating attitudes of modernity among children Teachers at the primary and even the secondary stage of education are very poorly paid and ill-equipped to instil and infuse children with attitudes and beliefs of modernity implying belief in secularism, rationality, democracy and socialism, a readiness to accept innovation and change, a greater orientation to the present and the future than to the past, belief in efficacy and in planning as a way of life, belief in science and technology and, above all, a belief in the dignity of man and in distributive justice [13]

The tradition-directed society of ours puts cultural blinders on the individual and makes him impervious to changing realities of life The phenomenon of cultural lag is the result of the petrification of customs, traditions, mores and folkways and fossilization of our non-material culture Instead of developing a sense of history we have become captives of our past In a technological age we must learn to jettison those attitudes and values that are hindering social and economic development and to adopt those that facilitate and promote development Because of the low quality of education available at the primary stage, by the time the child reaches the college or the university stage the pattern of his thinking is already set in a particular mould that becomes impervious to reason The process of cultural indoctrination is so powerful that no amount of education is usually enough to allow for change

The school social worker should be allowed to inculcate attitudes of modernity both in the pupils and the teachers Of course, it will require a change in the curriculum, but the social worker should not wait for this He should be allowed to hold orientation lectures in the form of social education, and pupils of all classes should be included in such orientation lectures turn by turn In this way the school social worker will be filling up the gap in education to some extent

Dr Desai is of the view that "Social work in schools is only one aspect of social work in the educational setting which should also include pre-primary, as well as college and university education" [14] However, a start has to be made by the school and as and when the acceptance of the school social worker in the community increases it may be introduced at the higher levels of education There is no doubt that school social work is most needed when the child is in the school and when his personality is in a maleable stage

SKILLS OF THE SCHOOL SOCIAL WORKER

The skills of the school social worker are related to the role which he is expected to play in the school setting Broadly speaking, the school social worker should possess the following skills and abilities

(1) Skill in providing direct social casework and group work services to selected students This will include the capacity to individualise the children (clients), to relate to them professionally and to mobilise their inner strengths It will also require an understanding of the transference phenomenon especially in cases of rebellion against school authority The social worker must also possess the ability to understand and guide group interaction (2) Ability to elicit the

cooperation of the parents and capacity to interpret to the parents and to the children their mutual viewpoints, expectations and role performance The social worker must also have the skill in counselling of parent groups and helping them understand the problems of the growing child and the basic needs of his personality (3) Skill in interpreting to the teachers the problems and limitations of the pupils and making the pupils understand the expectations of the teachers and of the school system The worker must be capable of bringing about a balance between the abilities of the child, the assignments of the school and expectations of the teachers (4) Ability to understand the effect of deleterious social, cultural and economic conditions on the child and his parents and to enlist the support of the community through social action programmes for the amelioration of these conditions (5) Skill in mobilising community resources and services for the benefit of the children The worker must have the capacity to decide as to which community service or resource is needed for a particular child He should also have the skill in helping the child make the best possible use of these services and resources (6) The worker must have the ability to develop and maintain liaison between the school and the important fields of social work—child welfare, corrections, mental health, and legal services for the poor [15] (7) Ability to "provide leadership in the coordination of interdisciplinary skills among pupil services personnel, e g , guidance counsellors, psychologists "[16]

DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL SOCIAL WORK

In the United States school social work had its beginnings in 1906 and 1907 in Boston, Hartford and New York The first school social work programmes were financed by social agencies in these cities and were known as 'visiting teacher' programmes Since then this service became part of the school system in these cities In Rochester, New York, the board of education financed the visiting teacher service in 1914 [17] Costin maintains that "social work in schools represented a response to the passage of compulsory school attendance laws, new knowledge about individual differences among children, a realisation of the strategic place of school and education in the lives of children, and concern for the relevance of education to the child's life at home and in the community "[18]

Besides, the social worker in settlement houses made a significant contribution to the methods of school social work by emphasising the point that schools should relate more closely to the lives of the children The Henry Street Settlement in New York City made the remark that "Intelligent social workers seize opportunities for observation, and almost unconsciously develop methods to meet needs They see conditions as they are, and become critical of systems as they act and react upon the child or fail to reach him at all where the school fails, it appears to the social workers to do so because it makes education a thing apart, because it separates its work from all that makes up the child's life outside the classroom "[19] The Commonwealth Fund financed various demonstrations in various communities which led to the rapid growth of school social work in the 1920s During this period the focus was on juvenile delinquency In the 1930s the emphasis on truancy and delinquency became less Instead, greater attention was paid to the individual child in the existing school environment and to the refinement of professional methods and techniques By 1940 the focus shifted from school and neighbourhood conditions and social change to a clinical orientation in relation to the needs of the individual personality The method used was social casework

Between 1960 and 1970 there was a new transition in school social work The professions of education and social work began to collaborate

in the interest of those school children whose social and cultural problems prevented them from the utilisation of educational opportunities Social workers turned increasingly to the group work method Some new approaches to working with the community were also demonstrated [20] It is noteworthy that whereas in the early stages of its development school social work in the United States of America was stimulated and partly financed by sources outside the school, it is now based on a recognition on the part of schools themselves of its need and is supported by state legislation

The traditional model of school social work that centred around an exclusive casework approach and neglected the impact that school policies and community conditions had on pupils has been widely criticised as outmoded Still it is the predominant mode of school social work practice in the United States today, because the educational systems are faced with budget cut-backs and the school social workers cannot risk their positions under such circumstances by undertaking the role of a change agent and thereby annoying the establishment

In India the development of school social work has been very tardy In the late 1960s the first full-time school social worker was appointed in a Delhi school Later eight more public schools appointed trained social workers to similar positions The New Delhi Municipal Committee Schools have also appointed school social workers who render their services in the primary sections The problems that are usually encountered are personality and environmental maladjustment, cheating, failure, truancy, delinquency and behaviour or habit disorders Casework is the method generally practised Counselling is also provided to students who need them Referrals are made to a child guidance clinic when required and parents and teachers are contacted Freeships and other types of financial aid are provided to children in economic distress School social workers in the schools perform the role of relating the school child to the outside community and its problems They help the child to learn how to alleviate these problems With this end in view special camps are organised to create awareness of social problems Seminars on relevant themes are organised in the schools after these camps Some schools have started placing their senior students as part-time volunteers in existing social work agencies

Another development was the establishment in December 1978 at Delhi of a 'School Social Work Committee' as a sub-committe of the Indian Association of Trained Social Workers The IATSW chapters in various States of the country should take initiative in the matter in collaboration with the local bodies as well as State Government education and social welfare departments

The problems of student indiscipline, truancy and delinquency are ubiquitous in the myriads of schools, colleges and even in institutions of higher learning The introduction of school social work will go a long way in alleviating some of these problems

ORGANISING SCHOOL SOCIAL WORK IN INDIA

In introducing school social work in the schools, the main problem will be that of finance However, a beginning can be made by schools run by local bodies which can set apart a portion of their budget for the purpose Schools aided by State Governments can get their financial requirements for the purpose from education departments in the States

There might be resistance against the adoption of a radical stance by the school social worker However, a public education campaign and some demonstration projects can dilute the resistance and motivate schools to accept school social work as part of the school system Another yet better way will be for State Govern-

ments/local bodies to establish units of school social services for a certain number of schools consisting of a psychologist, a consulting psychiatrist, a vocational counsellor, a physician and a school social worker The Indian Council of Child Welfare can also take up certain demonstration projects in the area in collaboration with the All-India Women's Conference and the Indian Council of Social Welfare The Central Social Welfare Board and/or the State Social Welfare Advisory Boards can also start their own demonstration projects Once the movement strikes roots, public schools and convent schools are also likely to follow suit

SOCIAL WORK IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SETTING

In a country like ours where the percentage of literacy is still quite low, non-formal education is another important method to educate people Non-formal education includes adult education and social education The scope of adult education is very wide and covers "whatever interests free citizens in a free society "[21] Adult education grew out of a desire to transform "a body of people from subjects to citizens and people able to govern themselves "[22] Education in social responsibility is one of the major components of adult education It involves not only education in citizenship but also the understanding of the ethical, social, economic and political implications of the major policies of the government [23] In other words, it involves a kind of sociological imagination by which C Wright Mills implied the understanding of "the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals "[24] Adult education transformed itself into social education when "it sought a function in underdeveloped and developing societies "[25]

It is unfortunate that despite gigantic efforts by the public and private agencies in India "all the hopes for the non-literacy aspects of social education—relinquishing of out-moded customs, acquisition of new social and economic outlook, streamlining of the life of millions of village families, enabling people to take collective decisions for uplifting their communities, etc —which only well-functioning and well-led youth and women's clubs could fulfil have, because of the limitations of these institutions, not been realised to the extent desired "[26] The social responsibility component of adult education and the non-literacy aspects of social education bring us close to the concept of 'consientisation' which has, of late, acquired a focal position in social work education and practice The concept of conscientisation derives largely from an educationist, Paulo Freire, who worked in the field of adult education in Brazil and Chile and initiated an experiment of attempting to make peasants literate and at the same time to make them conscious of the origins of the oppressive circumstances of their lives [27]

Longres and McLeod think that the justification of conscientisation lies in the awareness of the possible relationship between social order and human misery and in the need for enabling people to have greater mastery over their lives through building new, less debilitating social orders To them, conscientisation or consciousness raising (as they term it) implies the politicalisation of people which enables them to combat negative societal conditions and forces They maintain that, translated into social work practice, people should be enabled "to make connections between adverse conditions in the fabric of society and the problems experienced by them in every day life and, through action, to overcome these conditions "[28] They assert further that, "whenever the social structure may be understood to be impairing the lives of people, consciousness raising is a valid means of intervention "[29]

The Second Review Committee on Social Work Education in India, appointed by the

University Grants Commission, Government of India, while dealing with the tasks of social work has advocated consientisation without, however, mentioning the term as such Says the Committee, "The tasks envisaged expect the social worker to play the role of the catalytic agent for developing and/or modifying current policies/services/institutional structures, educating the people to recognise their inherent capacity for action, and for identifying the policies/institutional and socio-political structures which are exploitative of them or not designed to achieve social goals for all" [30] Under the caption 'Commitment to Action', Longres and Mcleod assert that, "Although social structures are frequently ordered so as to make it difficult for social workers and social work clients to get at them, social structures are made by people and they can also be unmade, dismantled, and remade The task is to have people own and accept as their problem to be overcome those behaviours in themselves and those conditions in the society that support dehumanising social conditions "[31]

Through adult education and also through social education social workers can impart that kind of education to people, especially in the rural areas, which may enable them to identify that part of their behaviour which supports dehumanising conditions Social work has its own ideology an ideology based on social and economic justice Dehumanising conditions cannot be removed unless the barriers, including people's behaviour and values, are removed which support the exploitative, dehumanising social structure The incorporation of the conscientisation approach in the adult education and social education programmes will go a long way in promoting the cause of social and economic justice and social development

FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION

Gunnar Dybward thinks that, "Family life education, in its broadest sense, includes all educational efforts designed to prepare people of any age to make the most of family living "[32] In our country where illiteracy and ignorance are widespread, family life education should be included in the school curriculum Social workers can better impart family life education in view of their field work in family settings and their contacts with people having family problems

POPULATION EDUCATION

Despite a gigantic programme of family planning in India, the population problem does not seem to be anywhere near solution Here, again, the change of attitudes and values is required Changing attitudes and values requires the establishment of meaningful professional relationship with people apart from the use of the communication media Social workers can be better agents for imparting population education by establishing personal, professional relationships with sub-group leaders or leaders of public opinion Population education should also be made compulsory right from the school level

THE COLLEGE AND THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL

By the time a student reaches the college/university level his personality has taken a definite shape However, the present day youth is largely confused and is devoid of any constructive ideology Even at this stage he does need the development of a sound perspective on life Social work can be relevant at this level too by helping students to develop an understanding of social reality and a sound perspective on life that is based on rational, modern thinking The weaning away of the youth from obscurantist moulds of thought is a challenging task that can be undertaken by social work

MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS AND SUPPLY

The manpower requirements can be met by the existing schools of social work and by organising short-term training courses As the field develops, class-room instruction and field-placements can provide the relevant base for knowledge and skill Different educational settings would require different levels of social work training For the field of non-formal education para-professionals can be trained and can be helpful Persons with a Bachelor's degree in Social Work can also be effectively involved in this task Schools of social work will have to modify their theory courses and fieldwork practicum accordingly Bachelor's degree courses will have to be started in a larger number of social work schools

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

The expansion of school social work movement and the deployment of social workers in the non-formal educational setting will give a new relevance to social work in India and will broaden the area of its application

The institution of school social work will also help in raising the academic standard of schools and colleges and will mitigate much of student indiscipline and unrest The guidance at the college and university level will give a sense of direction to youth By infusing the spirit of secularism and modernity among students both in the formal and informal education setting, social work will be instrumental in ushering social change indirectly It will also bring an integration between the school and the community and impart a new and radical meaning to education as a means for social change and development

MIRZA R AHMAD

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SOCIAL WORK IN FAMILY PLANNING SETTING

'Family planning' can be defined in several ways It can be considered to be an idea or a concept in the sense that it implies the freedom of choice to individual couples to decide the number of children they would like to have and when they would like to have them Family planning can also be defined in terms of behaviour, when individual couples take action to actualise this concept and adopt family planning methods When agencies like national governments or voluntary organisations undertake the provision of services—educational, clinical, etc —for enabling individual couples to practise family planning, one can think in terms of a family planning programme The present rates of population growth have made it imperative for several developing countries to adopt national family planning policies and to implement nation-wide family planning programmes

India has the distinction of being the first country in the world to launch a national family planning programme by including it in the First Five Year Plan (1951—56) Later, it was redesignated as the family welfare programme to denote that the programme had a wider base, consisting of various measures of 'family welfare' for improving the quality of human life To avoid any confusion due to differences in nomenclature, the term family planning, which is universally accepted, will be used throughout this paper This will also subvert the difficulty arising out of using different terms with reference to the same concept but referring to different phases of the programme The term 'family planning setting' will be used to denote the various settings in which the family planning programme is sponsored and implemented in India by governmental and non-governmental agencies

Social work is generally defined in terms of its professional activities, which include, "restoration of impaired capacity, provision of individual and social resources and prevention of social dysfunction" [1] Though such a definition places equal emphasis on the remedial as well as the preventive functions of social work, traditionally social work has emphasised the remedial function for the benefit of the weaker sections of society to a greater extent than the preventive function In recent years, however, there is a marked swing in favour of the preventive function In developing countries today, in addition to the remedial and preventive functions, the social worker is also called upon to play an important role in development programmes which plan for a stronger and a more viable society, and to act as agent of change

This paper attempts to analyse the role of social work in the family planning setting in India with a view to review the current situation and to explore the possibilities of optimising the

remedial, preventive and developmental functions of social work in this field While doing this, the family planning programme will be considered at various levels, so that at one end of the spectrum we have highly trained professional social workers and at the other end, grass-root level workers with minimal academic background and some inservice training and even volunteers with some orientation to social work in the family planning setting Those covered would thus include all workers who have some skills in social diagnosis, human relations and information-education and who are engaged in the important task of enabling "individuals, groups and communities to improve their social situation, to adjust to changing conditions and to participate in the tasks of development",[2] as identified by the Experts on the Social Welfare Aspects of Family Planning at the inter-regional meeting convened by the United Nations in 1971 This paper will thus focus on the social work approach in the field of family planning rather than focusing on social workers

OBJECTIVES

In a review of family planning programmes in the developing world undertaken by the Population Council, New York, it was found that as of 1977, sixty-five countries in the developing world have family planning supportive policies, covering a population of 267 4 crores that is 92 per cent of the population of the developing world [3] Though it is now well recognised that family planning by itself cannot be considered to be a panacea for all the evils resulting from rapid population growth in several developing countries, the family planning programme is viewed as a primary measure for the reduction of population growth

An important objective of the family planning programme is to improve the health, educational and social status of individual families and thus achieve the welfare of the society as a whole by improving the quality of life In this context, family planning can be viewed as a matter of human right The controversial World Population Plan of Action, finally adopted by the representatives of 136 nations attending the Bucharest Conference, recommended that all countries, "Respect and ensure regardless of their overall demographic goals, the right of persons to determine in a free, informal and responsible manner, the number and spacing of their children" [4]

As pointed out by Rapoport, "The goals of family planning are not charged with conflict or dissent with social work" [5] One of the central concerns of social work is to enhance, strengthen and preserve family life and these values are also shared by the philosophy of family planning Even though family planning programmes are undertaken by developing countries with demographic goals, ideally the human aspect is taken into account and the right of self-determination is not denied to those for whom the programmes are meant In fact, whenever the goals of the family planning programme are in conflict with the values of social work, it is imperative that social workers, as a professional group, resist any such infringement Social workers believe and maintain that the right to freedom and self-determination in all areas of life needs to be safeguarded, no matter how serious the population problem

Some times it is argued that fundamental rights of individuals may be sacrificed for the common good of the country This position has invariably been rejected by the social work profession As Sanders argues, "In the sorting out of priorities, social workers can help other disciplines keep in their purview the human element which might otherwise be ever shadowed by the magnitude and urgency of the problems of population control "[6] In their anxiety to tackle the population problem, programme administrators may tend to single out a particular ethnic,

racial or socio-economic group for special emphasis with regard to family planning Social workers, on the other hand, maintain that family planning programmes should be directed to the society as a whole and all sections of society should have equal access to family planning services and equal opportunities to take advantage of them, otherwise there is a fear that the whole issue of population control would be politicised In support of this argument, Margeret Mead is quoted as having stated, "We have to have an ethic on the subject of population control that is world-wide, that includes every one, where class, ethnic and racial differences will not confuse the issue" [7]

While the right to freedom and self-determination is well accepted, it is necessary to point out, as Stein does, that "True freedom rests on knowledge and opportunity for options Ignorance is not freedom" [8] In this sense, social workers need to provide the information that is required by people for exercising their own judgement in making decisions regarding family size Social workers may also be called upon to induce changes in attitudes and values concerning reproduction and child-bearing, ultimately resulting in the adoption of family planning practices, this involves changes in human behaviour

Family planning can be viewed as a remedial, preventive and developmental health and welfare-measure which provides several benefits to society Viewed as a measure to minimise poverty within the family, it also ensures that every child is wanted so that it does not suffer from the psychological implications of parental rejection Family planning can also be viewed as aiding the improvement in the status of women, as it frees them from being bound down to the tasks of childbearing and childrearing during the best years of their lives and opens up alteranate avenues for self-expression and self-development As family planning services are usually integrated with maternal and child health services, the total programme furthers the cause of maternal and child health An added advantage of the family planning programme is that though in the initial stages, due to the pressures of the population problem, policy makers emphasised the family planning programme without paying due attention to supportive programmes, it soon becomes evident that there is a need for having a broader population policy which includes such measures as increasing the age at marriage, improvement in the status of women by providing them with opportunities for education, liberalising abortion laws, providing population education to the young, etc The family planning programme then becomes an important element of the total population policy of the country, rather than being implemented in isolation and considered as the only solution to the population problem of the country In this respect, the case of India is striking Though the family planning programme has been in operation since 1951, it was in April 1976 that a full-fledged national population policy was announced It incorporated several of the measures mentioned above, plus many more The current population policy of India also incorporates several supportive measures

METHODS AND SKILLS

It needs to be emphasised at this point that family planning is a multi-professional, multi-disciplinary field Therefore, the contribution of other professions and disciplines like medicine, demography, health education, need not be de-emphasised while highlighting the role of social work

As pointed out by Kendall, "Family planning has the advantage of embracing all of social work's methodological approaches, from the therapeutic relationship through all forms of individual and group activity to social policy, planning, administration and the broadest type of community involvement and action".[9]

The applicability of the three basic methods of social work in the field of family planning can be easily demonstrated

(1) Casework The casework method, which is essentially focused on the individualisation of services can be effectively used for enabling individual couples to accept family planning services and to continue practising family planning effectively The acceptance of family planning does not depend merely on awareness and knowledge of family planning methods and services, but involves complex feelings and behaviour Many people would, therefore, need clarification, support and reinforcement, which could be provided by those trained in casework and having the necessary skills Even after initial acceptance of a family planning method, the individual couple may require continued support and clarification for effective practice of contraception and for preventing them from becoming dropouts For family planning methods, which require repeated use like the pills, condom, etc, such support would be essential, as the initial motivation may not be strong enough to ensure sustained use of the method

In a country like India, where sterilisation is the most widely accepted method, the need for casework practice in the family planning programme is all the more pronounced Not only do people have several fears and anxieties before they take the final step to permanently stop reproduction, but the very nature of the surgical procedure itself, specially of vasectomy (male sterilisation) can also be threatening and frightening to those undergoing it Through professional intervention, it should be possible to enable such people to have clarification about their fears and anxieties Even after sterilisation, some individuals may need continued support and assistance to tackle the after-effects, some of which may be psychosomatic, and some quite real Vasectomised men sometimes complain of loss of sexual vigour Such men would need support and clarification to return to their normal pattern On the one hand, some may actually suffer from pain, swelling, etc and would require support to seek medical help, which they may not otherwise do due to embarrassment

(2) Group Work The group work method can be used in the field of family planning for achieving educational and preventive goals and is likely to be particularly effective when directed to special interest groups One such illustration is that of youth groups for whom the group work approach can be used for imparting population and sex education as a basis for inculcating healthy attitudes to sex and family planning The Family Planning Association of India has set up several such groups in Bombay, specially for the out of school youth [10] The Population Cell of the Department of Continuing Education of the S N D T Women's University in Maharashtra has encouraged the starting of Population Clubs in the affiliated colleges [11] The Mothers' Clubs established by the Planned Parenthood Federation of Korea in 1968, while promoting family planning, community health and village development projects, have been successful in accelerating interpersonal communication about family planning at the village level and in legitimising family planning practice among village women [12]

(3) Community Organisation As social change is implied in the successful implementation of the family planning programme, there can be no doubt that community organisation is an important method of intervention in this field By gearing the community to take action for the development of services and programmes through self-help, it not only becomes possible to build support for family planning, but also to enable the community to become self-reliant Social workers can also play an important role by training volunteers and by supervising their work, so that they contribute to social change through family planning programmes

Social workers can act as catalysts for attitudinal change by utilising their skills of studying the communities in which they work, assessing the community leadership resources and working with community members having the same goals and concerns In the Republic of Korea, for instance, family planning constitutes a part of the New Village Movement which is aimed at community development based on the voluntary participation and cooperation of community members working for social change in the community The entire Movement is based on the slogan, "diligence, self-support and cooperation", and has as its objectives the inculcation of a sound national identity, develoment of a good social environment and an increase in national income [13] Though the progress of the family planning component is not as impressive as the Movement itself, it is worth noting that those responsible have been able to identify the reasons for the comparative lack of success The revival of Orientation Training Camps for village influentials in India is an indication of the confidence the government has in developing centres of support for the family planning programme within the village communities The participants of such camps are expected to develop broad action plans for their own villages and are expected to implement these plans with guidance and support provided by professional workers [14] Bangladesh has now adopted a deliberate policy towards community involvement, as evidence from many parts of the world has indicated that acceptance rates for family planning services increase when the community leadership assumes responsibility for the programme [15]

There is no reason to believe that the contribution of social work as a profession is restricted to only the above mentioned areas in the field of family planning In fact, as Sanders argues, social work's "professional methodology may employ a range of interventive, developmental, action-oriented and advocacy techniques that often build upon but frequently extend far beyond the characterisitic approaches of casework, group work and community organisation" [16]

DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

Pathak has divided the family planning programme into the following areas (1) policy, (2) administration, (3) community education and social action, (4) provision of contraceptive services, (5) follow-up services to the adopters, (6) training and (7) research and evaluation [17] While analysing the role of social work in the various family planning settings in India, it would be useful to adopt this scheme, with the addition of supportive programmes

(1) Policy Population policy can be considered in the broader context of social policy, as it can have an impact not only on fertility but also on other areas of human life The family planning policy in India may be considered as one of the important components of the population control policy that the country has adopted As pointed out earlier, social workers in India can be vigilant by ensuring that the human factor is not disregarded while formulating population policies meant for tackling the population problem Social workers can also contribute by formulating indirect approaches which need to be incorporated in the national population policy for influencing fertility which are at the same time in keeping with the values of social work

The highest policy making body for family planning programme in India at present is the Central Family Welfare Council First set up in September 1956, this apex body for family planning policy making was then known as the Central Family Plannig Board In 1966 this body came to be known as the Central Family Planning Council and with the change in nomenclature in February 1977 as the Central Family Welfare Council In recent years the meetings of

the Central Family Welfare Council and the Central Council of Health are held jointly as the close relationship between the two is realised and accepted These Councils are mainly meant to review the progress of the family planning programme and to make policy decisions These Councils, headed by the Union Minister of Health and Family Welfare, consist of experts as well as representatives of the government, voluntary organisations and industries Similar Councils function at the Stae level The present constitution of these Councils do not indicate strong representation of the social work profession, which has, therefore, not been in a position to effectively influence family planning policy decisions

A Cabinet Committee for Family Planning at the Centre, surprisingly enough, did not include the Minister for Social Welfare At the State level, there are similar Cabinet Committees headed by the Chief Minister The function of Cabinet Committees at the Centre and the State level is to ensure expeditious policy clearance and effective coordination among different administrative departments

In this context, the specific recommendation made by the United Nations Advisory Mission, which visited India in 1969 to evaluate the Indian family planning programme, is worth noting The mission felt that consideration should be given to the possibility of establishing a Committee with representatives of the Central Social Welfare Board, the heads of schools of social work, the Department of Family Planning, and the Indian Association of Trained Social Workers Such a Committee could be charged with determining what types of family planning information and advice can most suitably be offered to different categories of social service clients [18] No initiative seems to have yet been taken by the social work profession in this matter, thereby losing an opportunity to influence decisions regarding the family planning programme

Another instance of the absence of a dialogue between the social work profession and the family planning administrators is the change made in the nomenclature of the family planning staff Since the inception of the programme in 1951, the staff member responsible for educational and motivational activities in both the urban and the rural family planning centres was designated as 'Social Worker' When the programme was reorganised in 1963, this designation was changed to 'Extension Educator' While not denying the suitability of this designation it may be pointed out, as Pathak does, that "this was due to a mistaken belief that social work training emphasised only the individual approach which is of low efficiency and is unsuited to a mass programme that has to reach a large population" [19] While justifying the need for an Extension Wing of the family planning programme, Raina states, "The power inherent in a group itself to bring about change in deeply rooted practices, among the members of the group, is greater than the individual instruction by outsiders"[20], indirectly implying that the social work approach was mainly oriented to the individual and therefore unsuitable for a mass programme

(2) Administration As the family planning programme in India has historically developed within the Ministry of Health, it was assumed in the initial stages of programme development that all administrative posts would be manned by medical professionals It is for this reason that the family planning programme is still dominated by the medical profession Highly trained and experienced social workers should actually be able to occupy important administrative positions The United Nations Advisory Mission had made a specific recommendation to this effect in 1969 "Trained social workers with higher academic qualifications could help free medical personnel for medical work and at the same time improve administrative efficiency"[21] The post of the District Family Wel-

fare Officer is crucial for the success of the family planning programme in the rural areas and highly qualified and experienced social workers could definitely provide the needed leadership with their expertise in administration, management and programme implementation Although a few non-medical persons do function as District Family Welfare Officers, such cases are few and far between and such persons are not necessarily professionally trained social workers

(3) Community Education and Social Action Social workers can make a substantial contribution in the area of community education dealing with the attitudes and motivations of couples regarding the size of their families and the adoption of family planning methods Here social workers may find themselves as advocates of a certain population policy and are required to invovle themselves in community education programmes which require communication skills

Social workers are sometimes concerned that while the communication experts are mainly committed to achieving results, and therefore may be involved in manipulating motivations, the reliance of social work is on the principle of self-determination even for achieving change in behaviour This approach, more often than not, involves a slow process However, it is to be recognised that the current family planning communication strategy adopted in India need not be in conflict with the values of social work As pointed out by the Experts on the Social Welfare Aspects of Family Planning in the inter-regional meeting convened by the United Nations in 1971, what is important is that "the message communicated must become meaningful to the people in the context of their daily life" [22] While social workers need not compete with communication experts, specially in the field of mass media, they would have a valuable contribution to make because they work closely with the people and, therefore, are particularly sensitive to the psychological and cultural aspects of their motivation and behaviour

Social workers could also be proficient in dealing with educational programmes and mobilising the community to take collective action for fulfilling the recognised needs of the members of the community and to take steps to improve the conditions within the community for facilitating better functioning With reference to the family planning programme, this implies involving the community in all the stages, right from planning the programme to implementing and evaluating it In the Indian family planning programme the role of the rural informal leaders is well recognised The task of the social workers is to identify such influentials within the community, obtain their support for the programme, ensure their participation in the one-day Orientation Training Camps that are organised and finally secure their commitment to implement the action plan that may have been involved at such Camps Thus social workers fulfil their responsibility of carrying out community education programmes, and at the same time, mobilise the community through their leaders to take action for fulfilling the needs of individual couples in the area of family planning In this role the social worker can be thought about as an agent of social change and a key contributor to social development

In addition to community education, social workers are also required to assist their clients in arriving at decisions regarding the adoption of family planning The United Nations Mission to India (1968) stressed the importance of counselling in family planning despite the fact that it is a slow process on the ground that the impact is more lasting The U N Mission thus reiterated its confidence in the educational approach as being appropriate for any long-range family planning programme [23]

The need for counselling services for women seeking induced abortion under the Medical Termination of Pregnancy (M T P) Act of 1971

is paramount Even married women who seek termination of an unwanted pregnancy do feel the need for guidance and support and help to handle their feelings of guilt, it any Women, who become pregnant out of wedlock, who have to terminate their pregnancies are in even greater need of counselling services All those undergoing induced abortion have to be advised to adopt appropriate family planning methods and helped to accept the services offered

Medical termination of pregnancy is undertaken only in approved institutions (2,942 in March 1980), important among which are the Post Partum Centres Of the sanctioned posts for such centres, the extension educator, the lady health visitor and the family welfare worker could be given some responsibility for abortion counselling, if they are properly trained for this task The gap between the required number and the staff actually in position is, however, quite large For instance, as in June 1978, the staff position in the Post Partum Centres run by the State Governments in terms of categories of staff, required number and staff actually in position were as follows Extension Educator, 341 and 149 respectively, Lady Health Visitors, 470 and 250 respectively, and Family Welfare Workers, 448 and 242 respectively [24] Again, there is no information regarding the extent to which counselling is actually undertaken at such centres, though it is known that occasionally special projects are undertaken One such project was undertaken by the Family and Child Welfare Department of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay [25]

In the present family planning set up, several categories of staff responsible for education and information programmes can be identified These include the mass education and media officers at the State and district levels, the deputy mass education and media officers at the district level and the block extension educators All these positions could be held by trained social workers

(4) Provision of Contraceptive Services In this area, social workers may have a limited role to play as most of the family planning methods like male and female sterilisation and the IUD require the services of medical personnel The programme of oral contraceptives, which was earlier restricted to only urban family welfare centres and those primary health centres which are in a position to monitor its progress and continued use by the acceptors, has now been extended to all primary health centres in the country According to a recent directive from the Centre, auxiliary nurse midwives are entitled to supply oral contraceptives to clients Extension educators are, however, not allowed to do so The supply of condoms (*Nirodh*) is undertaken through several schemes, like the commercial distribution scheme, the scheme for free distribution through the family welfare centres, and the depot holders scheme, all of which rely mainly on non-medical channels

(5) Follow-Up Services As described earlier, the inclusion of the social work component in the training of family planning workers can provide them with the necessary skills to help family planning acceptors to deal with any anxieties and fears associated with family planning methods, give them psychological support for continuous use of methods requiring repeated use and help them to make use of community resources to solve any problems that they might have connected with the method

(6) Training The question of the training of those who are concerned with the social welfare aspects of family planning to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills can be studied through two approaches One is to find out the extent to which the family planning component is included in the training of professional social workers The other approach is to find out the extent to which the social work component is included in the training of family planning workers, either paid or voluntary, who are not professional social workers

The Inter-regional Meeting of the Experts on the Social Welfare Aspects of Family Planning convened by the United Nations in 1971 suggested that the following educational objectives should be adopted for the training of professional social workers in relation to the family planning programme "(a) knowledge of population trends and problems, (b) knowledge of social policy and social planning with reference to policy issues and developments in family planning, (c) knowledge of family planning system with emphasis on changing patterns, (d) understanding of the knowledge base and action strategies for social change, (e) understanding of the value issues and cultural factors that affect behavioural change and impinge on population and family planning questions" [26]

The Expert Group also listed out the skills that should be developed in the social worker while reaching the above educational objectives These skills are basic to the functioning of professional social workers in any field but are described in the context of the family planning programme This list includes skills necessary for working with individuals, groups, communities as well as those necessary for interdisciplinary functioning, administration of programmes, supervision and consultation, research methods for collecting data and for evaluation, communication skills and skills in handling and using community conflicts to achieve desired ends [27]

Opinion in India is divided as to whether the family planning content should be taught to the students of social work as an independent course or whether it should be included at appropriate points in the existing curriculum There is also considerable difference of opinion as to whether all students of social work should be required to take a course in family planning or whether only students specialising in specific fields like Family and Child Welfare, Medical and Psychiatric Social Work, Community Development, etc , should be taught this course Another line of thinking propagates that family planning should be an elective rather than a required course for all students of social work, while some are of the opinion that it should be an elective course for students specialising in specific fields Each school of social work has to determine its own line of action according to its own priorities, the needs of the community it serves and the employment opportunities available to its students In the second Experts Group Meeting on Social Welfare and Family Planning convened by the United Nations in April 1974, there was agreement that "all social workers should have a general knowledge of the subject matter relating to family planning and population so that they could more effectively perform all social welfare tasks Schools of social work should be able to train their students for specific family planning tasks where needed" [28] As for the position in India, up-to-date information regarding facilities available for training in family planning in the various schools of social work in India is not available Some information is, however, available in the findings of the study sponsored by the Association of Schools of Social Work and undertaken by Pathak in 1972 [29] It was found that about half the number of post-graduate institutions which responded to the questionnaire (17 out of the 27 post-graduate schools of social work operating at the time) had substantial content in family planning It is expected that the situation must have improved considerably over the last few years

The other category of workers concerned with the social welfare aspects of family planning includes the auxiliary workers referred to as front-line workers or social work aides by the United Nations Expert Group on the Welfare Aspects of Family planning [30] These front-line workers are mainly required to work closely with the community and, therefore, should be able to establish rapport with the community and to conduct educational activities The Uni-

ted Nations Expert Group has listed the following topics which are normally included in the training of such workers in developing countries "Rationale for family planning, family planning methods, how they work, advantages and disadvantages, planning and preparing community surveys, principles of client motivation, patient recruitment and instruction, referrals, follow-up, home visits, etc "[31]

The various health and family welfare training centres under the auspices of either the State or the Central Government are mainly responsible for the in-service training of the family planning staff In such centres, the social work content can be contributed by the following categories of sanctioned staff health education instructor, social science instructor and the health education extension officer The participation of the schools of social work in such training programmes is at present minimal

The content of the training of voluntary workers for family planning depends on their background and the level at which they are expected to function In India, since February 1978, the scheme of Family Welfare Orientation Camps has been revived The methods and skills of social work have an important place in the training content of such camps, though not explicitly spelt out These camps aim at enabling the village leaders "(i) to appreciate the family welfare programme as a promoter of individual and family welfare and not just a demographic imperative, (ii) to recognise the importance of family welfare in improving the quality of life , (iii) -to dispel their misconceptions about the programme and to give them correct information about the various methods of contraception, (iv) to identify their role in the promotion of family welfare programme at the village level, and (v) to develop broad action plans for their villages" [32]

(7) Research and Evaluation The following areas of social work research identified by Klein and Marian can be covered by social workers with reference to family planning (1) Studies to establish, identify and measure the need for service, (2) studies to measure the services offered as they relate to needs, (3) studies to test, guage and evaluate results of social work operation, (4) studies to test the efficacy of specific techniques of offering services and (5) studies in methodology of social work research" [33] Such studies could include KAP (Knowledge, Attitude, Practice) studies, studies of acceptors of contraception and communication studies In addition as suggested by Gindy, social workers can contribute studies on attitudinal changes, family size and patterns, size and structures of families and households, the relation of different types of family union to fertility levels, husband-wife relationships and attitudes to children [34] New functions and roles of family and child welfare services in the implementation of family planning programmes can also be studied Assessment of the contribution of social welfare personnel at all levels to the family planning programme can also be undertaken

Gindy has raised the question as to why these fields of research should be of particular interest to social workers, when these have already engaged the attention of sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and other social and behavioural scientists She argues, "The answer lies in the social workers' unique knowledge of the individual, his human behaviour, feelings, values, attitudes, anxieties and family relationship—all of which are major factors underlying any social research carried out in the field of family planning" [35]

The contribution of the social workers to family planning research is negligible The reason for this can be found in the general lack of interest that social work as a profession has taken in family planning Even a cursory study of research topics selected by students of post-graduate schools of social work indicates that

very few students undertake research in family planning The reasons for this lack of interest among students in family planning are many In terms of age and experience the student social workers may not always be suited to take up research in family planning The faculty members responsible for guiding the students may not have a thorough knowledge of the field and may not themselves be interested in the field When the entire field of study is not thoroughly known, selection of the problem for research may not be done judiciously For carrying out research in any of the problems suggested earlier, cooperative relations, which have to be built up with the service agencies, may not have been established Finally, the finding of the research studies may not have always been made available to the service agencies nor their usefulness demonstrated

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

Most of the problems and issues concerning social work in the family planning setting have been discussed under various headings in the earlier sections The principal among these are reiterated in this section

The population policy of India is basically concerned with the problem of rapid population growth and the ways and means of curbing it It is, therefore, not surprising that in the statement of the current policy regarding the Family Welfare Programme announced in 1977[36] or in the earlier one announced in 1976,[37] there is no reference whatsoever to family planning as a *human right*, an objective to which social work subscribes, though reference is made to the "vital importance of family planning as a means of *individual* and national development and well-being"[38] All measures for social change included in the policy are, therefore, viewed as being instrumental primarily in meeting the objective of reduction in population growth, rather than meeting social welfare objectives Viewed from another angle it is now necessary to also give some thought to the way in which social welfare policies can be linked to social development and population policies

It may be pointed out that the Central Family Welfare Council, the highest policy-making body for family planning in India, is not an inter-ministry body, though the Cabinet Committee on Family Welfare consists of ministers of several ministries The Ministry of Health and Family Welfare assumes leadership in policy formulation, and the Council consists of ministers of health of all the States as well as experts and representatives of voluntary organisations, industries, etc On the other hand, the following observation made by the United Nations Expert Group on Social Welfare and Family Planning on the basis of a ten-country study is pertinent in this matter "The experiences of Egypt and Indonesia appear to show that a strong Ministry of Social Welfare, which plays an active leadership role, is the best assurance of social welfare participation in the formation of population policy"[39]

One issue may continue to remain unsolved in a democratic country like India, where the population problem is considered basic to many problems of the country How can the objectives and methods of social work on the one side, and quick results in population control on the other, be reconciled? The approach of social work is based on the right of self-determination and has as its objective the enhancement of human dignity It aims at bringing about change in human behaviour through the educational approach which is a slow process The cost-effectiveness of such an approach is questioned by those interested in quick results

Compulsion in the family planning programme has no doubt been ruled out The pressure to reach the targets, however, parsists

Another issue, which has relevance for the social work philosophy, is the offer of incentives, either in cash or in kind to acceptors of family planning As pointed out by Rogers, the 'quality of acceptance' is likely to be low when incentives are offered, due to low commitment and understanding [40] The payment of incentives also raises moral and ethical issues, as it can be viewed as exploitation of poverty There is no doubt that when incentives are provided to acceptors, the rate of adoption increases and the family planning programme is successful in covering those individuals who normally would not have adopted family planning Rogers has cited research findings to indicate that when ever incentives were used, acceptors tended to have lower incomes, less education and more children than non-acceptors [41]

Other issues relating to incentives raised by the United Nations Expert Group on Social Welfare and Family Planning are (a) whether incentives can be supportive of social welfare aims and objectives, (b) what the role of social welfare workers is with respect to the carrying out of an incentive programme, (c) what types of social welfare inputs and incentives can be combined to produce the most effective motivation, (d) what social welfare incentives exist; (e) what the important variables and considerations are in designing such incentives, and (f) what political, ethical, economic administrative and developmental factors are to be considered in the use of incentives "[42]

The general lack of interest of the Indian social work profession in family planning is a cause of concern It is true that evidence can be provided of some display of interest For instance, the Association of Schools of Social Work in India organised a workshop on social work education and family planning in 1972, where the need for including family planning in the curriculum of social work was emphasised On the recommendations of this workshop, a Summer Institute in family planning for social work educators was organised in 1973 by the Association Even to this date, not all schools of social work include family planning as a compulsory course for all students of social work. Very few trained social workers hold key positions in the national family planning programme, with the result that the influence of the philosophy of social work on policy decisions or programme-implementation is meagre

The absence of a strong social work component in the training of family planning workers at all levels could result in poor performance in many areas For instance, skills of interviewing need to be employed when registering clients for family planning services, so that informed decisions are made by the acceptors Instead, such occasions may merely be viewed as filling up forms for the sake of record keeping Opportunities for counselling in such areas as acceptance of terminal methods of family planning and requests for medical termination of pregnancy may be lost, with adverse effects on the individuals concerned as well as the programme, if family planning workers are not adequately trained to fulfil this responsibility Similarly, efficient follow-up services may also not be provided to family planning acceptors, if the workers are not trained to acquire the necessary skills

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Unless social work, as a profession, makes its influence felt, the pressures of the magnitude of the population problem may result in the formulation of policies and programmes, which may not be in keeping with some of the central values of social work—respect for the dignity of human worth and enhancement of the quality of human life To sum up in the words of the U N Expert Group on Social Welfare, "The dilemma has not been resolved and calls for the involvement of social welfare professionals at the highest levels of policy making to assure that every couple has a knowledge and understand-

ing of their options, and that when a choice is made it is both informed and uninfluenced by incentives which would tend to exploit the acceptor's condition, whether financial, educational or otherwise "[43]

ASHA A BHENDE

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41 *Ibid*, p 244

42 United Nations, *Social Welfare and Family Planning, op cit*, p 32

43 *Ibid*, p 44

SOCIAL WORK IN MEDICAL SETTING

Medical social work is a branch of professional social work Some medical social workers work in health settings such as hospitals, dispensaries and clinics, while others are functioning in health prevention, treatment and rehabilitation In these settings at the curative and rehabilitative levels of health, the medical social worker helps the individual to cope with the psycho-social problems that arise out of ill-health and disability, and enable him to lead a productive and satisfying life to the best of his capacity The medical social worker with his or her knowledge of the dynamics of human behaviour as well as skills in establishing a purposeful relationship, tries to know the patient as a person, his socio-economic condition, his attitude towards his health problems, his relationship with his family, employer, class teacher and others, and seeks to elicit the co-operation of the patient and his family, taps community resources and acts as a liaison between the patient and the doctor, thus enabling the patient to maximise his level of functioning At the preventive and promotive phases of health, the medical social worker studies the socio-cultural pattern and the health needs of the families and the community, interprets the same to the team, and derives maximum participation of the people in the resources made available to them, so as to raise their total health level The existence of the medical social worker in the health setting presupposes (a) the recognition of psycho-social aspects of health, and (b) acquisition of skills to deal with them through scientific training

FUNCTIONS

The medical social worker's clientele in the hospital are individuals in need of help for various psycho-social impediments in illness and disability The cases referred could be classified as (i) the chronically ill, e g , cases of tuberculosis, diabetes, cardiovascular diseases, cancer, leprosy, etc , (ii) the physically disabled, e g cases of paraplegia, amputation, blindness, deafness, burns, etc , (iii) unmarried motherhood, medical termination of pregnancy, psychosomatic disorders, etc , (iv) cases for material help, cases in need for institutionalisation, etc

From the cases referred o the medical social worker some can be helped within a comparatively short period whereas others may take longer to be helped Medical social workers seek to help these cases mainly through the use of casework and group work methods Along with direct service to patients, they perform many other duties which are enumerated as follows

(I) Extend direct service to the patients using casework method (i) Interpret the nature of disease and its implication to the patients and their families either at an individual level or at a group level, (ii) do social evaluation of individual cases in terms of their ability to participate in the treatment programme and providing the necessary emotional support during crisis situations, (iii) bring about environmental modification as and when necessary in order to enable the patient to benefit from the treatment prescribed This would involve work with the place of employment, the school, the family and the neighbourhood as well, (iv) provide material requirements of money, medicines, clothes, prosthesis, etc to enable the patient to make the most of the treatment advised and to tap community resources for the same when needed, (v) interpret the patient's psycho-social problems to the other members of the family and to the society he lives in, to help them to assume new responsibilities when necessary, and accept the patient as he is, (vi) plan with the patient and his family the rehabilitation in terms of vocational and job placement, (vii) keep follow-up of the patient and his family so as to stabilise the gains made during treatment, and (viii) institutionalise and place the patients as and when found necessary Though the individual continues to be the main focus of attention of the medical social worker, there is a marked trend observed towards working with groups of patients and their families—not just to reach a larger section of the population simultaneously but to tap the inherent strength that belongs to a group in the process of working with individual problems

(II) Extending direct service using group work method (i) to enable patients with similar problems to come together and so feel less isolated and alone in facing their problems, (ii) to bring about a feeling of belongingness and being a part of a community which would give them the courage and confidence to adjust to the larger community outside, (iii) to work through problems in an atmosphere of mutual acceptance rather than in a situation where the 'normal' would 'tell' the 'handicapped' how to solve their problems (iv) to use the group as a therapeutic agent for emotional growth and attitudinal change through the proces of mutual sharing

Group activities of different kinds are conducted for recreation, education and skill training of the patients and their relatives

(III) Maintain liaison with the Hospital Team, (i) interpret the role of social worker to the team and (ii) interpret the needs of the patients to the team in order to arrive at a proper diagnosis, extend necessary treatment and arrive at a suitable rehabilitation plan, and with the Community, (i) interpret the role of the hospital and its needs to the patients, their families and the community, (ii) pool together the existing community resources for material aid required by the patients, (iii) build up human resources in the form of volunteers to conduct activities such as circulating library, toy bank, etc for the patients, and (iv) develop new resources within the community according to the needs felt by the patients, and with the Teaching Institutes, (i) help the training institutions of social work to make their training programmes relevant to needs in field practice and (ii) help the hospital to appreciate the vital role training institutions are playing in building the total health of the people

(IV) Administration this consists of clerical aspects such as maintaining records, registers etc, organising and planning day to day activi-

ties of the department, supervision and consultations with the staff, as well as the volunteers, and maintaining an effective liaison with the authorities of the hospital so as to keep them informed and involved in the planning and implementation of programmes of the department for patient care and for the staff development

(V) Teaching, Supervision and Staff Development (a) Participate in the teaching programme of (i) medical students at undergraduate and post-graduate levels, (ii) social work students, (iii) physio-theraphy and occupational therapy students, and (iv) nursing students, (b) conduct and guide training programmes of (i) interns (medical), (ii) student social workers (for their field work experience), (iii) para-professionals, and (iv) national social service scheme students and other volunteers, and (c) participate in seminars, conferences and other staff development programmes organised inside and outside the hospital

(VI) Research To conduct and guide research studies, either independently or jointly with the related disciplines

MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK IN THE WEST

Medical social work emerged as a branch of the profession of social work in Western countries like the U S A and Britain due to a series of events and developments that took place in late nineteenth century

The first expression was around 1880 when a group of volunteers working for an asylum in England paid friendly visits to the discharged patients to find how well they have adjusted to their home conditions However, a breakthrough in understanding the patient in his social situation was made in England in 1895, when Sir Charles Loch recommended that the lady almoners should visit the patients home to prevent the abuse of the drugs given free of cost by the charitable hospitals While investigating the financial situation, the almoner found that there was a host of other social problems which needed to be handled Hence, while disbursing the free medicines, she tapped many other community resources to help the patients to solve their social problems

In the U S A around 1900, home visiting by the nurses of the discharged patients from hospital for treating them at home demonstrated the value of viewing the patient in his home surroundings In 1902, Dr Emerson of John Hopkin University, Baltimore, appreciated the significance of social aspects in illness and made the medical students visit the patient's homes The primary aim was evidently to enable the medical students to study the impact of the living conditions on health and illness rather than developing the service for hospital patients In any case, this did contribute to realising the need of a person who knew and could communicate to others the social and cultural factors affecting health

Developments in the behavioural and social sciences and the emergence of democratic liberal ideas gave a scientific background to this increasingly important role needed to be performed In 1905, Dr Richard C Cabot succeeded in getting appointed a social worker in the Massachussets General Hospital, Boston, U S A

Around this time, when psychiatry was still in its early stages, social work helped to demonstrate the social dimensions of illness and the treatment offered, which appeared clearly different from the purely medical focus of the doctors Since this approach was new, the medical social workers got ready recognition In the initial thirty years the number of social workers in hospitals multiplied slowly but steadily As pyschiatry grew, around 1940, social casework became a more refined tool Apart from the care of the individual patient, the medical social

workers were drawn upon for various other activities such as administrative planning, joint teaching and research With the development of public health programmes of the hospital, they were involved in the planning and implementation of community activities of a wide range

Today, social workers in the West find themselves in a highly competitive situation because of growing awareness on the part of the medical and paramedical personnel about the psyhcosocial aspects of health and illness However, the medical social workers have firmly established their place in the health teams of hospitals because of their capacity to treat the psychosocial dimensions of the patient's personality

MEDICAL SOCIAL WORK IN INDIA

Service to the sick has been a part of Indian tradition, however, its scientific orientation can be said to be of recent origin Probably no study has yet been conducted to know how medical social work came into being as a profession in India One conjecture is that it was borrowed from the West Around 1945, some Indian doctors who had been abroad had observed the functioning of almoners in Britain and medical social workers in the U S A as part of a health team They felt the need to have a similar pattern of team work in India as well The Bhore Committee[1] Report (1945) had strongly recommended the appointment of medical social workers in hospitals Probably, because of these recommendations the first social worker was appointed in 1946 in J J Hospital, Bombay In Delhi, the first trained social worker was appointed in 1950 in Lady Irwin Hospital This was mainly a sequel to the influx of refugees following the partition of the country in 1947

Subsequent Committees like the Mudaliar Committee[2] (1961) and the Shrivastava Committee[3] (1975) did not make any mention of medical social workers in their report However, departments of Psychiatry and Preventive and Social Medicines in big cities appointed social workers as members of the team The number of medical social workers has increased slowly but steadily Apart from Preventive and Social Medicine, and Psychiatric Departments, they are now working in Medicine, Paediatric, Orthopaedic, Surgical and Gynaecology Departments in hospitals all over the country but mainly in Bombay, Delhi, Madras and Calcutta

Though historically medical social work in India began in hospitals, it has gradually spread over a period of time to clinics, dispensaries, rehabilitation centres, public welfare agencies and community health programmes However, a majority of them still work in hospitals Due credit must be given to the pioneering social workers who demonstrated the valuable contribution they can make in prevention and treatment of illness and rehabilitation, and who paved the way for the growing body of professionals in this field

MAIN TRENDS

According to modern concepts, the widely accepted definition of health given by the World Health Organisation (WHO) is, "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely an absence of disease or infirmity"

The approach to health care has changed in recent years specially in relation to developing countries The emphasis is no longer on the individual alone but also on the community

With this new approach of community health, the entire community is taken into consideration in planning and pregramming preventive, curative and rehabilitative services On the basis of this knowledge, a community diagnosis is arrived at, and treatment is rendered at (a) individual level, (b) family level, and (c) com-

munity level, wherein the clinical medicine and public health personnel function as members of one team

In order to train medical students in community medicine and also to raise the health level of the community by extending health services to the doorstep of the people one of the strategies adopted by a teaching hospital is to provide training opportunities to medical students within the purview of its preventive and social medicine department

Because of the new approach of community medicine, the scope for the medical social worker's contribution has considerably enlarged The medical social worker is not only involved in the care of the individual patient in the hospital but in numerous other health related activities outside the hospital These activities can be enumerated as follows (i) to make community contacts, carry out community survey, and interpret the role of the hospital to the community, (ii) to understand the culture of the community, people's health habits and the practices in vogue and to help the health team to understand these practices and integrate their positive aspects into the health services, (iii) to enable the people to understand the nature of total health and the ways of promoting it, (iv) to reach out to the people in their homes to convince them of the importance of preventive measures and to explain to them the nature of illness and the treatment involved, thus minimising any pathological effect, (v) to create awareness among the people regarding their right to health, and to stimulate people's participation by giving them a definite role to play in the health care programmes, (vi) to plan skill-developing or recreational programmes based on the felt needs of the people so as to educate the people on various aspects of health and illness, (vii) to develop new services if so required with the help of the local leaders, and (viii) to develop training programmes for health workers from the community to ensure its fullest participation and cooperation in health programmes

In his or her work with the community, the medical social worker employs the social work methods of casework, group work and community work, and uses social research methodology in an attempt to systematise knowledge and experiences as well as to make an accurate assessment of felt needs

In the health team, the medical social worker plays a prominent role and not a secondary role as in a hospital setting In the hospital, patients come for treatment In the community approach, the hospital team reaches out to the people Without the people's cooperation the health services cannot be effectively implemented Thus the level of people's participation becomes an indicator of success in the community health approach and not the cure of the disease as in the hospital Since the focus of the community health team is 'people', with knowledge of human behaviour and skills in human relationship, the medical social worker plays a vital role in the effectiveness of the team

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES

In the hospital setting the qualifications, functions and duties of the doctor, nurse and other auxiliary personnel have been identified But for the medical social worker, no function identified, and qualifications recognised or established as yet Similarly, the range of problems relating to social work have not yet been analysed and identified As a result, even after thirty years of functioning of medical social workers in the hospital setting, the administrators, doctors, nurses, patients or the medical social workers themselves are not able to identify the role of the medical social worker in the team and his or her contribution to the care, of the patient In a hospital, tangible results are of paramount importance, the results of the work of the medical social worker cannot be perceived directly

Thus, they tend to spend more time on more visible activities like doling out material aid, arranging queues, giving railway concession forms and so on This prevents them form being sufficiently clear and aware of their true professional strength and worth

In most of the hospitals, a medical social worker functions as a single worker Administratively, he is directly responsible to the head of the institution If there are a number of medical social workers working in a hospital, they are attached to different departments like medicine, paediatrics, surgery and so on There is no professional hierarchy such as a head medical social worker, senior or junior medical social workers and so on As a result the medical social workers fail to project their image as professionals in the team, as the other members of the team have their own intra-discipline hierarchial systems Another problem that arises in this situation is that the medical social workers are not able to get the professional supervision or consultation they would need from time to time Moreover, their professional interests cannot be safeguarded, specially when they are loaded with monotonous, routine non-professional duties This hampers their motivation to function efficiently

The salary scales of medical social workers are low, accounting for the number of years they put in for education and training The roles greatly vary from agency to agency and from location to location For example, the pay scale in Gujarat is Rs 550-900 (exclusive of allowances) The Kerala Government offers the pay scale Rs 520-900 Rajasthan Government has the pay scale Rs 460-770, and the Maharashtra State Rs 395-800 Municipal corporations and private hospitals pay still lower, something in the range of Rs 280-600

Medical social workers with under-graduate training generally receive pays in the scale of Rs 200-425 plus allowances There are few chances of promotions There are notable exceptions like the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Bombay, which has developed a department of social work with grades for social workers equivalent to those of scientific officers class I, Class II (gazetted) and Class II (non-gazetted) Recently, the Bombay Municipal Corporation has created posts of Head Medical Social Worker in its teaching hospitals However, these posts carry very low scales (Rs 375-660 basic) More than the salary, the absence of chances of promotion for medical social workers cannot but affect their motivation to work and grow professionally

MANPOWER SUPPLY AND REQUIREMENTS

The first school of social work in India, the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, was established in 1936 in Bombay Only four schools were added in the next twenty years or so In the sixties, the number of schools of social work multiplied and today there are about 34 schools of social work offering under-graduate and post-graduate courses Of these, the schools which offer generic training give courses pertaining to medical and psychiatric social work to all the students, whereas for field work experience only a few are placed in hospital settings

The growth of these schools of social work is urban-based, confined to a few States and qualitatively uneven [4] The development of curricula has been influenced by the American pattern Thus, the answers it provides to the health problems relate to a society which is basically industrial, urban and modern Recently changes have been introduced in the curriculum of schools of social work to make them more relevant to the situation in India

The Medical Council of India's report[5] on the minimum standard requirements for a medical college for 100 admissions, has recommended that there should be six medical social workers

in each of the preventive and social medicine departments, two at college, two at rural health centre and two at urban training health centre If these recommendations are implemented by all the States there would be requirements of approximately 750 medical social workers only for the preventive and social medicine departments of medical colleges all over the country

The field of medical social work has predominantly female workers Though there is an appreciable change from the earlier trend of women leaving the job after marriage or child birth, they want to work mainly in urban areas Recently, male social workers are taking up the posts of medical social workers, but they are not inclined to seek a career here and are on the look out for jobs with better career prospects As a result, the employing agencies specially in *mufossil* areas do not get suitable candidates, and untrained social workers are appointed even in many teaching hospitals

SUGGESTIONS

For increasing the effectiveness of medical social work in hospital setting studies should be conducted to define the role of medical social workers and pattern future training accordingly Hospitals and other agencies must be informed about this role and function Medical social workers must have a forum of their own for continuous exchange of views and coordination A professional association of medical social workers is likely to play an effective part in projecting their functions to society and in helping the profession to grow In the coming years, efforts need to be put in by the medical social workers to identify and demonstrate primarily from their own case records the skills and approaches they use to help the individuals, groups and communities This would help the social work profession at large to build its own indigenous literature

The role of social workers should not be restricted to the direct service to individual patients and hospitals They should adopt a broader base and work more closely with the community This would help them to evolve more clearly their own role in and contribution to the health team

With growing awareness of the existence of psycho-social factors in health and illness, the future of medical social work profession holds, promise The medical social workers themselves need to be convinced that their profession has its own contribution to make, and move forward with confidence to clarify their own role in building up the total health of the country

MRS. SULABHA MADHUKAR WARDE

NOTES

1 *The Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee*, under the Chairmanship of Sir Joseph Bhore, Publication Division, Government of India, 1945
2 *Report of the Health Survey and Planning Committee*, under the Chairmanship of Dr Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, Ministry of Health, Government of India, 1961
3 *Health Services and Medical Education—A Programme for Immediate Action Report of the Group on Medical Education and Support Manpower*, under the chairmanship of Dr J B Shrivastava, Ministry of Health and Family Planning, Government of India, 1975
4 *Review of Social Work' Education in India—Retrospect and Prospect* A Draft Report Prepared by the Second Review Committee, New Delhi, University Grants Commission, New Delhi
5 *Report of the Medical Council of India*, New delhi, 1973

SOCIAL WORK IN HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT SETTING

As in most other developing countries, the process of urbanization in India has been vastly different from that in the West The industrial revolution in the West generated the resources to structure and maintain those economies Consequently, there was no problem in providing for the growing populations Moreover, the numbers involved were nowhere near what we have today Employment opportunities were aplenty in the Western cities which, in turn, attracted the cityward migration The situation in India was, and continues to be, almost diametrically opposite with the rural push, slowly but surely, becoming more and more accentuated with the ever-increasing pressure on land, resulting in growing poverty and widening disparities in income Besides, India did not start on a clean slate as England did in the eighteenth century We have industrial centres primarily in urban areas with massive population densities and the consequent pressure on urban land and housing

It is also a well-known fact that the bigger towns and cities in India are becoming bigger while the smaller ones are declining This trend can be observed right from 1901 onwards[1] and. unless remedial steps are instituted now, it brooks sinister implications not only for the up and coming megalopolises of tomorrow but also for the smaller towns due to the forces of decay unleashed on them by the flow of people towards the bigger cities No less obvious is the threat to our urban milieu from the steadily increasing population density According to Gidwani, "The city of Bombay (excluding suburbs) has the population density of 44,686 per sq km —the highest in the world—yet people keep pouring in, 300 a day on an average "[2] In terms of sheer overcrowding, Calcutta, Delhi and other metropolitan towns in India are no better Besides, it is very likely that those which are less densely populated at present will overflow with people due to unplanned urban growth In fact, "Given the substantially higher rate of population growth of the larger cities, these will continue to grow faster than small towns and the ultimate population distribution will be between villages and larger cities "[3]

URBAN DEVELOPMENT POLICY IN INDIA

According to an official document, "In India, the concept of planned urban development is of recent origin Although development schemes for urban areas were drawn up and implemented from the beginning of the five year plans, the need for planned urban development was recognized only in the Third Plan when an allocation of Rs 3 crores was made by the Central Government for giving grants to State Governments for this purpose "[4] The scheme for urban development continued as a Centrally sponsored programme till March 1969 Thereafter, the preparation of Master Plans and Regional Plans was transferred to the State Governments while the Central Government functioned only in an advisory capacity An allocation of Rs 73 47 crores was made in the Fourth Five Year Plan for urban development programmes [5] While the outlays on this head were raised substantially during the Fifth and the Sixth Plans, the fact remains that even in the Sixth Plan, the suggested outlay on urban development worked out to be less than 1 1 per cent of the total plan Even after adding the proposed outlays on housing, urban water supply and sanitation, the figure works out to be 4 47 per cent of the total plan outlay[6]

Considering the enormity of our urban problem, it is obvious that these allocations cannot make any headway The main thrust on improv-

ing the rural economy and a low level of investment on the urban sector in the Sixth Plan are clear indicators of the planners' acceptance of the idea of according urban development a low priority Unfortunately, such a stance does not, by any means, ensure that the process of urbanization would be arrested, or, that the rural 'push' would be curbed, giving some respite to our already overburdened civic services Neither is such investment anywhere near the amounts needed for improving the urban infrastructure substantially whereby the cities in India could cope more effectively with the ever increasing numbers of human beings occupying their territories To make matters worse, it has been suggested that the funds earmarked for urban development should be so distributed whereby the larger cities get the major share of the funds According to Buch, "One cannot escape the feeling that, at present, there is no definite policy of urbanization Decisions are *ad hoc* and the funds are channelised only to cities which have political influence The urban sector is not treated as an area of growth with a positive role in the national economy "[7] This situation exists inspite of the fact that the urban sector contributes one-third of the total domestic product Urban employment comprises 25 per cent of the total in the country The urban milieu also provides the highest level of technology, education, entrepreneurship and culture in the land [8]

SOCIAL WORK AS AN URBAN PHENOMENON

Certain features of the urban scene have to be borne in mind when considering the role of social work These may be listed as follows (i) economic inequality, (ii) educational disparities, (iii) social dualism, (iv) predominance of slums or slum-like environment, (v) environmental degradation, and (vi) psycho-social and economic insecurity

Two basic propositions merit our attention One is that the transition of society from the rural to the urban, expecially as brought about by industrialisation, has resulted in making urban man much more dependent on a variety of institutions other than his own family, which symbolise contemporary society The other proposition concerns a fundamental difference—one which is extremely difficult to measure quantitatively—"between the pressures on the individual and the family in a certain aggregation of population within a city and the pressures which develop as that population grows beyond a specific point A further sub-proposition takes the form that, as cities grow, both spatially and in population beyond a certain size, there is an exponential development in the destruction of man's capacities for self-support on the one hand and relationships with his neighbours on the other"[9]

A logical question which follows is "Can the city, as an institution, be blamed for this phenomenon? Surely, the city is itself the creation of man Yet man, in creating what he thought was a better place in which to live, has succeeded in creating the prospect of total self-destruction—a self-destruction induced by personal ruthlessness, personal aimlessness, personal insecurity, and personal incapacity to feel responsibility for others "[10] The resulting chaos can be observed in the form of families in distress, unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, people who are chronically ill or disabled, mentally retarded or emotionally disturbed, large segments of population without a roof over their heads, and many others with a lynx eye for the smallest opportunity wherein they could exploit the situation to their advantage, irrespective of the human cost involved

There do exist individuals, neighbourhood groups and social and religious organisations who are willing to do their bit in offering some succour The fact remains, however, that the State has to step in if a dent has to be made in the rapidly growing volume of urban problems,

even though the price of such State assistance may have to be paid by a sense of personal lack of worth, or even humiliation, among the recepients, besides the feelings of inadequacy and frustration among those who do not suffer from the disabilities of the few[11]

It is also a fact that unless there is active cooperation from the people themselves, any amount of governmental efforts to improve the lot of the urban dwellers is bound to fall short of achieving the target

In the West, the emergence and persistence of complex urban problems and continued attempts to deal with them in an increasingly scientific manner changed the concepts of charity, through social reform, to professional social work practice Having followed the Western model of development, it was perhaps logical that the measures evolved there to deal with individual, group or societal problems were also sought to be emulated in India With the accumulated knowledge of social work practice in the West, coupled with the indigenous experiences gained by professionally trained social workers in India during the last four and a half decades, it is worthwhile examining some of the more common approaches used and/or advocated by city planners, administrators and others for developing the urban scene and analysing how social work can contribute in making these approaches more effective as also in developing, if possible, some other approach uniquely its own

APPROACHES TO DEVELOPING THE URBAN SCENE

A number of strategies have been advocated and/or actually utlised in the recent decades aimed at bringing some order in the chaotic growth of the urban scenario Foremost among these are (i) development of model cities/new towns, (ii) regional planning incorporating the development of satellite towns or semi-rural towns which could, on the one hand, establish a symbiotic rural-urban continuum and, on the other hand, reduce migratory pressures on the cities, permitting them a respite whereby they could reshape and enhance their services for meeting the needs of their citizens more effectively, (iii) establishment of linear, intersecting transportation grids or networks, covering entire regions and "diffusing urban facilities and amenities into the countryside, allowing industrial (and urban) workers to live in relatively spacious surroundings and permitting such easy and ready mobility that urban privileges become accessible to even rural inhabitants",[12] (iv) integration of infrastructure in such a way that permits the provision of more efficient services while cutting down environmental degradation or even dispersing the infrastructure so that rural areas come to be utilised as the seats of manufacturing, permitting the cities to return to and/or retain a reasonable scale,[13] (v) population strategies with special emphasis on control of cityward migration, (vi) legislative approach comprising of stricter enforcement of the existing municipal laws, updating outdated municipal legislation building bye-laws, zoning regulations, etc , and effectively implementing the same, (vii) slum clearance and relocation including the 'sites and services' projects, (viii) urban community development schemes operated by civic authorities with emphasis on eliciting people's participation in programmes of civic improvement, and (ix) channelisation of voluntary efforts under non-government aegis to form an autonomous body with civic improvement as its primary concern

While it is not possible to consider the pros and cons of all the approaches enumerated above, an attempt will be made to consider the implications of at least those approaches as could become potent instruments of urban development by integrating the knowledge base of professional social work with their own and utilising trained social workers at various levels

for securing more effective implementation of housing and urban development plans

SPATIAL PLANNING AND SOCIAL WORK

Viewed in a historical perspective, the growth of cities as human settlements reflects military aggrandizement, imperialism of sorts, the formation of social classes and techno-economic revolution All along, they have also continued to play the role of 'collecting points for the dispossessed',[14] subjecting themselves to unplanned accretions due to a variety of factors At the same time, utopians have all along sought to break free of the encumbering fabric of accumulated injustices and to build anew "Pioneers of new visions of society have set out to design ideal spaces as the expression and confirmation in material form of a better way of life. This utopian strain in architecture and urban planning reappears constantly—the garden cities movement, Le Corbusier's radiant city, new towns, even urban renewal where (in the words of one United Nations Secretary of Housing and Urban Development) 'miracles' might be accomplished by the resettlement of the urban poor Yet there is a fundamental asymmetry between the perception of an urban historian and the visions of the ideologues of space Neighbourly relations depend upon a pattern of streets and work places which people have adapted to their needs, but you cannot create model neighbours by building model neighbourhoods Because spaces embody relationships, it does not follow that spatial organisations can create them Time and again, this confusion of cause and effect gives rise to a fallacy in social intervention, thus compounding the problem "[15]

According to Marris, "The distinction between problems of spatial organisation and the spatial organisation of problems is seldom simple or unambiguous "[16] To illustrate, the building of an overbridge to speed up traffic and enhance the commuters' efficiency may, at first sight, appear a spatial solution to a spatial problem It may, however, also represent the assertion of the needs of one class over another or even the political manipulation of land values The demolition of a slum may seem to a social worker as an irrelevant and inhuman response to problems of poverty, petty crime, social despair and alcoholism but not so to the residents of the adjoining areas "The way we perceive the problems determines the kind of institutions we create to deal with them, and the more these institutions are geographically bounded in their jurisdiction, the more the competition for resources becomes territorial The political structure reinforces our conception of spatial organisation, translating relationships between people into relationships between city and suburbs, developed and undeveloped region "[17]

Majumdar makes a poignant reference to the weaknesses inherent in urban settlement planning According to him, "In urban and settlement planning, the commonest approach has been occupied with efficiency effects, despite their avowed aims of social development, in creating designs for living, extrapolating the future from current and past trends What these technological designs omit are the economic, social, political and cultural instruments that communities must conceive and mobilise in order to build a human environment for social justice and human potential In approach to physical planning, the issue of equity, elimination of poverty and the degree of well-being that is provided to the masses are not substantially incorporated The 'requirements and standards approach' institutionalised by the planners is insensitive to the variability of the perceived needs of the different social groups and in most cases works out to the disadvantage of already disadvantaged groups "[18]

The situation is often compounded by the town planners' accent on megalomania with its concept of 'we' and 'they' Consequently, the

common man is prone to associate town planning " With *Bhavans*, showpieces, expensive plateglass, steel, concrete, aluminium, decorative, dustgathering, useless louvres and fussy vulgar frills, each of which might serve for a dozen low-cost houses Town planning thus grows into a mystique too deep for the citizen to understand who in his turn loses interest The gulf between planner and beneficiary widens, favouring the former's alliance with the source of power and money, until, like Antaeus, the planner himself loses touch and comes to grief "[19] The creation of 'salary apartheids' in cities like Chandigarh and Delhi is yet another manifestation of the hiatus between spatial planning and the social realities

With its emphasis on fact finding and research, social work has a vital role to play in making spatial planning aproaches more effective It is well known, for example, that apparently similar physical surroundings, whether good or bad, can have totally different consequences for different groups The need also exists for assessing the distribution effects of costs and benefits to the various groups within a community "The crucial task is to build into planning and decision-making process the feed-back loops of the social needs of the majority of social groups "[20] Serious gaps in knowledge continue to plague contemporary urban planning in the country "In residential areas," for istance, "democratic planning and outlook call for minimising economic stratification for the promotion of some intermingling But, how do we do it? On how intimate a scale can we intermingle? In the same building unit? In the same street or around the same quadrangle? or perhaps, only in the same *mohalla* ? Again, how far up and down can we safely go in the economic scale in such a healthy attempt at intermingling? What are the other factors that affect such a policy favourable or unfavourable—such as caste, place of origin, type of Job? We have no real information, moreover, as to optimum sizes of neighbourhood and sub-neighbourhood, the desirable degree of homogeniety, or heterogeniety, or the economics of placement, nor do we have quantified information on urban shopping "[21]

Unquestionably, social workers with their knowledge of working with people and training in social research should be able to play the researcher's role admirably Social work research, with its focus on urban planning as well as on the criticism of urban development by various schools of thought is another fruitful area where social workers can make a positive contribution [22] It can also become the starting point for stimulating public opinion "to inquire whether arrangements for urban planning could and should be improved, whether the best use is being made of the opportunities available and in what way the quality of urban life could be improved "[23] Research is likewise needed to assess the housing needs for the tertiary sector whose members, instead of settling around planned housing projects as encroachers or squatters (and thereby ruining the cityscape), could be helped to become an integral part of the city's planned growth It is the belief that once the tertiary sector is given its rightful place in city planning, it can, in time to come, prevent the growth of unauthorised structures attempted to be put up by new settlers since the new arrivals could pose a substantial threat to the economic security of the former

SLUM CLEARANCE

Many planners seem to believe that, " If the so-called slum—a collection of degrading attributes of a social, economic and environmental nature—were within the circular process of poor housing and poverty, perhaps the cycle of poverty could be broken by the destruction of the slum itself "[24] The basic mistake which such an approach overlooks is non-recognition of an element of community within the slum which

supports many persons who cannot otherwise function at all In fact, the concept of the 'slum' seems to weigh more heavily in the minds of the people outside it—officials, academics, planners, politicians, etc They apparently believe that if the potential casual factor of man's misery within the growing cities is represented by the glaring inadequacies in housing, open spaces, social and recreational facilities, etc , the logical solution is to eradicate the slum itself and to relocate its inhabitants in housing which is satisfactory in both the physical and the social senses According to such thinkers, it should bring about 'miracles' of personal and social change [25] In fact, "The physical expression of social problems can be so obtrusive, so evident as tangible obstacles to change, that they call more attention to themselves than their underlying causes, physical remedies too seem correspondingly reassuring—unambiguous statements that something has changed Just because buildings, streets, patterns of residence represent the structure of privilege and deprivation, the impulse to begin by manipulating these symbols is always powerful "[26] The crucial error, nevertheless, lies not as much in the design of rehousing as in the attempt to preempt the precesses of social change by manipulating people in space [27]

Evidence from community workers appears to confirm the view that relocation of slum dwellers, without corresponding socio-economic and civic supports, merely becomes an instrument of 'shifting an eye-sore' from the inner city towards its periphery There is a belated realisation that social housing programmes for the urban poor usually bring about radical changes in the new settlers' family budgets, attitude and way of life Due to their poor economic position, frequently worsened by the loss of employment of one or the other family member on account of relocation, many families find it very hard to pay the rent instalments for hire-purchase, etc , besides meeting other costs so often associated with living in the new environment The result can frequently be seen in deteriorating standards of house maintenance and the emergence of squalid neighbourhoods

In mitigating the kind of problems just referred to, social work has a legitimate role to play, both at the 'pre' as well as the 'post' occupancy stage The pre-occupancy stage can be utilised by social workers for compiling some basic minimum data about the new area, especially about the socio-economic and civic infrastructure from which it is going to benefit Meetings with prospective settlers can be used to locate their leaders as also to make an assessment of their social cohesiveness which can be put to good use subsequently The local leaders can also be utilised in "selecting groups from within existing overcrowded or unimprovable squatter settlements"[28] who may be given priority for moving to the rehousing project The pre-occupancy period can also be gainfully utilised in exploring voluntary organisations and other organised bodies, including potential employers who may be willing to extend help to the people being rehoused, besides assessing the kind of assistance which could be forthcoming from such sources In case the new settlers (or at least a majority of them) are from a rural background, the pre-occupancy phase can be utilised for (i) teaching a set of required urban skills including those of the most simple and pragmatic nature, and (ii) preparing the established urbanites (the 'receivers') towards acceptance of the newcomers before they actually arrive [29]

At the post-occupancy stage, social work functionaries can contribute significantly by (i) enabling the people to derive the optimum benefit from the new housing by inculcating in them a progressive and responsible outlook, (ii) promoting cultural, educational, health, recreational and other activities at the community level which engender more wholesome family life and a we-feeling among the residents, (iii)

making people realise the incongruity of falling back to their earlier way of life, (iv) helping them to explore and develop opportunities for supplementing their family income, (v) preparing local leadership and the settlers to assume responsibilities for improving the social and civic life in the community,[30] and (vi) helping them to take an active part in the city's decision-making process

In the context of rehousing projects, social workers have another crucial role to play This role emerges out of two drawbacks which are often associated with the conventional approach to community planning, as practised by spatial planners Firstly, this approach has precious little social content because of its overriding concern with the physical dimension Secondly, there is little or no provision for any follow-up action to ensure that the required facilities and services have been provided in the right number and quality as also ensure their proper utilisation by the community for which they are meant With the exception of the City and Industrial Development Corporation (CIDCO) which, perhaps, may be said to pioneer this approach in terms of involving social work staff for working with people at the pre-occupancy stage in the development of the city of New Bombay, the other housing projects in various parts of the country have continued to witness inordinate delays in getting various civic, social and community services extended to them Often, even when services are extended, they suffer from a variety of inadequacies Surely, if the beneficiaries of such rehousing/relocation schemes had the benefit of the services of competent social work functionaries, it is likely that they could have been enabled to take collective action, not only to get the needed services from the appropriate authorities/agencies but also by pooling their own efforts and resources if the situations' urgency so demanded Sadly enough, the advocates of spatial planning rarely seem to realise that "in a sense, a poor man's time may be more costly than our own the opportunity cost of time spent on commuting may be the loss of his food ration, or of the drinking water he has to fetch from a common hydrant, or of the visit he has to make to a doctor for his child's treatment "[31] According to Albert Meyer, "What commonly happens is that in those projects that are constructed the base housing is first built, in itself much the major part of the cost Generally, this housing is ready a very long time before community facilities are available, and the all important skilled community worker and social organisation may never get there Meantime, there is lack of acceptance by the occupants and deterioration sets in, to a less or greater degree "[32]

Similar thinking is also echoed in the context of the Sites and Services Projects by the World Bank which stresses, "the importance of local group participation in the initial stages of Sites and Services Projects, particularly in project design and settler selection It is essential that the role of local groups in management of the ongoing project be thought through in advance of settler arrival "[33] While emphasising the value of providing just the right amount of administrative responsibility on the part of the authorities whereby 'local leadership and efficacy' would not be stunted, the World Bank lays considerable importance on "adapting existing local organisations if reasonably possible "[34]

Professionally trained social workers should be the obvious choice to carry out these tasks This is supported so aptly by Meyer according to whom, "Development work is complex, carried forward on a number of planes with many ramifications We are trying to get people to do things that they are not accustomed to doing or are even prejudiced against We are trying to get them to move into new areas, we are trying to convert recent villagers into effective urban citizens All this involves 'atmospheric' changes and preparation, long before actual opera-

tions are undertaken.. .This work is absolutely essential if we are to give our planning a fair chance and develop anything like a maximum of potential at minimal overall costs The usual peripatetic, shifting civil service will not, in this new development arena, 'deliver the goods' Specialised knowledge and experience already present or to be acquired are the *sine qua non* here "[35] Chandramouli further strengthens this view when he says that, "In countries where the profession of housing management has developed, it deals with the various dimensions of work involved in promoting and extending community services as part of the pre and post-occupancy work "[36]

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL WORK

The introduction of urban community development (UCD) projects in India followed the rather belated realisation by the government that, while slum clearance and various housing schemes were among the necessary prerequisites for planned urban development, it was crucial to improve the existing urban scene, wherever possible, especially by eliciting citizens' cooperation Accordingly, "A programme of urban community development, attempting to enlist the slum inhabitants and other urban dwellers in as many self-help projects as possible, is a sound approach to engineer social change in local areas to develop community feeling and shared objectives among urban people The word 'development' implied the elements of self-help and citizen participation in the growth of community spirit and community activities "[37]

The primary objectives of UCD include (i) social integration of the community on a local neighbourhood basis through participation in self-help and mutual-aid programmes, (ii) motivating people to improve their living conditions especially those adversely affecting their physical and social development, (iii) creation of opportunities for undertaking programmes of economic betterment based on the maximum use of community resources and local initiative, (iv) indentification and development of local leaders with emphasis on providing them organisational skills and enabling them to locate and fully utilise various technical, social and welfare services obtaining in the cities and towns, where the UCD projects may be located, (v) development of a sense of belonging to the city community and a sense of civic pride by stimulating local interest in civic betterment campaigns, and (vi) preparation of the ground for 'democratic decentralisation' of municipal services [38]

The foregoing makes it obvious that 'self-help' comprises the bed-rock of successful UCD programmes However, "self-help cannot function alone and it cannot flourish on crumbs of patronage" [39] To make it truly operational, it is imperative that the civic administration realistically involve the social workers, local leaders and the people themselves in basic programmes like rehousing, slum improvement and urban conservation and is willing to come forth with finances, technicians and bureaucrats who understand the people and their problems Even then it must be remembered that self-help is '"Irrefutably one decided gamble Any government contemplating a self-help developmental programme must ask itself Do we have the vision and the courage it costs? Are we ready to hold in abeyance physical development and opt for human development? Are we willing to give our uneducated and inexperienced a taste of responsibility? Questions like these are not easily answered "[40] Inspite of such uncertainty, one has to agree with Brady according to whom, "All that can be said of self-help is that it's the worst form of development except for any other that has ever been tried It is a slow precess and a far from perfect one, but if the road to development does not begin with the people, then I know at present of no road at all "[41]

The initial few years of operation of the UCD projects in India bear ample testimony to the value of self-help in eliciting civic participation from some of the most depressed warrens of human existence According to the findings of a study, people at the helm of civic affairs felt elated due to the fact that "The projects were able to make appreciable headway in sensitising the people to their needs and problems, bringing their aspirations and discontent to the surface, arousing their interest and enthusiasm for improving their conditions for living, helping people to organise a wide variety of progammes of self-help, and mobilising the support and assistance from various public and private agencies The people in the (UCD) programme generally became more conscious of their duties as well as their rights They came to know one another better Although the expectations of people for more effective municipal services were not always fulfilled, they did begin to feel that they could solve many of their problems through collective efforts "[42]

Inspite of such promising results, the momentum in UCD programmes in India has unmistakably declined in recent years The reasons for the same cannot, however, be described here as it forms a vast subject in itself, having social, economic, political, administrative, civic and personal ramifications The fact remains, nevertheless, that UCD programmes provide an almost unlimited scope for the practice of professional social work On a person to person basis (casework) for example, the social worker is likely to find sufficient challenges in locating and motivating key individuals, especially local leaders in the community with the objective of helping them to overcome their narrow loyalties They also need help in loosening themselves from the clutches of such of their customs and traditions whose blind pursuit may be inimical to an urban way of life Some of the other potential clients for the social caseworker in the community setting comprise of truants and drop-outs who may require personal, social, educational and/or economic rehabilitation, hide-bound school teachers reluctant to change their *modus operandi*, alcoholics and drug-addicts, physically, mentally and socially handicapped children and their helpless parents, and an abundance of urban ruralites—men, women, and children who need to be weaned away from their rural way of thinking to an urban one which instills in them, slowly but surely, a sense of urbanism and urbanity, leading ultimately to the development of responsible citizenship which is a *sine que non* for healthy and happy urban life

The group worker, likewise, needs all his skills in organising street urchins in the community into well knit groups that can develop their members' personality through participation in recreational, cultural and other activities Before him also lies the challenge of organising responsible groups from amongst the student and non-student youth and adults One of his primary tasks includes the development of responsible leadership from the groups organised by him

For the worker operating on a macro level, i e , at the local community, neighbourhood and/or city level, UCD programmes present a round-the-clock challenge To illustrate, one of the major tasks is to work at an inter-group level This needs to be done firstly to ensure that factions and inter-group rivalries are kept at the minimal level Secondly, it requires the fostering of inter-group cooperation involving a synchronisation between the objectives of each group and the objectives of the community as a whole Obviously, the closer such synchronisation the greater will be the extent of inter-group coordination and cooperation in a given local community/neighbourhood/city Thirdly, it involves the location, development and maximisation of such leadership which is capable of perceiving the community's needs as a whole Fourthly, it involves the inculcation of a spirit of

sharing and decision making at the local level, through a process of open communication, whereby problems having a local origin can be nipped in the bud at the local level itself instead of being allowed to grow into unmanageable or drastic issues that may subsequently require outside intervention and/or action of a more serious nature invloving statutory authorities In the highly diversified urban community of today, this is a most vital aspect of a community worker's functioning—one whereby he can develop some faith in the disparate elements of the community in the value of cooperative and collective action

Another crucial role for the community worker is that of a 'Resource Person' It requires him to become a repository of knowledge about various avenues within and outside the community which could be utilised for enhancing the social functioning of the needy individuals and groups in the community So often individuals, groups or even the community as a whole may not be aware of a variety of resources within itself and in the city of which they are a part The community worker's wide knowledge in this context can, therefore, be an important stepping stone in enabling the community to 'develop' its social, economic and civic capabilities

The community level worker has also to become a vital link between the civic administration and the people, especially during the initial stages of his work Subsequently, however, this role of a 'liaison functionary' should be transferred to the people in the community, particularly to their representatives, viz , youth leaders, locally elected leaders, etc , as distinct from the politically elected representatives like councillors, M L A s and M P s In fact, a crucial part of this 'liaison function' consists in enabling the people and their representatives to muster enough skill and courage to constructively approach and utilise their elected representatives for making the community's voice heard in the appropriate quarters With the advent of time, the community worker has to enable the people to extend this 'liaison' capability of theirs to cover a much wider ground, encompassing both governmental as well as non-governmental sectors depending, of course, upon the issues involved and the levels at which they need to be tackled

In the performance of the above-stated role, the community organiser also needs to play the role of a 'management expert' In this role, he needs to impart skills to the community leaders and others in the area of office management with special emphasis on skills in letter writing, filing procedures, basic accounting, writing of records of meetings and at least elementary public relations and fund raising Over the years, the author has watched many local level organisations sprout like mushrooms only to wither away after some time due to lack of managerial skills in the office bearers of these bodies The community organiser must, therefore, at the earliest, start imparting these skills to the people In such instances where most of the office bearers of the local level organisation may be illiterate or barely literate, the social worker should look for some educated people in the community who may need to be inducted into UCD programmes especially for the performance of the managerial functons just referred to

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

A very important area for the practice of professional social work in the housing and urban development setting consists of fostering the growth of voluntary organisations or 'civic groups' In this context, Kulkarni's comments deserve our attention According to him, "In planning, education and policy formulation, municipal governments will always find services of voluntary institutions helpful Problems faced by municipal governments could be

referred to appropriate voluntary agencies for diagnosis and suggesting solutions"[43] He further states that "all municipal governments-may have some arrangements in their administrative machinery to identify, to promote, to assist voluntary associations engaged in programmes benefiting local communities and to ensure support from voluntary or more precisely non-governmental associations in their work Where UCD departments have been set up on right lines, they may do this work but elsewhere some administrative arrangements may have to be made"[44]

As every community worker knows, when *Lokashakti* or *Janashakti* is not awakened and channelized, it provides a field day for unscrupulous 'opportunists' to exploit fellowmen In fact, people's ignorance of and apathy about civic affairs is one of the prime factors responsible for the state of 'drift' to which urbanization in India has been subjected in the recent decades Unbridled urban accretions have also often been accompanied by unwieldy growth in the size of the civic administration In turn, municipal administration has become slow and ineffective and is riddled with factionalism and politics Civic administration is therefore unlikely genuinely to encourage the growth of healthy voluntarism amongst its citizenry

The trained social worker may, therefore, think in term of launching a movement of the people in two forms The first can be somewhat similar to the Community Councils in the West whose jurisdiction can encompass various civic problems which affect a city's health Clearly, coordination among various non-governmental agencies is a *sine qua non* for this approach to be successful In bringing about such coordination, the social worker will need to assist voluntary organisations in a given city in appreciating the common objectives before them in working out practicable areas of coordination in establishing communication channels between voluntary agencies and in collecting facts and figures about civic problems which call for a coordinated approach The second approach suggested here is analogous to Ralph Nader's 'consumer movement' launched so vigorously in the United States The adherents of this approach need to form a viable nucleus with city-wide linkages at various levels for generating social action programmes by which any measure felt to be detrimental to healthy urban living could be nipped in the bud either by prompt lobbying in the appropriate circles and/or through the mobilisation of community action, i e , *Janashakti*

In the performance of these tasks, a social worker should be prepared to play the role of the caseworker, group worker, community organiser, social activist, researcher and administrator At the individual level, he shall need to inform, explain, cajole, persuade and activate the indifferent and apathetic individuals in the community At the person to group level, he well need to develop civic and community-interest groups which will be required to act as the collecting points of the people's energy As a community worker, he will need to nurture and sustain the energy generated by the power grids comprising inter-group and inter-agency linkages As a social activist, he will be required to constructively channelise *Janashakti* whereby forces acting to the detriment of the city's orderly development can be effectively countered

ECOLOGICAL PRESERVATION AND SOCIAL WORK

Conservation of the urban environment is yet another area the neglect of which is increasingly assuming threatening dimensions and one where social work practitioners must come forth to resolve the issues before they get out of hand Environment, according to Mogey, consists of "all external sources and factors to which a person or aggregate of persons is actually or

potentially responsive."[45] In contrast, Radhakamal Mukerjee identifies four kinds of environments (i) the ecological environment of external nature, (ii) the internal biological environment, (iii) the social environment, and (iv) the ideal or metaphysical environment.[46]

That social workers have not, by and large, considered the environment a fit subject for professional study, debate and action may be largely due to the erroneous notion that environmental problems are esentially technological and, therefore, fall outside the domain of professional social work. However, in the words of Khinduka, "The man-environment relationship is a social issue par excellence. The consequences of a breakdown of the symbiotic relationship between human beings and their environments are patently social and a group professing social concerns and commitments cannot long remain indifferent to them. When we speak of urban problems, institutional racism, ethnic relations, bureaucratisation of public welfare, incidence of delinquency or crime in certain neighbourhoods, and living conditions in slums, we are, of course, recognizing the importance of environmental factors."[47]

There are many reasons why social work practice must espouse the cause of environmental preservation. Since environment contributes to various physical and mental illnesses besides significantly infuencing personal and social disorganisation, any approach to preventing social problems must identify and incorporate the environmental variables in its deliberations. To quote Khinduka again, "Both environmental deterioration and proposals to stop it have implications for our field, our clients, and for the direction that development efforts must take in economically handicapped nations. The essential task is to design a strategy of development that combines economic, ecological, and social objectives. Concern with the environment should reinforce concern with development because a large number of environmental problems in the economically poor countries are due to lack of development rather than due to lopsided development as in the case of some industrial societies. Industrialisation often takes a certain ecological toll; what the world needs is not a freeze on growth, but a different approach to growth so that ecological and social considerations do not remain secondary or subsidiary to economic objectives. It is only when we take into account the diseconomies as well as the economies of a production system, the dysfunctional as well as the functional effects of the social arrangement, that the balanced and human cost-benefit calculus will be fashioned which will then supply standards for making, implementing, and evaluating public policies."[48]

Starvation, malnutrition, inequalities of income and wealth or discrimination based on caste, sex or political patronage may not appear to some social workers as environmental problems. However, these and other social aspects must be included in any discussion of the issues concerning our environment. A primary problem of our environment is not merely what we do to nature but, more important, what we do to each other. If our worry is confined only to issues like the ozone layer, the purity of our rivers and lakes and the aesthetic appearance of our cities,[49] without simultaneous attention to the inequalities, injustice, suffering and exploitation of man by man, we shall only be acting like the man who "pities the plumage and forgets the dying bird."[50]

Clearly, with the environmental issues viewed in this perspective, social work practice has a vast ground to cover, not only as a helping and healing profession but, more important, as a profession actively concerned with the building up of civic and social consciousness—a vitally needed aspect which is conspicuous by its absence. The time is opportune when social workers must give attention not only to intrapsychic phenomena but also to the environmental factors whereby they can effectively play

their legitimate part in building a better world The development and crystallisation of enlightened public opinion focusing on civic, regional, national and international issues provides an excellent avenue for social workers to function

If and when social workers do decide to associate themselves closely with the environmental issues, they wil need to remember that, "Every one of the ecological changes needed for the sake of preserving our environment is going to place added stresses within the social and governmental structure We really can not solve the environmental crisis without solving the resulting social crisis On the assumption that government should be oriented to ecological concerns, recognition of changes in social, political and economic values is a step toward decision-making Administration, management, and 'control' of the environment through 'non-ecological' science and technology are not working We are increasingly aware that society, government, and industry do not operate in a vacuum However, in the light of the 'energy crisis', there is a resurgence of the conservation movement Many politicians and public officials, corporate personnel and other individuals feel more comfortable with 'conserving' The environmental label may imply more radical positions and connotations whereas conservation gives the impression of compromise and of being more politically 'fail-safe' "[51]

CONCLUSION

The almost systematic manner in which contemporary man has permitted his need for shelter to suffer and his urban environment to be abused is truly amazing The amazement stems from the fact that while over two centuries of scientific and technological developments have enabled man to explore the ocean bed, to orbit the earth at will and to even reach the moon, his capacity for social invention, nay, his very approach to various problems affecting mankind, among them population control and city planning, still smacks of the dark ages

Social work practice, with human development as its prime focus, has a cardinal role to play in correcting the situation Towards this end, the social work profession owes it to society to make every human being more functional—in his role as an individual, as a member of a family, as a citizen as a living being closely concerned with the events affecting his cradle, the planet earth, and as a part of a variety of organised social groupings, committed not only to ensuring society's immediate survival but also making his habitat better for posterity To a social worker, familiar with the ignorance and apathy of the Indian masses, the roles and tasks outlined above may possibly appear somewhat utopian Nevertheless, as long as the common man remains uninvolved or is allowed to have only a tangential or marginal interest in the social, economic, political and administrative processes that make up our civic affairs, the underpinnings of urban development will continue to be weak

In the above context, there is a pressing need on the part of planners, decision-makers and administrators to give the social work functionary his due The complexities of the urban milieu are exponentially compounded by technical, economic, political, demographic and other factors In their *de facto* operation, these factors are often prone to regard the human community as a means to an end and not as an end in itself In such an unfavourable matrix, it does not appear to be fair or realistic to expect the social work practitioner to generate the corrective forces without ensuring adequate provision of the supportive infrastructure—especially at the macro level

Notwithstanding these constraints, a professional social worker needs to exert far more in the contemporary context—as a practitioner striving to establish himself and as the member of a healing and result-oriented profession—to

ensure that his conduct makes his role of a 'social engineer' obvious not only in his own eyes but also in the eyes of the community at large Perhaps it is not too much to ask each social worker, wherever he or she may live, to at least try and organise a "citizens' awareness group" for pursuing at least some of the civic objectives just outlined They may, indeed, take considerable time but the mere fact of its relentless pursuit is likely to sow the seeds for the development of a highly conscious, responsible and vocal citizenry which we could be proud of It is only through concerted efforts and demonstrated results that professional social work will come to be regarded as a vital and indispensable part of any organised endeavour for enhancing human welfare and development—one where the social worker's specialised education, training and skills will be put to the fullest use and will be respected by everyone in society

R M VARMA

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SOCIAL WORK AS A PROFESSION

For any discussion on social work as a profession it will be expedient to examine some of the definitions of profession Carr-saunders and Wilson observed that "the possession of an intellectual technique acquired by special training, which can be applied to some sphere of every day life, that forms the distinguishing mark of a profession "[1]

Professions are no longer viewed as mere vocations having professed knowledge or intellectual techniques Talcott Parsons viewed a profession as 'a cluster of occupational roles' in which the incumbents perform certain functions valued in society in general, and by these activities typically earn a living as a full time job [2]

The profession is also conceived as a medium of delivering services Hughes is of the opinion that a profession delivers services—advice or action or both—to individuals, organisations or governments, to whole classes or groups of people or to the public at large [3] Denzin, however,

viewed professions as 'social movements' in the sense that they recruit only certain types of persons, develop high elaborate ideologies and supra-individual values, own mechanism of socialisation and often attempt at proselytisation to bring new persons in the field[4]

Howard Goldstein related the professions with the specific needs, requirements and sanctions of society He asserted that the final measure of a profession's identity lies in the explicit character of what it does in the fulfilment of a societal need[5]

From the structural viewpoint and particularly from the angle of status and power, Ronald G Corwin viewed the professions "in terms of the set of ideal structural characteristics which they are supposed to possess, or as vocations in the process of achieving these characteristics".[6]

William J Goode highlighted the interest orientation of professions and characterised these as 'communities without physical locus' its members have an identity, share a value in common, role definitions vis-a-vis both members and non-members are not only agreed upon but are the same for all members, there is a common language within the areas of communal action, it has powers over its members and its limits are reasonably clear though these are not physical and geographical but social, it produces a new generation, though not biologically but socially, through its control over the selection of professional trainees and by means of its training process it prepares its recruits through an adult socialisation process[7]

The 'professions' in Europe were under the control of the church in the mediaeval period They are now free from the church control and divinity is not the reserve of professional activity Again, the professions are no more viewed as 'vocations having professed knowledge or intellectual techniques', as is evident from the above discussion, professions are now understood as 'a cluster of occupational roles', 'a community without physical locus', 'social movement', 'a service delivery system', 'a set of ideal structural characteristics', 'a configuration of actions entailing execution of functions required, and sanctioned by society', 'a class, status and power oriented group of people having specialized skills'

CHARACTERISTICS OF A PROFESSION

Most writers while attempting to define 'profession', have in fact identified a set of attributes or characteristics that make a profession Abraham Flexner,[8] A M Carr-saunders,[9] Barber,[10] Talcott Parsons,[11] Stone,[12] William J Goode,[13] Earnest Greenwood,[14] and many others have given a number of attributes, traits or characteristics of a profession These may be summarised as (i) determination of own standards of education and training which is usually long, extended and formal, (ii) systematic body of knowledge that may be imparted, (iii) set of technical skills which may be specially acquired, (iv) more rigourous adult socialisation experience provided to the student learner in professions than in other occupations, (v) enforcement of minimum qualifications for entering and thus achieving professional status, (vi) code of ethics, (vii) setting of minimum fee for professional services, (viii) professional practice often being legally recognised and most legislation concerned with the profession being shaped by that profession, (ix) some form of licensure, and licensing and admission boards manned by the members of the profession, (x) freedom of practitioner from lay evaluation and control, (xi) norms of practice enforced by the profession being more stringent than legal control, (xii) existence of professional associations and the members more strongly identified and affiliated with the profession than the members of other occupations, (xiii) formal channel of communication between the professionals, e g, a newslet-

ter, journal, meetings, seminars and conferences, (xiv) primary orientation to community interests, (xv) fulfilment of a societal need, and (xvi) rewards which primarily symbolise work achievement

Theodore Caplow[15] and Harold L Wilensky[16] do not consider 'knowledge' or 'skills' to be of any consequence in the emergence of any profession or in the making of a professional Caplow identified sequential development of certain characteristics that mark the steps in the professionalisation process as (i) establishment of a professional association, (ii) assertion of a monopoly over some of the services, (iii) development of a code of ethics, (iv) political agitation for certification and licensing, (v) control of training facilities, and (vi) development of working relationships with other groups Similarly, Wilensky asserted that occupations begin to professionalise as soon as they emerge (a) as identifiable specialisations, (b) are sufficiently in demand to sustain the full time remunerative employment of some number of persons, (c) acquire a set of technical skills and encourage the development of general principles that can accumulate into a body of presumed fundamental knowledge, (d) generate around these livelihoods, skills and knowledge a sense of identity with others similarly engaged in the specialisation, and (e) share the conviction that a necessary social function can best be executed through the occupational group Wilensky thus considers the 'knowledge' accumulated by a profession as a kind of 'presumed fundamental knowledge', more important is the sense of identity of the group engaged in certain modes of livelihood and a conviction that some necessary social functions can be performed by them alone Caplow too considered 'assertion of a monopoly over some of the services' by a group important for professionalisation

It was in this context that Stone had aptly remarked that professions have become distinctly closed systems to such an extent that professionals do not believe that outsiders can judge the quality of the work they perform[17]

Sidney Fine[18] also opined that neither skill nor knowledge is the criterion of a profession, in fact, their acceptance by the public is the key to professionalisation process

In this light, Freidson in his study of profession of medicine observed that unlike occupations, professions are deliberately granted autonomy, including the exclusive right to determine who can legitimately do its work and how the work should be done No occupation can prevent employers, customers, clients and other workers from evaluating its work, whereas the profession can declare such 'outside' evaluation illegitimate and intolerable[19] So, the professions sometimes not only become closed but also autonomous to such an extent that they may even surpass the authority of the society to the detriment of wider societal interests

TYPES OF PROFESSIONS

In sociological and social work literature the typology of professions has been variously attempted Sir Alexander Morris Carr-saunders,[20] Albert J Reiss Jr,[21] and many others have tried to evolve a typology of professions such as (1) The old established professions that are founded upon the study of a theoretical structure of a department of learning which is used in the practice of the art founded on it, *e g*, Religion (divinity), Law, Physic (medicine), Pedagogy (education, higher education) and Aesthetics (2) The new professions that have emerged due to the advancement in science and technology Engineering, natural and social sciences, chemistry are a few examples of the new type of professions (3) Semi or quasi-professions are those in which the theoretical study of a field of learning is replaced by the acquisition of precise technical skill The examples of the quasi or semi-professions are nurs-

ing, pharmacy, optometry, social work, etc (4) Marginal profesion is a category made up largely of those who perform technical assignments associated with professional activities, *e g* medical and laboratory technicians, testers, illustrators, deraftsmen, interpreters, inspectors, etc (5) Would-be-professions are those vocations and occupations whose members aspire to get professional status Familiarity with modern practices in business, government, etc , generally distinguishes this group Personnel directors, salesmen, business counsellors, institutional managers, etc , are some examples of vocations whose members aspire to professional status

This typological frame makes it difficult to distinguish between a 'profession' and a 'non-profesion' Almost all the vocations and occupations claim to have a set of accumulated knowledge, special technical skills, a service that is rendered to the society, recognition by the society, control on the members following it, etc , and hence aspire for professionhood Corwin[22] commented that a vocation's activities are better explained by its aspirations than by its actual achievements, and professionalisation represents the efforts of a vocation to enhance its social and economic position and a drive for status in society It may be seen that 'professional roles' are cosmopolitan and ecumenical whereas the employee roles are local and parochial However, today the professionals do perform employee roles and not only the professions but even some of the occupations have nation-wide organisations

There is no denying the fact, however, that even the most established professions do not have all the attributes of a profession, and there is perhaps no occupation that may not exhibit some of these and claim professionhood Also, an occupation that has become a profession in one society may not have begun aspiring for the status of a profession in another society

SOCIAL WORK AS A PROFESSION

The very nomenclature, 'Social Work', creates some confusion in the minds of people about which Goldstein observed thus "The disadvantage lies in the semantic confusion of its title The term social work when compared with the more exact labels of other professions emerges as ambiguous and non-descriptive, revealing only that it has something to do with human relations "[23] Abraham Flexnier[24] though, as far back as 1915, had asserted that social work could not qualify as a full-fledged profession because it was not founded on a body of scientific knowledge, yet the debate whether social work is a profession or not, is still continuing

Maclver,[25] Witmer,[26] Brown,[27] Clarke,[28] Hollis and Taylor,[29] Pollak,[30] Greenwood,[31] Fink,[32] Eaton,[33] Bisno,[34] Cohen,[35] Wilensky and Lebeaux,[36] Stroup,[37] Friedlander,[38] Feldstein,[39] Goldstein,[40] and many others have extensively dwelt upon the nature of social work as a profession

Those who advocate social work having attained a professional status contend that since the time when Flexner (1915) expressed doubts about the professional status of social work, it has traversed through a long way of professionalisation Brown argued that social work fulfills all the requirements given by Flexner for a complete profession Greenwood also maintained that social work is already a profession inasmuch as it has too many points of congruence with the models to be classified as such Clarke also remarked that social work is a form of professional service comprising a composite of knowledge and skills parts of which are and parts of which are not distinctive of social work, which attempts on the one hand to help the individual satisfy his needs in the social milieu *i e*, the environment and, on the other, to remove as for as possible the barriers which obstruct people from achieving the best of

which they are capable The Sub-committee on the Working Definition of Social Work Practice for the Commission on Social Work Practice, National Association of Social Workers (U S A) asserted that social work practice, like the practice of all professions, is recognised by a constellation of value, purpose, sanction, knowledge and method [41]

From the discussion on professions, it is evidently clear that an already existing occupation or an occupational group tends to professionalise for achieving higher status in society The tendency toward professionalisation of occupations is considered inevitable in a growing industrial-urban society Meyer observed that "With science-based technology becoming more and more visibly the basis for important functions—not only in production, communication and distribution but also in the provision of medical and other services—the prestige of the science based professions has increased more rapidly than that of the professions based on scholarship, such as law and the ministry The new professions have clustered around the sciences, and all professions, including law and the ministry, make overtures to science The hazy line between science and technology has encouraged many occupational groups to aspire to professional status Almost every cluster of occupations in the economy of industrial society is capped by an occupational group expected to conserve, develop, and apply the fund of basic knowledge required to perform the functions to which the occupations are directed Such an occupational group is an existing, or an incipient, profession "[42]

It would be relevant to explore whether there existed a distinct occupational group solely performing the welfare functions in society that has, in due course of time, laid claims to a professional status Earlier, welfare functions were discharged by church functionaries and they still continue to perform these functions in the parishes There is, however, no evidence to show that a separate occupational group of the type existed in society The emergence of such a group, indeed, is the consequence of capitalism, decline in the church authority, necessity felt by other professions for such a group of workers, and taking over of welfare functions by the voluntary organisations and the State And, it is recently that social work has made overtures to science and also laid claims over a technology of rendering services to the individuals, groups and communities It is argued that for serving the people effeciently and effectively it is necessary to professionalise Applying the community and process models of social work to the problems of recruiting, training, allocation and organisation of professionals, Meyer concluded that professionalisation can increase the ability of social work to solve the pressing social problems confronting our society [43] No doubt, social work is striving hard to move up in the heirarchy of professions but the constraints of professionalism will drive social workers away from social action and social reform [44]

There are, thus, differing views on not only the status of social work as a profession but also on the very issue as to whether it should or should not be a profession Whereas it is claimed that social work has attained professionhood and there has emerged a relatively homogenous professional community, it is contested too on the ground that there are conflicts within social work over concepts, objectives and techniques [45] There are many others who either doubt or oppose social work gaining a professional status Cohen, for example, observed that "social work has made progress over the last several decades, but has not been able fully to convince the community that those who possess the professional skill deliver a superior service than those who do not, and that the community stands to benefit from it and should prefer the superior performance The difficulty which has plagued social work in its development as a profession is that the social workers' dedication

is to a degree shared by all good men and women Most human beings have a deep need to be their brothers' keepers Hence we all resist and resent the notion that the task of the social workers requires a peculiar combination of temperament, intelligence, training and experience The result is that social work has had to fight a constant rearguard against the pervasive notion that any man with love in his heart can do the job "[46]

Cohen's earlier remark that social workers having professional skills do not necessarily deliver a superior service is not only true for the American scene but aptly characterises the situation obtaining in other societies also In the Third World context social work has emerged as a stronger ally of the capitalists, other exploitative organs of society and has failed to face the real problems of poverty and exploitation of the masses The Indian scene bears this testimony, and doubts as to the efficacy of social work in the solution of the problem of poverty have been widely expressed [47]

Feldstein was critical about the process by which social work and other similar occupational groups have achieved greater professionalism He gave four major arguments (i) exclusion of many from entry, (ii) professional expertise is anti-democratic, (iii) professions attempt to influence public policy at the expense of 'people', and (iv) the professions have not provided effective services His contention is that there is basic conflict between professionalisation and consumerism [48]

Newman and Turem while lamenting about the course of professionalisation of social work remarked that "it is a cause of despair however, that social workers, while indulging in rhetoric about their social responsibilities, often do not have even the most elementary regard for the mechanics of social accountability "[49] And Scott observed that social work as a profession is too ineffective as it is sliding from theory to theory, from technique to technique, but seldom grappling with the question of whether what was accomplished did the clients any good [50]

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION

There is evidently no unanimity in respect of social work profession and there are controversies in regard to its acceptance as a profession As has already been stated social work is not an old established profession, it is rather a new and emerging profession with enormous contradictions The pre-requisite of social work profession to operate in an agency setting limits its scope, scuttles its autonomy and snatches the opportunities of dissent and innovation Federico Souflee Jr , labelled social work as an acquiescing profession [51]

Etzioni[52] and Nina Toren[53] have classified social work as a semi-profession Toren argues that social work practice as compared to that of full-fledged professions has under-developed theoretical knowledge, relatively low professional autonomy and authority of social work practitioners within the organisations in which social work is carried out, and a dyadic structure of the practitioner-client relationship and its insulation from the client's social milieu "The first two factors are the main elements of semi-professionalism, the third is a structural property of the professional client relationship which, in conjunction with the two former variables, enhance the impact of semi-professionalism on social work performance and achievements "[54]

SOCIAL WORK AS A PROFESSION IN INDIA

Social Work emerged as an occupation only recently in India and it is still struggling to achieve a professional status The arguments of Indian social workers tread on the same path as those of the Americans to justify the profes-

sional status of social work However, there are controversies in regard to the nature of social work in India Sushil Chandra, for example, avoided labelling social work as an occupation or profession and, instead, described it as a "dynamic activity undertaken by public or private effort in the implementation of social policy, with a view to raise the standard of living and to bring about social, economic, political and cultural well-being of the individual, family and the group within a society irrespective of its stage of social development"[55] M S Gore, on the other hand, characterised social work in India as a new profession, hesitatingly accepted as such by the Indian society, borrowed from the West (U S A), and having concommitant consequences due to the borrowing on its own development [56] One of the consequences of this borrowing perhaps is that social work knowledge—theoretical frame, practice, methodology and social issues—are not drawn from the Indian context

Social Work profession is stigmatised for its identification with the backward sections of the community Quite a large number of social workers in the past have, therefore, contended that since social work is not a profession of 'high status' in India, in order to raise its image and status there is a need to discard the notion of professional social work being identified with the low income groups For, it is commonly understood that the social worker's focus of attention is the backward and disadvantaged sections of the population But such notions about social workers need to be discarded—the earlier the better—as modern social work has already lost its class character [57] On the other side Rajeshwar Prasad asserted that "Social work profession cannot now afford to be an elitist profession, it has to relate itself with the real problems of the masses "[58]

Hans and Kamla Nagpaul argued that on the basis of application of most essential elements which form the bases of a profession, social work in India qualifies for the status of a profession and need to be recognised as such [59] Nagpauls, however, in their arguments could not establish the claim of social work for a professional recognition in the country on any empirical evidence A R Wadia had aptly remarked that "Social work may claim to be a new profession with its emphasis on organised attempts to ameliorating human sufferings, but it cannot get away from its original moorings in the human heart Those who take up this work cannot make it a source of income and so any assistance that can be given by them can only be a matter of love and honorary service This was social work *par excellence* "[60]

PROGRESS OF SOCIAL WORK IN INDIA

Thus, it may be seen that there is no consensus as to the exact nature of social work in India This, no doubt, is a universal picture but the controversy is more sharp in India due to historical and ideological reasons In this frame of reference it would be apt to review briefly the progress of 'social work-profession' in India since Nanavatty[61] attempted such a review in 1968, in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India*

Some points may be noted about the nature, extent and growth of social work in India These are

(1) Since the establishment of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (founded as Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work) in 1936, there has been proliferation of institutions imparting education and training in social work in the country In 1978, there were thirty-five Schools/Institutes/University departments/College departments/Faculties of Social Work [62] The distribution of these institutions is uneven in the country, *e g* there are eight such institutions in Maharashtra alone and six in Tamil Nadu, while there is none in Jammu and

Kashmir, Himachal, Haryana, Assam, Manipur, Bihar, Orissa, Arunachal, Goa, Pondicherry, Nagaland, Sikkim and Andman and Nicobar The economically backward areas and States with a predominance of tribal population and agricultural labour do not have any training institution This reflects the trend of development of the profession which has not changed substantially in the last decade

(2) Training institutions still continue to cater to the requirements of middle and big industries in respect of their manpower in labour welfare and personnel departments The statutory provision in the Factories Act, 1948, and the Rules made under it for employing welfare functionaries in factories have not only lent support to continued training in 'labour welfare' in schools of social work but it has also eased out other fields of training and specialisation of social work The contradiction, however, continues that the industrial setting does not offer opportunities for the use of social work methods, and 'welfare functions' are hardly performed by this type of personnel However, in the areas of personnel and industrial relations, a major challenge to schools of social work in respect of preparing suitable personnel for the industry has been posed today by State Labour Institutes and Schools of Business Management Social work continues to have a monopoly over the supply of 'welfare personnel' to industrial establishments

(3) The existing education and training of social work are not geared toward actual social work practice by social work professionals in their work milieu The question whether we have a training programme chiefly in 'administration' or in 'social work' in our schools is still relevant For example, one of the main objectives of the Tata Institute was to train "efficient administrators of social work enterprise "[63] Most of the schools prepare graduates for administrative jobs rather than the classical social work roles

(4) There is a problem of sub-standard training facilities which has been further accentuated due to unplanned growth of training institutions, the lack of agencies suitable for field work, paucity of indigenous literature and dearth of suitable educators These, with the weak infrastructure supportive of training and education in social work, have further eroded the credibility of social work education suitable for societal demands

(5) The problems of lack of clarification of the role of social workers in various settings and uneven conditions of work still persist For example, the roles of labour welfare officers, medical, rehabilitation and psychiatric social workers, probation workers, welfare administrators, and social workers in the field of population management are still confused and there are uneven conditions of work that exist in the private and public sectors

(6) Doubts are widely expressed about the nature of social work knowledge as such, and the knowledge base of social work in India is a subject of greater scrutiny and critical evaluation from the viewpoint of sustaining the claims of social work as a profession It must be accepted that a differential knowledge base of social work derived from Indian experience and material has yet to be developed The main reasons are the lack of research activity in professional schools, absence of involvement of the teaching faculty in social work practice, irrelevant role situations of the 'practitioners' in the field, etc Field work supervision of the student-learner is done in the agency-setting whereas the agencies themselves are not well equipped for such a function Although the type of problems that need to be faced by professional social workers in the country do not require an agency setting, yet the schools still feel shy in adopting other avenues or modes of field work

(7) There are quite a number of organisations concerned with professional social works, such as the Indian Council of Social Welfare (for-

merly, Indian Conference of Social Work), a forum established by trained social workers for an interaction between 'professional' and 'non-professional' social workers in the country, Indian Association of Trained Social Workers (IATSW), formerly Association of Alumni of Schools of Social Work in India, Association of Schools of Social Work in India, Indian Society of Psychiatric Social Work, Labour Welfare Officers' Association, Probation Officers' Association, etc. However, the elements of organisation, solidification and control over the 'profession' and 'professionals' are yet lacking There is neither visible control on the professionals nor on the schools, whereas these are distinctly evident in the cases of medicine and law in the country

There are no doubt two journals, *Social Work Forum* of the IATSW and the *Indian Journal of Social Work* (Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay), but a review of the material published in these journals does not really make these as representative professional journals The 'professional communication' through these journals is too inadequate, *Social Work Forum* has not appeared for the last several years and the *IJSW* is not restricted to social work only There appear stray magazines published by some schools whose publication is most irregular and of local interest The Indian Society of Psychiatric Social Work and the Association of Schools of Social Work in India bring out bulletins, meant for the members These serve a limited purpose of disseminating information and other relevant news to members [64]

OTHER ISSUES

It must be recognised that "social welfare as a profession grew in the capitalist societies at a point of time when the human miseries started multiplying as a consequence of capitalist exploitation There was a felt need of 'professionals' to manage the spill-over of services dished out for the 'vulnerable' groups by the 'Humane', 'Welfare' capitalism"[65] India is no exception except for the fact that the beginnings of 'professional social work' were made in the colonial period itself In many countries of the Third World the role social work has played in supporting the capitalist welfare state is being decried In India social work has to discard this image to get people's recognition

Other issues related with the 'profession' are the development of a code of ethics, and public recognition The code of ethics of any profession, more so the profession of social work, cannot be borrowed lock, stock and barrel it has to be drawn largely from the traditions, philosophy and ethos of the country where it is practised Public recognition will depend on whether the activity is in conformity with the local genius and milieu Social work in India is a borrowed undertaking and thus it faces either opposition or neglect Radhakamal Mukerjee had aptly remarked that "Social work is the youngest yet unhonoured and unacknowledged profession in India It has no doubt grounded itself at different universities and research institutes in the country in the acquisition of professional skills and techniques in the various specialised fields of social work But it has obtained neither social recognition nor developed a code of ethics grounded in a philosophy of social work and welfare"[66]

Some other issues that need to be highlighted are social obligation of the profession to the legislature and society, communicability development of 'professional self' without shedding the ancient Indian concept of 'being and becoming', development of indigenous social work values consistent with the aspirations of the toiling masses, and in conformity with the economic and political ideology enshrined in the Constitution of India, licensing, certification registration and adequate regulation of professional practice in the areas where necessary,

creation of an atmosphere where social work practice may not only be acceptable but actually established in the domain of private agencies in the country [67] These issues, though very real, for the existence of the profession, have not been adequately debated

THE FUTURE

There are very few studies on the sociology of professions in India and there is hardly any study of consequence on the profession of social work, hence it will be difficult to project the future of the profession of social work in the country

However, it is evident that due to the strong social welfare traditions in India social work will not be able to assert its monopoly on welfare services No doubt professional associations have been formed, but the identity of the professionals with the profession is so weak that for a long time to come these associations will not be able to exert any influence on society, and professionals will not be controlled through them Due to diversity in the educational pattern, the profession may not be able to control the training institutions Certification, registration, licencing and regulation of the profession will be non-issues for quite some time to come

Since the profession under varied influences will not be able to shed away the Western model of education, training and practics, it will thus be difficult to evolve an indigenous code of ethics for 'Indian social work'

Social workers have now increasingly started working in different settings—medical, psychiatric, industrial, rural, correctional, however, a stable working relationship with related groups like psychiatrists, medical practitioners, industrial managers, etc has not developed Such a relationship is not likely to develop due to unclear roles social workers have to play in these fields Undoubtedly, a sufficiently large number of persons will continue to be employed full time, but work situations are likely to be uneven and largely unrelated to social work education and techniques

Although increasing concern was lately being shown for poverty and other mass problems, the profession will in all probability continue to maintain its elitist character, drawing its trainees from the urban middle class Consequently, the rural and tribal sectors will not be served effectively by social work professionals in fields where they would be needed most

Instead of professionalisation of social work there is likely to be increasing bureaucratisation So it will be hard to get public recognition or mass support for the profession for these and many other reasons

RAJESHWAR PRASAD

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SOCIAL WORK IN PSYCHIATRIC SETTING

The increasing number of suicides reported almost everyday is but one index of the growing problems of mental health in the country, for each reported suicide there are perhaps ten others that go unreported, and for each case there are again ten others who live in that border land of agony to take their life or not And if to this we add the various depressions, anxieties and psychotic disorders, the magnitude of the problem—even the curative side—would easily be seen as gigantic On the preventive side, the scope of mental health work could be described as unlimited, yet, attempts to provide curative services for mental health problems are pitifully small and preventive counselling services are practically non-existent There appears to be no attempt to assess the problem or the needed strategies despite the awareness of the intense human suffering involved In any such strategy, the profession of psychiatric social work occupies a crucial position

Psychiatric social work is social work practised in connection with psychiatry A comprehensive definition of psychiatric social work was advanced by the Executive Committee of the Advisory Committee on Standards in USA in the year 1931 Though defined five decades ago, this definition appears to hold good even today It reads "Psychiatric social work is that branch of social work which has developed in connection with psychiatry It is practised by specially trained persons with a particular degree of knowledge of psychiatry, and of its adaptation to social casework practice, working within an agency in which social work is an integral part of mental health programme The psychiatric social worker deals with cases of social maladjustment wherein personality difficulty, neurosis or psychosis are of primary and recognised importance in the initial handling of the case The work may consist of social casework, research, executive, administrative or educational work" Thus, psychiatric social work is a specialised area, with a developing body of knowledge and skills that form the basis of specialised training It represents social work practised in connection with psychiatry and mental hygiene in organisations that have as their primary purpose the study, treatment and prevention of mental and nervous disorders

ORIGIN

Psychiatric social work had a relatively recent origin in the United States of America In the beginning of the twentieth century, Miss Mary C Jarrett who was working in the Boston Psychopathic Hospital carefully studied and outlined social work with mental patients This was a sequel to the interest generated in the after-care of the mentally ill and the extension of social service in the hospitals, in parole laws, and in the care of the patients in State and psychopathic hospitals in USA In 1905, the Massachussets General Hospital established a social service department and workers in this department were used by the neurological clinic as an aid for both more accurate diagnosis and effective treatment Around that time, Dr Putnam who was in charge of the neurological

clinic appointed a full time social worker in his clinic and under his personal supervision gave her training for work This gave the first indications of the functions of social work in clinics for mental patients

Miss Jarrett became the director of the social service department of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital in 1913 The social service department aimed to assist in the study and treatment of mental diseases and aid patients in regaining their normal living In addition, social workers took responsibilities for public education in promoting the understanding of mental diseases as well as for research to understand the causes of mental disorders They also participated in the mental hygiene programmes by becoming educational and executive secretaries in mental hygiene societies, mental hygiene supervisors in public health nursing organisations and consultants in family and child welfare agencies, thereby combining casework and mental hygiene education Thus, by 1926, psychiatric social workers were working in hospitals, mental hygiene and child guidance clinics, family and child welfare agencies, etc

From the 1930's, a new emphasis appeared within the family welfare agencies on account of families presenting problems of emotional maladjustment in addition to financial need Thus, a large number of workers in the field of family welfare began to utilise knowledge from the field of psychiatry to work as therapists to clients with emotional problems Most family welfare agencies started employing psychiatric social workers or gave fresh training to their staff in mental hygiene and social psychiatry Around 1936, progress in the shared responsibility for treatment in relation to psychiatry was obscured by the independent role of the social worker as a therapist, thereby making the activities of the social worker widespread In fact, boundary lines between fields that deal with human relationships started steadily breaking down Thus, psychiatric social work became allied with most of the disciplines such as psychology and psychiatry, psychology and sociology, mental hygiene and public health and education, all of which deal with human relationships

METHODS

There are three principal methods which are identified as basic to social work Of these, casework method has been used most commonly in psychiatric settings Community organisation method is being used presently in the field of community mental health programmes, group work method is however used relatively rarely in these settings

The goal of casework therapy is to maintain or modify the adaptive patterns of the patients For this, the social worker uses ego-supportive measures, environmental modification and other supportive therapies Though the unconscious is not handled, an effort is made to understand the unconscious in order to arrive at the correct psychodynamics of the problem

In group work, the psychiatric social worker deals with a group of patients or a group of relatives of the patients and helps them to understand the behaviour of the patients in terms of self and others

The goal of community organisation method is to involve others in the community to alleviate the problems of mental illness This involves administration, planning, and development of the community's efforts to tackle problems in the field of mental health

ROLES AND FUNCTIONS

Whether it is a mental hospital or a psychiatric setting, the roles and functions of psychiatric social work personnel are more or less the same, depending on the facilities that are offered to the mentally ill for treatment and rehabilitation Generally, a mental hospital functions as a resi-

dential institution for the mentally ill, though the ultimate goal and aim are to return the patient to the community where he belongs and where he can adjust better and lead a relatively happier life Towards this objective, some mental hospitals have a sheltered workshop, half-way homes and day-care centres in addition to occupational therapy departments and vocational rehabilitation facilities The psychiatric social worker is perhaps the only professional person who is associated with the patient from the time he enters the hospital to the time he is sent back to the family

The psychiatric social worker has fourfold operations, viz., with the patient on an individual basis, with family members, with the prospective employers of the patients, and with the people in the community The psychiatric social worker starts her contact with the patient by getting a detailed history of the patient and his illness, delving into the factors which precipitated the illness, the typical interactions between patient and his family members and the typical distortions in the same, thereby arriving at the psychodynamics on the basis of the information obtained and complementing the diagnosis made by the psychiatrist The psychiatric social worker participates in case conferences with the psychiatrist, psychologist, psychiatric nurse and other para-psychiatric personnel aimed at correct diagnosis and planning of a treatment programme for the patient Where the conflicts are mainly psycho-social in nature, the psychiatric social worker takes up total responsibility for the psychological treatment of the case Using supportive psychotherapy, counselling techniques, environmental manipulation as well as casework techniques, she helps the patient not only to verbalise his conflicts but also clarifies to him the various issues from an objective point of view She helps to release the emotional tensions in the patient by helping him verbalise his problems, develops in him an insight regarding the 'whys' of his own behaviour as well as those of others who interact with him She also takes up counselling with the family members of the patient to understand their point of view in regard to the patient and his illness, as well as to understand to what extent they contribute to the patient's problems She helps them to understand the patient's behaviour and thereby brings about a change in their behaviour and attitude towards the patient Thus, when the patient ultimately returns home, the atmosphere is more congenial, there is more understanding amongst members and less tension which helps in quicker recovery and adjustment of the patient and his family members

In vocational rehabilitation, she explores the various agencies where the patient could be employed, has discussions with the employers concerned regarding the type of job which would suit the patient, and prepares the patient to take up the job In all this, she also has considerable prior discussions with the occupational therapist as well as the vocational counsellor

In half-way homes and day-care centres, too, she plays a significant role in helping patients interact with each other and other persons from the community so as to facilitate the patient's adjustment in the community In all this, she makes use of group work and group therapy techniques

In the community, she visits the families along with the other members of the psychiatric team, conducts surveys regarding the potential patients, diagnoses the factors that contribute to their illness, organises programmes along with others in the prevention of mental illness in the community, detects mental illness at an earlier stage and persuades patients to get early treatment, and participates in the educational programmes on mental health, bringing about an awareness regarding mental illness and their causes

In addition to the above, she participates and organises research in the area of mental health, exploring thereby the typical psycho-social factors and other interpersonal problems contributing to the illness She explores through research the ways and means of rehabilitating the mentally ill appropriately and efficiently

DEVELOPMENT

The first psychiatric social worker to be appointed in a psychiatric setting in India was in the year 1937, when the Tata Graduate School of Social Work in Bombay (now Tata Institute of Social Sciences) appointed a psychiatric social worker in their Child Guidance Clinic The social worker concentrated mainly in helping the families of the children who were referred to the clinic for treatment of various types of behavioural and emotional problems

In the subsequent decade, a few more social workers trained in psychiatry were appointed in psychiatric settings dealing with the emotional problems of both children and adults Gradually, psychiatric social work began to be recognised as a speciality with the introduction of training in psychiatric social work at the post-graduate level in the Tata School of Social Sciences in 1950-51 The Delhi School of Social Work introduced specialisation in psychiatric social work in their post-graduate training in social work in 1962, and from then onwards many of these trained personnel have been absorbed in psychiatric as well as other social welfare institutions However, despite the specialised training the scope for employment in mental hospitals or other psychiatric settings for these trained personnel has been rather limited, due to the following factors (i) Mental health programmes have a relatively low priority in India (ii) Social work in India has always been identified with charity and this concept prevails even today, thus even professional personnel such as psychiatrists do not make efficient use of psychiatric social workers (iii) Psychiatric social work which has become a speciality in other countries is still groping in the dark in India and there is little organisational unity amongst the members of the profession It was only in 1969 that an association of psychiatric social workers was formed and it still has its teething troubles (iv) Training for the profession has not been of a uniform nature with defined standards The approaches and competencies vary so widely that psychiatrists who man the psychiatric settings find it difficult to appreciate the functions and roles of psychiatric social workers

The low priority to mental health is evident from the fact that for a country as large as India, in 1981 there were only 42 mental hospitals, with a total of 20,000 beds, and an additional 1,200 to 1,500 beds in the general and teaching hospitals According to the Indian Council of Medical Research Draft Proposal, 1981, the total number of psychiatric units outside mental hospitals is 200, with approximately 15,000 outpatients on an average per year per unit To man the above centres and institutions as well as to attend to the innumberable number of patients, there are only about 1,100 psychiatrists, of whom 200 are in private practice To assist, complement and supplement their services, there are approximately 400 to 500 clinical psychologists and 200 to 300 psychiatric social workers

Many psychiatric settings do not have any psychiatric social worker on the staff In psychiatric settings and mental hospitals which do have a social worker, there is usually just one psychiatric social worker who attends to patients both in wards as well as in the outpatient departments Except probably the Madras Mental Hospital, the Hospital for Mental Diseases, Ranchi, and the National Institute of Mental Health and Neurosciences, Bangalore, no other psychiatric setting has generally more than one psychiatric social worker Incidentally, the Institutes at Ranchi and Bangalore provide

training in psyschiatric social work and hence the larger number of psychiatric social workers in these Institutes Further, psychiatric social workers who are working in psychiatric settings or mental hospitals are given little work to do other than routine history taking Their pay scales are also very low taking into consideration the post-graduate degree and the kind of intensive training they go through for two years On an average, a psychiatric social worker gets a pay scale of Rs 425-800 per month and inclusive of allowance may draw a starting total monthly emoluments of about Rs 1,000

MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS

In India, a psychiatric social worker is required to go through a post-graduate course in social work with specialisation in psychiatric social work During the two year period, she should have had practical training in a psychiatric setting, at least for one academic year She should have had exposure to all types of mentally ill persons treating them with casework and councelling techniques under the expert guidance of a professional psychiatric social worker Often, supervisors in the agency as well as in the school of social work may not be trained in psychiatric social work and hence, frequently, a social worker trained in medical setting with some exposure to psychiatry may be employed to deal with mentally ill persons

There are two major institutions run by the Directorate General of Health Services which offer Diploma/M Phil degree in psychiatric social work The minimum qualification prescribed for a student seeking admission is a post-graduate degree in social work In addition, many schools of social work offer specialisation in psychiatric social work, and each of these institutions differs in the curriculum followed and the syllabi as well as the practical training A common area in all these courses/training is psychiatry, psychotherapy and counselling

Thus, psychiatric social workers are fairly well equipped to deal with mentally ill persons and considering the valuable contributions that they could make in the field of mental health, and considering the inadequate number of psychiatrists to deal with the innumerable patients who throng the gates of mental hospitals and psychiatric units, psychiatric social workers could easily supplement and complement the work of the psychiatrist rather than writing merely case histories and thus being under-utilised in psychiatric settings If this is accepted in principle, one may visualise the number of personnel required in tackling mental health problems

There appears to be an increasing awareness of mental illness, and the remedies available to get rid of and ward off the same, amongst both educated and uneducated people The successful experiment on community psychiatry by the National Institute of Mental Health and Neurosciences has recognised the need for para-psychiatric personnel, particularly psychiatric social workers, as well as the need for team work If this trend continues, perhaps we may need a large number of psychiatric social workers

The manpower requirements may be worked out in the following manner 6 psychiatric social workers for mental hospitals with 500 beds each (2 for ward patients, 2 for outpatient department patients and 2 for community psychiatry), that is, for 42 mental hospitals in India, we may require 252 psychiatric social workers For the psychiatric units (200) which receive 40 to 50 patients a day, a minimum of 2 social workers will be required for not only taking down detailed case history, but also to take up at least 3 to 4 patients a day for counselling and psychotheraby Thus a total of 400 psychiatric social workers are needed presently for psychiatric

units, this when added to the number of personnel required for mental hospitals adds to about 700 psychiatric social workers required for effective handling of mentally ill persons and preventing mental illness in the community even on the basis of limited facilities for mental health as at present

SCOPE

Increasing awareness of the treatment of mental illness, the possibility of preventing a major disorder if treated at an early stage, the high rate of relapse amongst mental patients an inadequate number of psychiatric personnel to deal with patients requiring counselling and psychotherapy as well as follow-up—all these indicate a need for experts/specialists who can take up counselling and psychotherapy as well as follow up the progress made by the patients The most suitable alternative professional expert, next to the psychiatrist to handle counselling/psychotherapy/casework, is the psychiatric social worker She can not only help in complementing and supplementing the psychiatrist's diagnosis, but also handle many cases independently using counselling and casework techniques Thus a large number of cases which require mainly supportive therapy, environmental manipulation, ego support, insight development, etc , can be very effectively and efficiently handled by psychiatric social workers

Most mental illnesses, which have their origin in family feuds, conflicts and interpersonal relationships can be very effectively handled by the psychiatric social worker as she is specially trained in dealing with interpersonal problems A psychiatric social worker in a mental hospital can not only take down case history, but also delve deep into family/interpersonal conflicts and help the patients and their relatives understand the problems and get over the same Very often one comes across patients who are not really mentally ill but made to appear so by their relatives The social worker is perhaps the best person equipped to detect this aspect and help the patient and his family While the psychiatrist handles medical and organic factors, the psychiatric social worker handles the psychological and social factors and helps the patients in the process of recovery Most cases of marital conflict, parent-child conflict, and interpersonal conflict with friends and relatives could be adequately and efficiently handled by psychiatric social workers This would reduce the pressure on the psychiatrist who, in turn, can take up cases for psychotherapy and indepth counselling in cases of deep-rooted conflicts The social worker can follow up the cases to ascertain the progress among patients by home visits, etc

For the prevention of mental illness, a psychiatric social worker can contribute by organising mental health educational programmes in the community thus making people aware of mental illnesses, their causes, the measures they could take to ward off the illnesses, the appropriate way of bringing up children so that they grow up in a tension free and relaxed atmosphere, etc These educational programmes should aim also at removing the stigma attached to mental illness and the superstitious ideas associated with the same. Further, since psychiatric social workers have a good grounding in child guidance they can be used effectively in many schools where some children manifest behavioural problems Since most schools have a school counsellor, the psychiatric social worker could be effectively used in schools as well as in child guidance clinics In recent years many psychiatric social workers man child guidance clinics and voluntary health agencies such as Sanjivini Thus psychiatric social work has considerable scope in India, it is mainly a question of effectively utilising this manpower

IMPEDIMENTS

There are several impediments in making use

of this profession effectively People in India are still of the view that social work means charity or working in an honorary capacity for the welfare of people They least accept a social worker to treat them for an illness, as this is generally associated with medical men, and the effectiveness of psychotherapy is generaly not understood The people firmly believe in medication and even if they recover through psychotherapy they attribute their recovery to medicine rather than to the thereapeutic processes Secondly, professionals in the field themselves are not aware of the functions and roles of psychiatric social workers and thus tend to under-utilise them by making them write routine case histories in a structured proforma This leads to a total lack of enthusiasm on the part of such personnel to do anything apart from history taking Thirdly, bright and dedicated personnel trained in psychiatric social work do not join this profession though initially they join the course with great enthusiasm This is because of the low pay scales and lack of promotion opportunities Most of the psychiatric social workers on the staff of hospitals stagnate for years Lastly, there is rivalry between different professional disciplines such as psychiatry, clinical psychology and psychiatric social work, each of these disciplines tend to feel that the other disciplines are encroaching into their territory The concept of inter-disciplinary approach suffers in practice Each discipline pursues its own line of thinking showing little inclination to cooperate and collaborate with others and, in the process the development of an integrated approach to diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation of the patients tends to suffer These handicaps need to be sorted out so that psychiatric social workers can be utilised fully for providing an efficient and effective treatment to the mentally ill

VIMALA VEERARAGHAVAN

SOCIAL WORK IN RURAL SETTING

The commitment to welfare state ideology is inbuilt in the Indian Constitution India's position in this respect is unique in that she has adopted the welfare state ideology not as an end result emanating from material prosperity, but has elevated it to a position of an 'instrument of economic development' and an 'accelerator of social change'

To support the comprehensive range of statutory social services there needs to be an enlightened and an alert populace which must be concerned not only with the ends but with the means as well A welfare state can be realised by a welfare conscious society and will only be sustained by conscious efforts of the participants who are served in the process Voluntary organisations and voluntary workers are the natural expression of the concern of society towards its well-being

A welfare state is geared to ensuring distributive justice and that of maintaining the dignity of the individual Areas such as education, health, vocational guidance and social security measures, which earlier were the responsibility of family and kinship groups, are now increasingly becoming the obligations of the modern state

The repercussions of the welfare state on administrative procedures are definitely more complex than on policy implications Harmonious functioning of a network of institutions at Central, State and local levels along with a complex set of public and private organisations with decentralised authority and responsibility to take decision is essential At the point at which people come into contact with the administration in a welfare state, the need for rigour and competence is uppermost This area of institution building and management is one that has

hitherto been neglected in the Indian context, in contrast to the attention being paid to areas of resource building and allocation

THE RURAL SCENE

Historically speaking, as in several other fields of social welfare, in the area of rural development, too, voluntary organisations were the first to start development work Various experiments in rural reconstruction were made in different parts of the country by individuals and organisations—Vishwa Bharati, Sri Niketan by Rabindra Nath Tagore in 1921, the Marthandam Project sponsored by the Y M C A under the guidance of Dr Spencer Hatch, Sarva Seva Sangh organised rural reconstruction programmes in central India, Gandhigram in the south, etc These are just a few in the large galaxy of voluntary organisations which initiated rural development projects Why should there be a need for fresh reflections on this issue, if such a legacy exists for voluntary effort? The answer lies in the malaise that overtook voluntary organisations in general with the state moving toward welfare statism and development orientation In 1952, the rural community development programme was launched which visualised rural uplift through community development blocks throughout the country An adminstrative machinery was created to ensure this Following this, a succession of schemes were launched in the Five Year Plans under government patronage, all striving to meet the needs of the vast sections of our rural population The entire programme of integrated rural development, launched in 1976, is based upon the twin principles of optimum resources and task adoption by the most appropriate agency A basic question is whether it is possible to develop a self-replicating model of rural development by marrying certain universal principles of growth with social justice and ecological balance to the unique socio-economic and cultural conditions of each project area In 1965 with the introduction of Panchayati Raj, an attempt was made to incorporate popular participation in development projects There is a constant attempt to accelerate growth (production principle) and to bestow better living conditions to the masses (the welfare principle) Growth with redistribution thus becomes the paramount goal of integrated rural development

But what is the present situation? The majority of the rural masses have not been able to cross the poverty line and are mostly illiterate, suffering from ill-health, and are yet to receive adequate benefit from various development programmes Democratic decentralisation in principle provided the potential of articulation of demands through the instrumentality of local political leaders, who may even create new wants not perceived hitherto In actual practice, the struggle for power brought in its wake favouritism, competition, delay, corruption and inefficiency When initiated from above local initiative got stifled as the government was reviewed as a benevolent donor of free social services Such a system is generally not conducive to producing a client oriented design, whereby the ultimate goal would be to transfer responsibilities of planning and development to the local communities

The lessons of the voluntary work undertaken at Sriniketan, Marthandam, Etawah, Gurgaon, Navasari, etc of involving large groups of people through devoted and self-reliant voluntary organisations, seem to have been lost in subsequent development efforts In its final shape, we witness the community development programme taking a mantle of formalisation, bureaucratisation and politicisation to the detriment of voluntary initiative This was inevitable in view of its country-wide expansion within a short span of time The routinisation process has left little scope to formally integrate the local voluntary organisations as partners in

the developmental process Democratic checks and balances were displaced by administrative centralisation and dependence which was dysfunctional Emphasis on local initiative and participation of the rural poor without significant structural changes in the rural economy and power complex was unrealistic How far could local autonomy rehabilitate the presumed dynamism of a rural society weighed with static structure and an isolation from the external world and without the predisposing factors for successful community development like leadership, control over resources, etc? The paradox of the community development era may lie in the fact that the economic forces are neutralising the political authority from rousing and welding the village masses to improve their age old condition and promote democracy and economic development in which the participants are very unequally placed in a rigid and static social structure which is non-permissive either for competition or mobility

Panchayati Raj as an institutional arrangement was introduced in the wake of the realisation that rural development programmes require for their success involvement and participation of the rural people Policy planning, however, showed lack of clarity as to whether participation in Panchayati Raj was conceived in political or programmatic terms The debate was on whether in Panchayati Raj emphasis lay on power to decide issues, control resources or just implement programmes the choice of which lay elsewhere With no clear cut statement the resolution of this often depended upon the interplay between political exigencies vs pragmatic decisions

The cooperatives and panchayats have generally failed to reach the more vulnerable sections of the rural population With their close links with the government apparatus and likely political influences, they have become extended bureaucracies or administrative units Panchayat institutions have by and large failed to represent the local needs or priorities of the underprivilegod at the higher levels of administrative or political power Similarly, cooperatives have shown a tendency to limit themselves to serving the interests of local socio-political elites, thus strengthening the earlier economic structure This has resulted in the distortion of promises and performances

In the above analysis repeated reference is made to structural weaknesses and need for structural modifications Thus, while sufficient and appropriate resources and technologies are essential to rural development, so are requisite organisational structures which moblise and regulate flow and use Organisation for rural development must be seen as a system of institutions performing various functions in the rural sector Of key significance is the extent and effectiveness of linkages between these organisations and structures which frame policies and allocate resources essential to rural development This linkage becomes a more important variable than autonomy when it comes to rural development Generally, there prevails two misleading assumptions about rural institutions—one being the paternalistic or decisions from above, the opposing view being the populist approach which assumes that rural people are vitally interested in change and are completely capable of transforming their communities Contradictions prevail in both these approaches What should be developed is an institutional system which is neither just 'top-down' nor 'bottom-up' nor exclusively governmental

ROLE OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

The above argument would indicate a greater need for voluntary agencies to coordinate their efforts with that of the government The general trend in the present context has been quite the

contrary with a massive reliance on State assistance and State support for welfare services, which had till now enjoyed the patronage of the community The need to redefine the role of voluntary agencies in the eradication of poverty is mainly because of a broader interpretation of the concept of poverty and a changed perception of the States, coupled with this is the uncertainty in regard to their efficacy to tackle this problem This doubt arises primarily because of the evolutionary process of voluntary organisations in pre and post-Independence India With an alien government involved with the functions of law and order and collection of revenue, the voluntary agencies had built up a network of social services

After independence there was gradual erosion in this pioneer role This has been attributed to the rise of statism and the ideological crisis that had overtaken the voluntary sector The leaders of the voluntary social reform movement were involved more actively in the political process The community's surpluses, the financial backbone of voluntary agencies coming from the feudal landlords and large business houses, were not so readily available because of the abolition of the Zamindari system, heavy taxation on incomes, etc The increasing professionalisation of the social services, requirements for large finances on a sustained basis and need for trained personnel further eroded the role of voluntary agencies

The Central Social Welfare Board was set up for the primary task of promoting, maintaining and coordinating voluntary efforts in the field of social welfare The Ministry of Social Welfare provides funds to the CSWB to promote and support voluntary efforts in the organisation and implementation of welfare services Grants-in-aid are also given to voluntary organisations directly by the Ministry of Social Welfare and other Ministries/Departments at the Centre and in the States to implement plan programmes

NEED FOR ORGANISATION

Extreme poverty is one of the major reasons for the lack of development of self-supporting, self-directing organisations One is confronted with a vicious circle Unless the organisations produce tangible results they will not be able to get the support and the committed following of the rural poor and unless the rural poor are in a position to support and give whole-hearted participation, the organisations would not be able to produce results

Another major factor responsible for the absence of peasant organisation and unity can be said to be their homogeneity not just in terms of what they produce, but also in terms of their ability to help each other in economic terms At the same time their subsistence economy can hardly encourage them to establish any alliance with outside forces on which they can exercise any control, resulting in limited interactions with the outside world The village organisations served as buffers to outside forces State regulatory mechanism on the village started operating at the village level through local administrative units like the panchayats which further eroded the role of the traditional village control mechanism With the growing outward orientation of the villagers, the village dispute-settling mechanisms also started losing their hold The decreasing importance of village status system also meant a decrease in efficacy of village control mechanism and in the status of leadership

Socially also one finds that the higher castes in India always had the control of the most productive lands in the village Since the peasants' activities in rural areas were inward-oriented the landlords had practically full control In India, particularly, one finds that the landlord was not just an employer, but also a source of credit, a market (the landlords used to buy most of the surplus from the peasants and marketed those to make profits) and a support

and protector against the outside forces As regards the local leadership, there are hardly people who are readily available in the villages with the necessary competence, discretion or commitment to serve the poor However, the efforts to building a strong viable organisation will have to be made, taking into consideration all the limitations—economic, social, political and others

The most crucial problem the existing organisations face is the absence of political and civic awakening at the level of their members Thus one of the important activities of most organisations is the education and training of their members Since the majority of the members are illiterate the means of communication are practically restricted to personal contacts and oral communication

A comprehensive strategy, therefore,is necessary so that peasants get their due share of benefits The strategy should have four major goals, (i) it will have to make provision for certain services and facilities to help peasants overcome the immediate problems of resources and supplies, (ii) it will have to generate, on the basis of self-help, self-directing, problem-solving groups which would not only develop their confidence in environment manipulation but also serve as training grounds for required leadership, (iii) it will have to develop the capacity of the peasants to organise and manage their own affairs through development of necessary skills and resources, thereby enhancing their potentialities to participate in developmental efforts, and finally (iv) it will have to help them to emerge as a political power capable of exercising pressures through self-led initiative and respond in a more responsible manner in the newly emerging political scene

SOCIAL WORK

As we understand the term social work, it is both an integration and a continuation process coupled with a transformation process

Social work has been defined by the Sixth International Conference of Social Work (1952) "as a process which makes it possible for the individual to achieve his maximum potiential through existing institutions or to modify existing institutions to provide a healthier environment (physical, emotional, social and spiritual) in which the individuals may grow and function to the fullest of the individual capacities "

Social work does not concern itself only with certain vulnerable groups at a particular point of time but it is concerned with overall strengthening of client groups through mechanisms such as development of spirit of self-help and self-determination, self-reliance, organisational development and growth of indigenous leadership Mobilisation of people and maximising thier participation therefore would demand both institutionalisation and socialisation of the process of social change Social work practitioners will have to consider this, therefore, as a primary thrust of their professional practice

Social work in this context then would be both preventive and developmental Conventionally the social work functions are defined in terms of "restoration of impaired capacity, provision of individual and social resources and prevention of social dysfunction " In the initial phases, social work was more concerned with remedial activities, and only marginally tried to highlight the need for social reform and change, thus emphasizing the need to integrate preventive and remedial approach on a continuum At the philosophical level in social work therefore one finds an effective balance of these two concerns

While the contribution of social work in remedial services has been significant, its contributions towards preventive services have not gone beyond secondary and tertiary prevention

Thus at the practice level, by and large, contribution of social work has been limited more to remedial activities, a major criticism that needs to be appreciated in its right perspectives

In the context of our rural settings, as in most of the developing countries, poverty is not a marginal phenomenon In spite of our commitment to egalitarian goals, the State has not been able to mobilise the required resources to meet the minimum social security needs of the majority of our population Social welfare by and large has been at a low level of priority in our national planning and as a result the need for social work intervention has acquired an unprecedented importance Further, social work initiative has been largely restricted to voluntary effort and, to that extent, there is a danger that its contribution may not rise above the level of voluntary effort This raises a crucial issue as to what can be the role of voluntary welfare agencies in rural settings vis-a-vis government development departments As regards the absence of the required political will, what should be the relationship between the voluntary agencies, the political parties and the marginal population?

CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL WORK

In the field of welfare, as with any other development field, progressive planning needs to be coupled with an effective and efficient service delivery system Social work as a profession has a major role in providing managerial and professional inputs to our present social welfare service delivery system, which is woefully inadequate This can be attempted by a process of creating social vigilance at local level to protect the development agencies from over-bureaucratisation and over-politicisation Adequate utilisation of existing voluntary agencies engaged in development activities should also be actively pursued through a process of systmatic professionalisation of these groups

- Along with this, the professional inputs are to be reinforced at the community level as well, creating an enlightened and alert populace through community education, adult literacy, and community action groups for problem solving, and strengthening representative groups through mobilising wider community participation and encouraging indigenous local leadership This will help in establishing democratic and secular norms by providing first hand experience to a cross section of the community in problem-solving activities Special skills of the professional in human-relations/dynamics can help community groups by providing participation opportunities and thereby enhancing the contribution potentials of community groups A development strategy for providing skills in handling human relations and group dynamics in democratic processes would strengthen faith in desirable value framework, namely, democracy, freedom, social justice, secularism and self-help This would help in assisting communities to integrate scientific advancement in their cultural context, thus providing continuity and change and assisting communities in early identification and prevention of mental health problems This would also involve indentification of specific roles and appropriate methods for introduction of technological change It would demand encouraging local initiative for defining the local problems and evolving appropriate technology for problem solving

Close contact with client groups would help in the identification of marginal groups or specific target groups, in defining their specific handicaps and needs through scientific methods and thus enable the profession to contribute at policy level as well

Basically, therefore, the contribution of social work will have to come in the form of social engineering, management of human dynamics, mobilization of human resources and putting the organisations to effective use The styles of social work intervention would necessarily be

characterised by assimilative, assertive and transformative processes Casework and group work skills would form the core of this professional assistance The capacity to integrate these methods and obtaining an effective blend therefore would be of prime importance

PROFESSIONAL CHALLENGE

While identifying contributions of social work in the rural setting one must note that within the profession of social work itself, out of growing dissatisfaction with individualised methods to deal with problems, social workers have concerned themselves with the study of the surrounding community of their clients and ways to influence these surroundings more directly Consideration of environmental and community factors which have aroused the interest of community workers in social etiology poses problems in terms of identification of specific roles for professionals in affecting the social etiology Consideration of aspects of social etiology in problem-solving demands consideration of the dimension of community autonomy, i e, extent of dependence or independence the community enjoys in the performance of its functions or in problem-solving

Participation in the development process or in problem-solving is essential not just at the decision-making level but more importantly at the implementation level by all sections of community despite the income difference Raising of community contributions both in financial terms and through voluntary labour is one of the important aspects of community work in rural settings Sugata Dasgupta in his book *Social Work and Social Change* has identified the directions for social work more specifically for community organisation in the following terms which should be the essential ingredients in professional interventions (i) economic self-reliance and psychological self-sufficiency, (ii) development of inter-community bodies having sub-units at the village level, (iii) development of uni-purpose service institutions, (iv) secularisation of the objectives of village institution drawing broad-based leadership resulting in vertical integration and horizontal amalgamation, and (v) democratization of institutions through voluntary action

Social work practitioners will have therefore to achieve the twin goals of democratization of institutional infrastructure and integration and securalisation of heterogenous groups which belong to diverse religious, cultural and linguistic origins

A practice-based profession like social work will have to depend heavily on theories based on contextual practice. This calls for the reorientation of academic institutions wherein theoretical instruction and field work practice will have to be cross-fertilized by practitioners The professionals will have to engage themselves in relevant theory building based on first hand practice at the local level Our development challenges are also challenges for academic institutions and professional groups to raise the status of field practice, develop a theoretical base and integrate it with the present-day demands

V G PANWALKAR

SUICIDE

The word suicide was used first by Sir Thomas Browne in his *Religio Medici* in 1642 and subsequently by Walter Charleton in 1651 Somehow, Samuel Johnson's Dictionary (1755) and Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*

(1652) fail to mention it[1] Before the introduction of the word, several euphemisms were in currency Self-destruction, self-killing, and self-murder are some of them 'Selbstmord' continues to be popular in German world till today Suicidology has emerged as an important speciality dealing with the scientific study of all aspects of suicide behaviour. Suicide has been defined variously for psychological, legal, social and administrative purposes Edwin Schneidman the outstanding contemporary suicidologist, defines suicide succinctly as a "self-intentioned, self-inflicted cessation" It is an act committed out of constricted thinking, tunnelled logic and acute anguish

The concept of suicide behaviour has been extended in recent times following the researches of Karl Menninger[2] to include conditions he terms as partial and chronic suicide drug addiction, alcoholism, self-mutilation, refusal to accept treatment for serious illnesses, obesity and indulging in dangerously adventurous behaviour including submitting to multiple and unnecessary surgery Certain patients are in a state of chronic suicide a neurotic invalidism These have also been called indirect 'suicide acts' or' suicide equivalents' They take the individual nearer to death with or without his conscious awareness The *Upanishads* speak of spiritual suicide of a person who neglects the 'self' in him "Those who kill their selves reach the sunless regions covered by impenetrable darkness"[3]

PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY

"Life is a stage with one entrance but with many exits" remarked Will Durant[4] and suicide, an important exit, has a long history and philosophy The French Nobel Laureate Albert Camus[5] said, "that there is but one serious philosophical problem and this is suicide" He added, "the act of suicide is prepared within the silence of the heart as is the great work of art"

Suicide has been commended as well as condemned down through the ages The philosophers' approach to the problem hinges on the central query whether man can decide to blow out the flame of his life? Can he choose death over life? Sacredness of life, its quality as well as quantity have all been considered People have been killing themselves from the beginning of recorded history The Epicureans considered that a man has a right to take his life The Stoic who felt that he had enough of life allowed his veins to be cut by trained technicians Cato, Pliny and Seneca found suicide acceptable However, Plato condemned suicide as did Virgil, Ovid and Cicero Kant said that "suicide is an insult to humanity"[6] The Hebrew Holy Scriptures contain references to self-destruction inspite of its emphasis on the sanctity of life Saul, the first king of Israel, when his soldier refused to obey to slay him, fell on his own sword to avoid mockery and torture by his enemy This suicide of Saul is condoned as an act of courage in Flavius Josephus Antiquities of the Jews A Jewish community in 73 A D committed mass suicide in the fortress of Massada when their capture by Romans became inevitable In Talmudic period (200-500 A D) an increasing number of suicides are recorded The Talmud decreed that suicide was to be buried apart and was to receive no eulogy or public mourning Then came an enlightened view about the possibility of accident in the so-called suicide act, and also that suicide was the result and an action of a distressed mind "We are inclined to say that he was not in his right mind at that time He is therefore given a burial and last rites in the same manner as any other deceased" Early in the Christian era suicide was acceptable but later disapproval came when St Augustine (354-430) called it a sin and this precluded the possibility of repentence and that it was a form of homicide and thus a violation of Decalogue Article "Thou shalt not kill" Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274) opposed suicide on

the basis that it was "against the natural inclinations of preservation of life and charity towards life, and it was a trespass against society and also God who has given man Life "

In the seventeenth century John Donne reacted against the church attitude when he argued that self-homicide was contrary to the law of self-preseration and no more It was neither a violation of law nor of reason David Hume, Voltaire and Rousseau defended suicide under certain circumstances[7] David Hume[8] was perhaps the first to decriminalise suicide and extricate it from the list of sins He argued that suicide was neither a crime nor was it a transgression of one's duties against God or to our fellow citizens or to the other men He declared that "prudence and courage should engage us to rid ourselves at once of existence when it becomes a burden—if it be no crime in me to divert the Nile or the Danube from its course—where then is the crime in turning a few ounces of blood from their natural channel?" In modern time many clergymen view the question of suicide not only from the theological angle but also from psycho-social implications Suicide must not merely be condemned but it must be understood and measures undertaken to prevent it

Suicide is forbidden in Koran and the "faithful Muslim awaits his destiny, he does not snatch it from the hands of God"

Suicide has been both condemned and permitted during the *Vedic* and *Upanishadic* times Though suicide was disapproved, certain exceptions were permitted (i) *Sati,* (ii) death by drowning at the confluence of rivers, (iii) persons suffering from incurable disease or too old and enfeebled to discharge their daily duties, (iv) ascetics, (v) undertaking the great journey towards the closing years of one's life *(mahaprasthan).*

Instances of suicide are available in the Indian epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* An epidemic of suicide was known to have occurred in Ayodhya when Rama died[9] Mass suicide in Jones Town is recent history needs no elaboration [10] Kautilya awarded penalties to the body of the suicidally dead and to the relatives if they performed obsequies Some Brahmanical tests recommend that he who resolves to kill himself but fails should fast for a stipulated period of time The *Gita* admonishes self-torture and self-killing Raja Ram Mohan Roy's name shines out like a bright star in the social firmament of India and history of suicidology "In the history of social reform in India, Raja Ram Mohan Roy's name will ever be gratefully remembered in connection with the abolition of *Sati* He began his agitation against this cruel custom in 1818 A D by writing pamphlets and rousing public opinion In doing so, he examined all the *Smriti* texts on the subject from Manu downwards and pointed out that not all authorities are agreed to prescribing the rites and even those later jurists who recommended it had laid down that it should be free and voluntary Thus, it was on the strength of the Hindu Law that he gave his verdict against *sati* His labours bore fruit and *sati* was declared illegal in 1829 A D by Lord William Bentinck Bentinck was the then Viceroy of British India" [11]

PREVALENCE

Suicide is a widely prevalent but a preventible tragedy of universal occurrence from which no nation or culture has escaped though the toll varies from place to place For example, Hungary, Austria and West Berlin suffer most with a rate between 20 and 40 per 1,00,000 population while Nigeria, Eire and Middle East countries have a very low figure, viz, from 1 to 3 per 1,00,000[12] India falls in the middle rank with a figure of 8 to 9 per 1,00,000 Though the second most populous country, India ranks tenth in its figure for suicide in the world Out of 1,000

suicides a day in the world 100 occur in the Indian subcontinent

The publication *Accidental Deaths and Suicides in India* brought out by the Bureau of Police Research and Development showed that the number of suicides in India in 1979 was 38,217 or 5 90 per lakh of population [13]

The following table offers the incidence of suicide per 1,00,000 population in 1872 and 1972 in some of the States in India Nandi, Banerjee and Boral[14] have reported on certain factors with regard to suicide in West Bengal in 1872 and 1972 and offer possible reasons for the increase in the rate of suicide

Incidence of suicide per 100,000 of population

	1872	1972
Bengal (West Bengal)	2 36	15 96
Bombay Presidency (Maharashtra)	4 73	8 26
Madras Presidency (Tamil Nadu)	7 85	11 30
Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh)	6 10	7 83
England and Wales	6 56	11 30

They have drawn attention to the higher incidence of suicides among the females in 1872 which through the course of 100 years has been reversed with the present male dominance

PENAL ASPECTS

The magnitude of the problem of self-destructive behaviour in India as indicated by statistics represents but the visible part of the iceberg Several deaths from suicide go unrecorded or unreported The legal aspects of an act of attempted suicide and its abetment are at present penal offences and are dealt with under sections 305, 306 and 309 of Indian Penal Code

Section 305 "If any person under eighteen years of age, any insane person, any delirious person, an idiot, or any person in a state of intoxication commits suicide, whoever abets the commission of such suicide shall be punished with death or imprisonment for life, or imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years, and shall also be liable to fine"

Section 306 "If any person commits suicide, whoever abets the commission of such suicide, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine"

Section 309 "Whoever attempts to commit suicide and does any act towards the commission of such offence, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both"

The Government has yet to consider the recommendations of the 42nd report of the Law Commission to repeal the sections of the Indian Penal Code The law scares and inhibits the helpers and the seekers of help alike Many countries have done away with such laws

PREVENTION

That suicide is preventible is recent knowledge—a culmination of humanitarian and scientific endeavours of the last fifty years One of the important methods of enquiry has been the 'psychological autopsy' conducted by psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and trained personnel Interviews with the relatives and friends of the deceased are held to unearth the clues that the person threw before committing suicide These may be verbal or behavioural in nature Remarks like "You will not be seeing me" or acts like giving away the valued possessions, or changes in the pattern of eating, sexual or social behaviour, are revealed Interested and sensitive individuals, unorthodox religious groups like Salvation Army in United Kingdom, United States of America and Germany, Ethical Society in Vienna and a wide network of

Samaritan volunteers in England pioneered by Rev Father Chad-Vara have all been engaged in the challenging task of suicide prevention The main philosophy of the Samaritans is 'befriending' The work of Professor Ringel in Vienna and of Professor Farberow in Los Angeles towards suicide prevention merit special mention The two important world organisations devoted to suicide research in all its aspects including prevention are the International Association for Suicide Prevention (IASP) and the American Association of Suicidology (AAS) Evidence has accumulated that dedicated activity of Samaritans has brought down the annual rate of suicide in England during the last five years [15] A similar decline has been registered in Los Angeles as a result of the Suicide Prevention Research Centre's work The case for suicide prevention has gained momentum A lay volunteer has been the most important discovery in the recent history of suicidology [16] He or she is indispensable for any type of suicide prevention programme

Suicide prevention can mean preventing the ideas of self-destruction crossing a person's mind or acting at the time of his attempt or before it if his suicide proneness is known The former (called primary type) is extremely difficult and is linked up with the general mental hygiene principles The second type of prevention consists of tackling those people who form a high risk group such as mentally ill people, the aged and the lonely, migrants, the depressed, alcoholic and drug addicts, the bereaved, the unemployed and the socially isolated, and the victims of incurable and painful physical diseases Once the attempt has been made, medical or surgical emergency intervention is necessary Suicide prevention programme does not stop here The individual who attempts suicide and survives needs emotional help to get rehabilitated He is likely to lose his social status and occupation in view of his so-called 'immoral' act In case of suicidal deaths the survivors in the family require counselling and support They get stigmatized due to the attitude of society towards suicide Marital alliance and social contacts with such families are generally avoided The other members of the family may dread their own death from suicide Helping them is prevention according to Schneidman

In India suicide prevention work has been in progress on a modest scale in Madurai (Suicide Prevention Centre, Institute of Psychiatry, Erskine Hospital), Delhi (Sanjivini), Bangalore (Medico Pastoral Society), Bombay and other centres The institution of detoxication and resuscitation centres in general and psychiatric hospitals has saved many a life from otherwise fatal self-poisoning To take an example, during the past several years (in Madurai) with the availability of such services, the ratio of completed suicide and attempted suicide has rapidly improved ten times from the earlier figures of 1 8 to 1 80 [17] The details of the prevention programme vary from place to place and are not dealt with here The thought of prevention of suicide should kindle the sensitive hearts and spurn to action those who view life in all its forms as sacred Albert Schweitzer[18] advocates the philosophy of 'reverence for life' However, it is not merely the prolongation of life that is aimed at To some, such as sufferers from painful cancer, voluntary death is preferred to a living death The quality of life under these circumstances needs improvement by suitable forms of counselling It is unfortunate that interest in suicide prevention is not comparable to the one witnessed in other forms of prophylaxis though it is one of the four major modes of exit (natural, accidental, suicidal, homicidal) It should not be forgotten that the environment which prompts suicide also offers counters to suicide Religion, philosophy, belief and value systems of a society, its traditional norms and the family pattern and attitudes may help to offset the suicide impulse in the individuals

CAUSES

It is wrong to attribute all suicides to mental illness though depressive insanity in all suicide was attributed by Esquirol Mental illnesses are not responsible for more than 15 to 25 per cent of suicides Hence, effective treatment of mentally ill alone cannot prevent suicides from other causes

The concept of pre-suicidal syndrome which pre-disposes to self-destructive behaviour has been put forward by Ringel[19] This syndrome has a certain degree of predictive value Its characteristic features are constriction in the fields of affect, values and the tendency to withdraw from society and fantasying with death themes Due to certain dynamics the inherent aggressive instinct becomes reversed and the individual directs aggresssion against himself Ringel advocates certain procedures like encouraging a positive attitude to life, stimulation of imagination towards a better mode of life and control and release of aggression thereby abreacting it through healthy channels and the use of drugs and psychotherapy

Any mental illness can be complicated by suicide attempt or completed suicide with the possible exception of mania and anxiety Depression, schizophrenia, hysteria, personality deviations are the important ones with suicide complications Certain individuals taking drugs for high blood pressure, or taking cortisone preparations or the 'pill' are prone to depression Though the suicide attempts are common among depressives in India, completed suicides seem to be far less than in the Western countries In their follow-up study on the course and outcome of depresssive illness Venkoba Rao and Nammalvar reported two completed suicides in their series of 122 cases[20] They have also reported on the so-called 'suicide counters' among their depressives which minimise the suicide potential[21] These suicide counters are of the following types

- Economic
- Moral
- Obligation and duty to
  - Spouses
  - Parents
  - Children and others
- Religious
- Ethical
- Social

In India socio-economic factors and family circumstances are responsible for suicide Poverty, unemployment, financial indebtedness, incurable diseases and sexual impotence, homosexuality, childlessness, illegitimate pregnancy, disturbed relationship between husband and wife and in-law's problems, forced marriages, allegations against chastity, alcoholism, drug addiction and prolonged and painful bodily diseases are some of them[22]

Adolescents and adults comprise the bulk of suicide in India while in the developed countries it is the aged ones[23,24] The age structure of India's population and the cultural and traditional attitude to the elders may explain this feature The aged in Indian culture have not yet become the 'useless mouths to be fed' However, with the fast cultural and socio-economic changes, break up of the joint family and migration of youngsters to cities for employment, the elders will be at a discount in the years to come

MISCONCEPTIONS

Myriads of misconceptions surround suicide One such is that persons who talk of suicide do not commit suicides The fact is that out of every ten persons who attempt suicide, eight would have given prior warning of their intention Another misconception is that once a person is suicidal, he is suicidal forever This is not so The suicidal impulse may not last beyond a brief period of time Yet another myth is that suicidal

persons are hundred per cent determined to kill themselves Most of the persons who attempt suicide make their intentions known to others expecting intervention Suicidal attempt is, in many instances, an act of 'cry for help' according to a great suicide researcher Dr Stengel [25] Those who hear the cry can respond appropriately and save life The suicidal person's is a Janus faced attitude towards death The act itself is a gamble The myth that suicide runs in families has been exploded There is a wrong notion that all suicides are committed by mentally ill persons Several suicide inclined persons may in the final analysis be unhappy but not necessarily mentally ill Problems of living are different from psychiatric illnesses It used to be held that poverty stricken Asiatics and Africans cling to life tenaciously and rarely kill themselves and that suicide was a price for affluence Reports, including those from India, have belied this assumption

AVENUES OF SUICIDE RESEARCH

The triple avenues of suicide research in the twentieth century have been the sociological[26] (Durkheim, 1970), psycho-analytical[27] (Freud, 1917) and Transactional analytical[28] (Berne, 1964) Durkheim, who succeeded August Comte at Sorbonne, Paris, categorized different types of suicide which he discovered to be a social phenomenon He based his thesis on the relationship between the societical structure and its regulations over the individuals If an individual is over integrated into the society, altruistic suicide is the price In this case, the individual dies upholding the value systems of the society for which he stands It is a type of martyrdom Charles Dickens' Sydney Carton is a fine example of this type and highlights the very quintescence of sacrifice of one's life for the happiness of others "It is a far, far better thing that I do, than I have ever done, It is a far, far better rest that I go to than I have ever known" Egoistic suicide results when the individual has tenuous ties with the community Anomic suicide occurs when the familiar relationship between the individual and the society is all of sudden shattered—loss of a job, of a close friend or a fortune that are shocking in quality Durkheim described also a fatalistic type from an excessive regulation of an individual by the social system, as experienced by the Blacks in the U S A and the under-privileged in any country They are also called authority suicides Durkheim's approach is generally of historical and heuristic value and not practically a useful one when dealing with an individual with suicide thoughts Durkhem's typology is out of date and appears more applicable to the dead than the living Halbwachs adopts only the egoistic and the anomic type while rejecting the altruistic type as a form of 'self-sacrifice' [29]

Sigmund Freud (1917), as opposed to Rousseau and Durkheim, shifted the cause from the society to the man's mind and located it in its 'unconscious' part [30] According to his theory suicide is an inwardly directed aggression against the introjected image of the loved-hated object By killing himself the individual symbolically kills the introjected object "an act of murder at 180th degree" Transactional analytical theory falls somewhere between the approaches of Durkheim and Freud that is between the socio-cultural and the intrapsychic The transactional theory holds that the individual develops an abnormal script for his life and chooses the role of a tragic hero in life's game This type of script, called hamartic, results from a disturbed early parent child relationship A harmonious and a warm parent child situation should produce a state of "I am OK, You are OK" but when it gives place to "I am not OK you are OK", a script results wherein the individual decides for himself a role that relentlessly takes him to a self-destructive termination Other theories too explain the suicide phenomenon but they are excluded for want of space

PROSPECTS

Today suicide is held to be a preventible form of death Dissemination of this knowledge through mass media is called for This will help a change in the present unhelpful public attitude Its causes and its preventible nature and other aspects should form part of the curricula of the courses in medical, social and behavioural sciences The relevant part of the Indian Penal Code about attempted suicide as it exists should be repealed Suicide prevention programmes (called by any name) must be encouraged in different parts of the country by voluntary organisations and State-aided ones with lay persons drawn from many walks of life taking on the role of volunteers Periodic training and lecture programmes are to be arranged for those that work in the area of suicidology or marginally in it, such as, general medical practitioners, members of judiciary, lawyers, college and school teachers, police personnel, clergy and all those interested in saving life by diminishing mental distress Special attention is to be given towards high risk groups—the mentally ill, the addicts, the deprived, the bereaved, the aged and those living alone Research should be encouraged with funds from scientific and research bodies

A VENKOBA RAO

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TRADE UNIONS AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Trade unionism in India, as in most other countries, has been the natural outcome of the modern factory system Its development in India has had a chequered history

During the early period of industrial development, efforts towards organising workers for their welfare were made largely by social workers, philanthropists and religious leaders, mostly on humanitarian grounds In 1875, a few social reformers under the leadership of Sorabjee Shapurjee Bengalee started an agitation in Bombay in order to draw the attention of the government to the appalling conditions of workers in factories, specially those of women and children, and to appeal to the authorities to introduce legislation for the amelioration of their working conditions On the basis of the recommendations of the Bombay Factory Commission (1875), the first Factories Act was passed in 1881 But this Act proved highly inadequate and there were protests in Bombay on behalf of workers N M Lokhande, himself a factory worker, convened a mass meeting of about 10,000 workers in Bombay in 1890 and drew up a memorandum containing demands for limitation of hours of work, weekly rest days, mid-day recess and compensation for injuries The Bombay Millowner's Association conceded the demand for a weekly holiday Encouraged by this success, Lokhande established in 1890 the Bombay Mill-hands' Association, regarded as the first labour organisation in India A labour journal called *Dinabandhu* (Friend of the Poor) was also published The setting up of three Commissions between 1875 and 1890 and the enactment of two factory laws provided the necessary impetus for the formation of labour associations Among the important associations set up were the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of India and Burma (1897), the Printers Union, Calcutta (1905), the Bombay Postal Union (1907), the Kamgar Hityardhak Sabha (1910) and the Social Service League (1910) [1] However, before these developments, organisations of workers were continuing bodies and could hardly be regarded as trade unions in the true sense

The outbreak of the first world war saw the beginning of the labour movement in the mod-

ern sense of the term The prevalent economic, social and political conditions largely influenced the growth of the trade union movement in India They were also responsible for mass awakening, especially among industrial workers The new upsurge of national sentiment, the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the establishment of the International Labour Organisation were other important factors which contributed to the growth of the Indian trade union movement during this period In 1919, the Madras Labour Union, the first union in India to be formed on systematic lines, was established by B P Wadia Due to the agitation of workers in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, the management declared a lock-out in 1920 and filed a suit for damages against Wadia and other leaders of the Madras Labour Union The Madras High Court granted the injunction The court order brought to the fore the urgent need for legal protection to trade unions The labour leaders became fully conscious of the fact that in the absence of any legal base, they could be prosecuted for bonafide trade union activities In 1921, an effort was made by N M Joshi to introduce trade union legislation However, his efforts materialised only after a lapse of five years when the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926 was enacted Between 1919 and 1923, scores of unions came into existence At Ahmedabad, under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi and Ansuyaben, occupational unions like Spinners' Union and Weavers' Union came into existence, which later on federated into the industrial union known as the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association (*Majur Mahajan*) The Association, ever since its inception, has been a model of sound unionism in the country, based on the Gandhian philosophy of mutual collaboration and non-violence

The year 1920 was of crucial importance in the history of the Indian trade union movement The necessity of electing delegates for the annual International Labour Conferences led to the formation of the All Indian Trade Union Congress Its first session was held in October 1920 at Bombay under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai This central organisation grew in strength in course of time and focused attention on some of the real needs and problems of labour In 1922, the All India Railwaymen's Federation was formed Most of the railway unions got affiliated to it However, during this period, signs of militant tendencies and revolutionary ideas became apparent in the labour movement of the country The moderate element led by N M Joshi separated from the AITUC and formed the All India Trade Union Federation in 1929 In July 1931, at Calcutta, there was another split when a section of communists led by Deshpande and Ranadive formed the All India Red Trade Union Congress There were efforts to bring about unity within the AITUC and in 1934 a compromise was reached through the efforts of the office-bearers of the railwaymen's federation, and the All India Red Trade Union Congress was dissolved In 1938, the National Trade Union Federation also merged with the AITUC The annual session of the unified AITUC was convened at Nagpur in 1940, under the presidentship of Suresh Banerjee, with N M Joshi as its General Secretary But the unity did not last long

The second world war brought in its wake several problems While one section in the AITUC was in favour of all out support for the war effort, the other was opposed to it The former group established their own central organisation called the Indian Federation of Labour Jamnadas Mehta and M N Roy became the president and general secretary respectively A further split took place in June 1947 To free AITUC from the grip of Communists, top leaders of the Indian National Congress, in a high level conference at New Delhi in May 1947, decided to form another central organisation Thus, the Indian National Trade

Union Congress came into existence which succeeded in gaining membership from its very inception Meanwhile, there came another split when the Socialists separated and formed the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) in 1948 The Indian Federation of Labour merged with this body Some of the radicals under the leadership of K T Shah and Mrinal Kanti Bose formed another organisation known as the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC) in 1949 Thus, soon after independence, the trade union movement in the country was split up into four distinct central organisations of workers In addition, there are also some other notable all India worker's organisation like the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (1955), the Hind Mazdoor Panchayat (1965), the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (1970) The UTUC split up in subsequent years into two federations, namely UTUC and UTUC (Lenin *Sarani*) With the split of the Congress Party in 1969, there was a split in INTUC also and a new body known as the National Labour Organisation (NLO) came up with the initiative of mainly the Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad

STRUCTURE

In India, in the earlier stages, the general pattern of unions was to have plant level unions Industry-wise or area-wise unions have been a later development Industrial unions have been organised mainly as a result of the need felt by workers in one industry at a given centre to come together on a common platform Trade unions covering all workers irrespective of their craft or category, either at the plant or the industry level, appear now to set the general pattern None the less some craft/category-wise trade unions do exist, particularly, in the airlines, in some sections of the ports and docks, etc The National Commission on Labour recommended that "the craft unions operating in a unit/industry should be encouraged to amalgamate into an industrial union " According to it, "craft unions as a rule should be discouraged "[2] Now there are some strong all-India associations/federations in important sectors of the economy, such as railways, posts and telegraphs, defence, banking, insurance, ports and docks, etc Some of these are affiliated to one or the other of the central trade union organisations, while the others are independent

COVERAGE

Despite the fact that the trade union movement in India made significant progress, particularly in the post-independence period, a large majority of the workers are yet to be unionised The degree of unionisation also varies widely from industry to industry In a paper prepared by the Department of Labour and Employment for the Conference of Asian Labour Ministers (January-February 1969), the extent of unionisation among the workers in industries, other than agriculture, in 1962-63 was stated to be 24 per cent, in mining the coverage was 51 per cent and in transport and communications, manufacturing industries, and electricity and gas 37 to 39 per cent Industries with a high rate of coverage were tobacco manufacture (75 per cent), iron and steel (63 per cent), coal (61 per cent), cotton textiles (56 per cent), banks (51 per cent), insurance and railways (33 per cent each) and plantations (28 per cent)[3] In the year 1975, the estimated number of registered unions was 25,109, the number of unions submitting returns was 5,716 (53 6) and the membership of unions submitting returns was 41,66,000[4]

As a measure for promoting unionisation and strengthening representative trade unionism, introduction of closed shop and union shop has often been suggested, but according to the National Commission on Labour (1969), "the practice of closed-shop is neither practicable nor desirable" and also "against the Fundamental

Right of Freedom of Association guaranteed in our Constitution"[5]

FINANCES

The primary source of income of the unions is from the subscription of their members Apart from this, there are other sources such as donations, sale proceeds of periodicals and special collections With a few exceptions, the financial position of most of the unions is generally weak According to the National Commission on Labour "an important factor limiting the effective functioning of unions in our country has been their financial weakness In most unions, poor finances have been the result of inadequate membership strength This, in turn, can be traced to the small size of units In a majority of unions, the rate of contributions required of members is also small With a relatively low rate of unionisation, total funds collected are small The general picture of finances of union is disappointing"[6] The Commission suggested raising the membership fee from the 25 paise to Re one per month and introduction of check-off system, i e the system of the employer deducting the subscription of the member of the recognised union from his wages and making it over to the union

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The Trade Unions Act of 1926 came into force on 1 June 1927 The main object of the Act is to provide for registration of unions and to confer a legal and corporate status on such bodies A trade union has been defined under the Act as "Any combination, whether temporary or permanent, formed primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and employers or between workmen and workmen, or between employers and employers, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, and includes any federation of two or more Trade Unions"[7] The administration of the Act is the responsibility of State Governments The Act provides that any seven or more members of a trade union can apply to the Registrar for registration of a union The Act permits even employer's organisations to get themselves registered under the Act A union can be granted a certificate of registration provided it satisfies the requirements laid down in Section 6 of the Act At least half of the total number of office-bearers of a registered trade union should be persons actually engaged or employed in an industry to which the union belongs The Registrar has power to withdraw or cancel registration of a trade union under certain conditions but an appeal can be made against his decision

Registration of a union confers on it certain rights and privileges The Act protects an office-bearer or a member of a registered trade union against criminal proceedings in respect of any agreement made between the members for the purpose of furthering any object of a trade union Likewise, they are protected from civil suits in respect of any act done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute if the plea is only that such act induces some other person to break a contract of employment or that it is an interference with his trade, business or employment

The objects on which the general funds of a registered trade union can be utilised under the Act are "(a) The payment of salaries, allowances and expenses to office-bearers of the Trade Union, (b) the payment of expenses for the administration of the Trade Union, including audit of the accounts of the general funds of the Trade Union, (c) the prosecution or defence of any legal proceeding to which the Trade Union or any member thereof is a party, (d) the conduct of trade disputes on behalf of the Trade Union or any member thereof, (e) the compensation of members for loss arising out of trade disputes, (f) allowances to members or their

dependents on account of death, old age, sickness, accidents or unemployment of such members, (g) the issue of, or the undertaking of liability under, policies of assurance on the lives of members, or under policies insuring members against sickness, accident or unemployment, (h) the provision of educational, social or religious benefits for members or for the dependents of members, (i) the upkeep of a periodical published mainly for the purpose of discussing questions affecting employers or workmen as such, (j) the payment to any cause intended to benefit workmen in general"[8]

The objects for which the political fund may be spent are "(a) the payment of any expenses incurred either directly or indirectly, by a candidate or prospective candidate for election as a member of any legislative body, (b) the holding of any meeting or the distribution or any literature or documents in support of any such candidate or prospective candidate (c) the maintenance of any person who is a member of any legislative body or of any local authority, (d) the registration of electors or the selection of a candidate for any legislative body, (e) the holding of political meetings of any kind, or the distributions of political literature or political documents of any kind "[9]

The Act prescribes a minimum subscription fee of 25 paise per month per member The registered trade union is required to submit annual returns in prescribed form to the Registrar with a duly audited statement of receipts and expenditure and assets and liabilities during the year The account books can be inspected by any office-bearer or member of the union Any change in the name, constitution and rules of the union or in its office-bearers have to be notified to the Registrar

RECOGNITION

Recognition is of vital importance to trade unions It is essential in order to enable them to perform their functions more effectively and for the success of collective bargaining The Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1946 provides for the recognition of representative unions in the local area At the national level, the Indian Trade Union (Amendment) Act 1947 was enacted for the recognition of trade unions but it was not brought into force There is no central legislation for the recognition of unions over the larger part of the country Some State Governments like Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have enacted legislations on the lines of the Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1946 to regulate the recognition of trade unions in their States In the 16th session of Indian Labour Conference held in May 1958, a voluntary code of discipline was adopted by the representatives of central organisations of employers and workers, and government It laid down criteria for recognition of unions by the management on a voluntary basis for the country as a whole The National Commission on Labour recommended "to make union recognition compulsory under a central law, in all undertakings employing 100 or more workers, or where the capital invested is above a stipulated size "[10] It left the choice of method either by ballot or verification of membership to the discretion of the proposed Industrial Relations Commission In this connection, it is worth mentioning the provision made in the Maharashtra Recognition of Trade Unions and Unfair Labour Practices Act, 1971 for statutory recognition of trade union as a sole bargaining agent The certificate for recognition is granted by the Industrial Court after hearing all interested parties

LEADERSHIP

One of the basic features of the Indian trade union movement is its dependence on outside leadership However, there is nothing unique in this In almost every country, outside leaders have helped to guide the trade union movement,

particularly at its early stages, but gradually the leadership passed on to the workers themselves At the inception, the contribution of the outsiders in developing trade unions in our country was indeed considerable But now, most of the outsiders are no longer just selfless dedicated social workers with altruistic motives They are either leaders of political parties or men with political ambition Outside leaders in our country are mostly from the middle class, professional lawyers, and non-employees The Royal Commission on Labour (1931) recommended reduction of the statutory limit of outsiders from half to one-third The National Commission on Labour (1969) did not favour any legal ban on non-employees holding positions in the executives of unions The Commission favoured the development of internal leadership According to it, unless conditions were created for the building up of internal leadership, a complete ban on outsiders would only make the trade unions weaker It recommended in favour of limiting of the proportion of outsiders in the union executives

POLITICALISATION

In India, the trade union movement emanated from political factors and developed with the political movement It could not keep away from the national struggle for independence However, Mahatma Gandhi was not in favour of trade unions seeking affiliation to political parties That is why he succeeded in keeping the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association away from the AITUC Anyhow, the historical process of politicalisation has developed and rival political parties and groups continue to dominate the unions even now Many trade unions have become tools of party politics Political unionism has prevented the growth of sound worker-led trade unions and has resulted in the evils of multiplicity of trade unions Another unhealthy feature noticeable today is the tendency on the part of the political parties in power in the States to set up trade union wings of their own Therefore the ideal of one union in one industry appears to have become a remote possibility

RIVALRIES

The fragmentation of the trade union organisation at the national level has led to the division of the movement at lower levels and added to the proliferation of unions at different levels The dominating feature of the trade union scene in India today is the inter-union rivalry which can be ascribed to various factors like multiplicity, outside leadership, absence of statutory bargaining agent, etc Union rivalries have adversely affected industrial production, and peace and harmony in many industrial organisations

Another vexing problem from which trade unions suffer is that of intra-union rivalry The National Commission on Labour which went into this aspect remarked that disputes between rival sets of office-bearers of trade unions have been increasing in recent years While healthy rivalry and opposition are necessary within the democratic structure of any trade union, it can have pernicious effects when motivated by personal considerations The National Commission on Labour recommended that intra-union rivalries should best be left to the organisations of central workers concerned to settle and that the Labour Court should step in at the request of either group or on a motion by the appropriate government in cases where a central organisation was unable to resolve the dispute

FUNCTIONS

The primary function of a trade union is to protect the basic interests and needs of the

members by striving to better the terms and conditions of employment, secure for workers better wages and to improve their working and living conditions, etc Welfare activities like organising mutual benefit societies, cooperatives, employment assistance, cultural and recreational programmes, and education of its members are other aspects of union functions The important basic functions of unions listed by the National Commission on Labour are "(a) to secure for workers fair wages, (b) to safeguard security of tenure and improve conditions of service, (c) to enlarge opportunities for promotion and training; (d) to improve working and living conditions, (e) to provide for educational, cultural and recreational facilities, (f) to cooperate in and facilitate technological advance by broadening the understanding of workers on its underlying issues, (g) to promote identity of interests of the workers with their industry, (h) to offer responsive cooperation in improving levels of production and productivity, discipline and high standard of quality; and generally (i) to promote individual and collective welfare "[11]

SOCIAL WELFARE

Effective fulfilment of their traditional role will enable trade unions to promote social welfare to some extent and enrich the social life of its members Some of its social responsibilities are (a) to educate the rank and file workers so that the traditional agitational role is gradually transformed into one of understanding and cooperation, (b) to keep the well-being and progress of the community constantly before them by refraining from uncalled for strikes, work stoppages, go-slow, intimidation, etc Thus they have a duty towards the country, the government and the society; (c) in the conflict between the union and the management to keep the interest of society and of consumers in mind, (d) to discharge their role in the success of the schemes for planned economic development of the country, maximising production and distribution in an equitable manner; (e) to adapt themselves to changing social needs, rise above divisive forces of caste, religion and language and to help in promoting national and social integration at all levels, (f) to instil in their members a sense of responsibility towards industry and the community Further they should seek to harmonise the sectional goals of their members with the larger interests of the society, (g) to organise the unorganised and weaker sections of the society, particularly workers engaged in agricultural sector and undertake some labour welfare activities in rural areas, (h) to encourage capital formation by supporting small savings schems, (i) to support modernisation of equipment, rationalisation programmes, etc , (j) to work for a stable social order by establishing industrial democracy and social justice, (k) to help in holding the price line by keeping a vigilant watch on prices

Though limited in extent and scope, some trade unions have undertaken social welfare programmes Prominent among them are the Textile Labour Association (TLA), Ahmedabad and the Mill Mazdoor Union at Indore

The TLA has been conducting social welfare work since its inception and spends a sizeable portion of its income on them The Association is running day as well as night schools, a residential boarding house for working class girls, reading rooms, libraries, gymnasiums, sports etc It imparts training in painting, embroidery, sewing, cooking, etc to women workers It is running allopathic and homoepathic dispensaries in different localities at Ahmedabad and maintains a maternity home It has also a Workers' Cooperative Bank for the benefit of workers The Majur Mahajan has set up the Gujarat Khet Majur Mahajan which started its work in villages near Ahmedabad Its scope and activites are confined to farm workers and to such

vital activities as enforcement of minimum wages, relief from indebtedness and creation of supplementary occupation to raise the income levels of such workers

The Mill Mazdoor Union, Indore, has established labour welfare centres to provide cultural, recreational and other amenities to its members It organises music, dance, and social get-togethers It has a *Balmandir* where educational facilities and games are offered to the children of the employees Similarly, in the *Kanyamandir* (Girls' Section), elementary education, tailoring, spinning, knitting, training in hygiene and care of children, etc, are organised In its *Mahila Mandir* it has made necessary arrangments to provide educational amenities and craft training to women employees Night classes, a library, a reading room and facilities for indoor and outdoor games are also provided for the benefit of workers

The Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Union (RMMS), Bombay, has a workers' education centre at Khandala; a reference library and a printing press It has established a trainig-cum-research institute known as Ambekar Institute of Labour Studies It has made arrangments for sewing and tailoring classes for family members of the employees It provides medical facilities to the union members in its allopathic and homoeopathic clinics

The Mill Mazdoor Sabha, Bombay, runs credit cooperative societies for the members belonging to small factories which have no such facilities It grants scholarships to the member's children studying in eighth, ninth and tenth standards on the basis of merit In the event of the death of a member, the union gives Rs 200 to the family of the deceased to meet the immediate expenses It has a holiday home at Khandala for its members

The welfare activities of Transport and Dock Workers' Union consist of housing, free medical treatment for family and dependents, credit cooperative society with branches in residential localities Employees' children are given scholarships and in certain cases free education from the D'Mello Trust.

In addition to the welfare facilities provided by the above mentioned unions, there are some other unions for workers doing similar social welfare work both in private and public sectors in other parts of the country.

DRAWBACKS

The trade union movement got established in our country and the working classes have become a force to be reckoned with It has made considerable progress and could attain legal and social status both from the employers and the State. At many places, the trade unions have done good work for the welfare of the workers and for improving their economic and social position Yet the trade unions have not grown on sound lines and are today beset with many hindrances and obstacles Some of the reasons for its weakness are (a) migratory character of Indian labour; (b) multiplicity of trade unions, (c) inter-union and intra-union rivalries, (d) lack of reasources, (e) disunity in the ranks of workers, (f) illiteracy and ignorance of workers, (g) influence of politics on trade unionism, (h) attitude of the management towards the unions; (i) lack of proper leadership, etc.

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

In the next two decades, it is reasonable to expect that trade unions in India will tend to become increasingly professionalised rather than politicised and will develop professional interest and responsibility for the well-being and progress of its members There are already several progressive unions throughout the length and breadth of the country whch are actively concerned in welfare work for their members,

different kinds of social, recreational, educational and developmental activities have been undertaken in recent years

As trade unions become more professionalised, their leadership will tend to be less politicised and therefore there should be widespread training activites for pre-entry, and in-service refresher programmes for all union personnel irrespective of their political affiliations Social welfare will assume a greater significance in the years to come, though the main work of the unions, regarding the promotion of their members' interests and well-being will continue to receive the attention and energy of their leadership

There can be a phenomenon like the Trade Union Congress in the U K and the Ruskin College at Oxford born out of the resources and efforts of the trade union movement in India A time may soon come when a new Trade Unions Act for the whole country will be brought on the statute book All in all, the trade union movement will become responsible and responsive to the spirit of the changing times and to the dynamics of the environment

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NOTES

1 K N Subramanian, *Labour-Management Relations in India* Asia Publishing House, 1947, Bombay, p 32
2 Government of India, *Report of the National Commission on Labour* under the chairmanship of Dr P B Gajendragadhakar, Ministry of Labour Employment and Rehabilitation, New Delhi 1969 pp 279 para 20-21
3 Paper on Trade Unionism in India for the Conference of Asian Labour Ministers (January-February, 1969)—*Report of the NCL*, para 20 9
4 *Indian Labour Year Book* (1977), p 73
5 *Report of the National Commission on Labour* (1969), *op cit*, para 20, 64
6 *Ibid*, para 20, 26
7 Trade Unions Act, 1926—Section 2(h)
8 *Ibid*, Section 15
9 *Ibid*, Section 16
10 *Report of the National Commission on Labour, op cit*, para 23 50
11 *Ibid*, para 20 37

TRUSTS AND CHARITIES

A trust is an obligation annexed to the ownership of property, and arising out of a confidence reposed in and accepted by the owner for the benefit of another For example, A transfers some property to B for the maintenance and education of C Now B becomes the owner of the property but he is obliged to maintain and educate C The obligation arose through confidence that was reposed in and accepted by B Here A is the author of the trust or the settlor B is the person who has accepted the confidence and is known as trustee The person for whose benefit a trust is created is called the beneficiary In the above example, C is the beneficiary of the trust The subject of the trust is called trust property or trust money The instrument, if any, by which the trust is declared is called the trust instrument or the trust deed A breach of any duty imposed on a trustee by the trust deed or by law is called breach of trust

Trust may be of two kinds, private or public A private trust is a trust for the benefit of a

known, definite, certain individual or class of individuals, for example, a trust for the benefit of A or A's children A private trust is governed by the Indian Trusts Act, 1881

A public trust is also known as a charitable trust It is a trust for the benefit of the public at large or for the benefit of unknown, indefinite, ever changing, fluctuating class of people, as for example, a trust for the advancement of education, or for the benefit of poor inhabitants of a certain locality or village Here the beneficiaries are unknown or uncertain

Where property is transferred for charitable purposes for the benefit of the public at large, a charitable trust is created The Charitable Endowment Act, 1890, defines purposes which are charitable Charitable purposes include relief of the poor, education, medical relief and the advancement of any other object of general public utility In this context it is worthwhile to note that advancement of religion is also considered to be a charitable purpose

Under Mohammedan Law, the term charity has a wide connotation A *Waqf* under Mohammedan Law is charitable even though it is in favour of the descendants or relations if the ultimate residuary is to go to some charity, howsoever illusory that might be

Charity in its legal sense comprises four principal divisions (a) trust for the relief of poverty, (b) trust for the advancement of education, (c) trust for the advancement of religion, (d) trust for other purposes beneficial to the community not falling under any of the preceding heads

TRUST FOR THE RELIEF OF POVERTY

A grant, bequest or gift for the benefit of poor persons generally or of a certain place or of a cetain vocation or profession is a good charitable trust Poverty in this context means absolute poverty, i e , indigence at or below a certain level depending on the status of the society in question, but it does not necessarily mean the utter destitute The word poor is more or less relative Relief connotes need of some sort, either need for a home or for the means to provide for some necessity or quasi-necessity

TRUST FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

Under this head, which is liberally interpreted, comes a grant, bequest or gift for the benefit and advancement of education, learning and teaching, such as establishment of schools, colleges and universities, instituting scholarships, fellowships, lecturerships and professorships, etc Education does not merely mean imparting of the three R's—reading, writing and Arithmetic—but includes all-round development of the personality, grants, bequests and gifts for recreation, sports, drama, etc , in an educational institution will be deemed to be for the advancement of education Education does not mean academic education only but any training or instruction for the benefit of the people

TRUST FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION

Whether any religious purpose is charitable or not will depend on a particular religion or sect and its notions For Christians, gifts and bequests for churches, burial grounds, missionary establishments or advancement of Christian religion will be good charitable trusts According to Hindu Law, gifts, bequests and grants for the establishment and worship of an idol, maintenance of a temple or priest, feeding of Brahmins, performance of religious ceremonies have been held to be charitable According to Mohammedan Law, gifts, bequests and grants for distribution of alms to the poor, meeting funeral expenses of the poor, or to assist them to perform Haj, salary of an Imam or leader of prayer, building and repairs of mosque or

Imambara, celebration of a religious festival, reading of the Holy Quran in public places, have been held to be charitable

TRUST FOR OTHER PURPOSES

This is an omnibus or a residuary clause Gifts, bequests and grants for the following purposes have been held to be charitable— improvement of a city, supply of potable water, establishment of reading rooms and libraries, maintenance of gardens, preservation of places of public or historic interest, maintenance of poor houses, rest homes, care of the sick and wounded, welfare of animals, etc The list is not exhaustive but illustrative Each case has to be judged on its merit

REQUIREMENTS FOR CREATING TRUST

There are certain requirements for the creation of a private trust, namely (1) the settlor (author) must intend to create a trust In other words, intention must be clear, (2) the author must intend to bind definite property, (3) the beneficiaries must be certain, (4) the author must indicate with reasonable certainty the purpose of the trust which must be lawful, and (5) the author must transfer the trust property to the trustee unless he himself is the trustee or the trust is created by a will which shall come into force after his death

As regards other formalities, if the trust property is immovable and the trust is created by will, it must comply with the formalities of the will The will must be in writing, signed by the testator (author) or by some other person in his presence and under his directions The will is to be attested by two or more witnesses According to Mohammedan Law, a will may be oral or in writing and does not require attestation

When a trust is created otherwise than by will, it must be in writing, signed by the author and registered

If the trust property is movable, the same formalities are required or the trust may be created by physical transfer of movable property to trustee

As regards a public or charitable trust no such formalities are required All that is necessary is that the purpose of the donor (author) must be clearly specified and that the property intended for the endowment should be set apart and dedicated to the purpose It is essential that the founder (author) must effectively divest himself of all interest in the endowed property

Generally, charitable trusts are managed by trustees named by the author The subsequent appointment of trustees depends upon the provisions of the trust deed or the wishes of the author Under the Charitable Endowment Act, 1890, the State Governments are empowered to appoint an officer called 'The Treasurer of Charitable Endowments' On application by the author of a trust or by trustees of a trust, the State Government may order, by notification in the official gazette, that the trust property be vested in the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments on such terms as may be agreed upon between the Government and the applicant The State Government may also settle a scheme for the administration of the trust property which may be modified or substituted by another scheme from time to time

LEGISLATION

In addition to the Central Act (Charitable Endowment Act, 1890) various State Governments have enacted laws dealing with the regulation and control of public or charitable trusts in their respective territories Notable among these Acts are (1) The Andhra Pradesh Charitable and Hindu Religious Institutions and Endowments Act, 1966, (2) The Bihar Hindu Religious Trusts Act, 1950, (3) The Bombay

Public Trust Act, 1950, (4) Charitable Endowments (Karnataka) Amendment Act, 1971, (5) The Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act, 1959, (6) The Madhya Pradesh Public Trust Act, 1951, (7) The Mysore Religious and Charitable Institution Act, 1927; (8) The Orissa Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1969, (9) The Rajasthan Public Trust Act, 1959, and (10) The Uttar Pradesh Hindu Public Religious Institutions (Prevention of Dissipation of Properties) Act, 1962

There are also a number of Central and State Acts which regulate and control Muslim *Waqfs* (charities)

The Charitable and Religious Trusts Act, 1920, provides for effective control over the administration of charitable and religious trusts According to section 3 of the Act, any person having an interest in any trust created for a public purpose of a charitable or religious nature may apply by petition to the court within the local limits of whose jurisdiction any substantial part of the subject matter of the trust is situated to obtain the order embodying all or any of the following directions, namely (1) directing the trustee to furnish the petitioner through the court with particulars as to the nature and objects of the trust, and of the value, condition, management and application of the subject matter of the trust, and of the income belonging thereto, and (2) directing that the accounts of the trust shall be examined and audited It is provided that no person shall apply for any direction in respect of accounts relating to a period more than 3 years prior to the date of petition

The court will hear the petitioner, if he has interest in the trust, and the trustees The trustees can also send a written statement The court may pass such order on the petition as it may deem fit If an order is made against a trustee and he fails to comply with it, it shall be deemed to be a breach of trust on his part

The Act further authorises a trustee to seek the opinion, advice or direction of the court on any question affecting the management or administration of the trust property and the court shall give its opinion, advice or direction as the case may be or the court may give notice to persons who are interested in the trust and give them reasonable opportunity of being heard A trustee acting upon the opinion, advice or direction of the court shall be deemed as far as his own responsibility is concerned to have discharged his duty as such trustee

A suit in respet of a public or charitable trust can be brought in a representative capacity in the interest of the public A suit must proceed on the allegation of a breach of trust or on the necessity of having directions from the court regarding administration of such trusts Such a suit can be instituted by the Advocate General, Collector or other such officer as may be empowered by the State Government or it can be instituted by two or more persons having an interest in the trust who have got the consent in writing of the Advocate General, Collector or other officer as the case may be

Trusts in favour of charities are mostly subject to the same rules as private trusts except in one important respect The doctrine of *cy pres* applies only to charitable trusts but has no application to private trusts

The word *cy pres* means near, next to, as near as may be The doctrine means that where the execution of a charitable trust in the way expressed by the author is impossible or impracticable, the trust will not fail but the court will execute it *cy pres*, i e , as nearly as possible to the purpose intended by the author For example, if a grant is given for Gandhi Memorial Hospital in Delhi and there is no hospital in Delhi bearing that name, the grant may go to some other hospital Further under the doctrine of *cy pres*, a charitable trust will not fail for uncertainty in object wherein a private trust will fail, for exam-

ple, if a gift is given to Nehru Cancer Research Institute and there is no Institute bearing that name, it may be given to any Cancer Research Institute The trust will not be allowed to fail, otherwise, the gift goes back to author or his legal representatives

EXEMPTION FROM INCOME TAX

The Income Tax Act, 1961 grants exemption in respect of income from property held under trust for charitable or religious purposes The charitable purposes include relief of the poor, education, medical relief, and the advancement of any other object of general public utility not involving carrying on of any activity for profit

The exemption of the income from trust property has to be determined in the following manner (1) (a) If the trust be wholly for charitable or religious purpose, exemption will be allowed to the extent, the income is applied in India, (b) If the income is accumulated, the extent of exemption will be 25 per cent of the total income of the trust or Rs 10,000 whichever is greater (2) (a) If the income of the trust is applied partly for religious or charitable purposes, the exemption will be allowed to the extent it is applied in India and the trust must have been created before 1 April 1962, (b) If, however, the trust accumulates its income, exemption will be allowed to the income so set apart not in excess of 25 per cent of the income from the property held under trust in part (3) Under certain circumstances, the income of the trust applied outside India is exempt if (a) the said trust is created on or after 1 April 1952 for charitable purposes, (b) the object of the trust is to promote international welfare in which India is interested (4) The restrictions about accumulation can be relaxed if the following conditions are complied with (a) Notice is given to the Income Tex Officer in the prescribed manner, (b) Period of accumulation shall not exceed 10 years, (c) Money so accumulated is invested in government securities

CONCLUSIONS

There are hundreds of religious and charitable trusts in India whose combined resources amount to crores of rupees Some trusts like Tirupati trust at Shri Venkateshwar Temple in Andhra Pradesh and Nathdwara Temple in Rajasthan get lakhs of rupees daily as offering by the devotees Some of these resources could be utilised for social work and social welfare More people will be attracted for doing voluntary work if it is done under the auspices of religious and charitable trusts

K B ROHATGI

UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment, as a concept, refers to persons in the labour force who are unable to find work This seems a clear and simple concept However, in developing countries like India, the problem of employment/unemployment cannot be understood by reference to such a concept The bulk of economic activity in India is organised on a self-employed family basis The share of such activities in the total is about 70 per cent Most of agriculture, a large part of retail trade and service occupations belong to this category In such a situation, none of the labour force categories such as worker, nonworker, employed, unemployed, etc are clearly identifiable Members of the household, including women and children, young and old, share

in the available work as and when required As a result, the employment status of persons in the household keeps changing In the organised sector, where employer-employee status is clearly defined, the employed and unemployed categories of workers can be unambiguously identified

In general, in spite of the conceptual difficulties of defining (and therefore of measuring) unemployment, it is, useful to distinguish between the following sub-categories which comprise parts of the general category of the unemployed Firstly, there are "the openly unemployed" persons who want to work, are looking for work, but fail to find work. This category is predominant in the urban areas and consists largely of the newly migrant workers from rural and semi-urban areas and the high school/college Arts and Science graduates Secondly, there are the under-employed workers who have work or a vocation but whose quantum of work is less than what can be regarded as full employment either in terms of their activity duration or in terms of the income generated by the activity A large proportion of workers in the agricultural sector as well as in self-employed service activites are characterized by under-employment Seasonal unemployment in agriculture can also be included as part of under-employment Thirdly, there is a category of the 'hidden unemployed', consisting of persons who are engaged in some last resort activities because employment opportunities suitable to their skills and qualifications are not available Thus, a large number of college and university students and the educted housewives may conceal a considerable amount of unemployment In fact, the mis-match between skills (or education) and work may be quite large In addition to these categories, under-utilisation of human resources takes several other forms which ultimately result in low productivity of labour It includes not only the mis-match between qualifications and work but also long periods of job-search, early retirement, impaired capacity to work due to under-nourishment and high rates of morbidity, etc Therefore, in discussing unemployment in a more general way, one is concerned not only with a particular identifiable category of persons without work but with several forms of under-utilisation of human resources Different aspects of the problem require different solutions, of particular concern is the fact that the expectation that economic development and growth in output would automatically result in greater employment has not materialised in India as well as in many other parts of the developing world In actual practice, the gap between the growth in output and growth in employment has been widening

This is borne out by direct evidence on the magnitude of unemployment in the National Sample Survey (NSS) data Based on the results of the NSS 32nd Round pertaining to 1877-78, and the trends in the growth of the labour force, the Planning Commission has estimated that the magnitude of chronic unemployment was equivalent to 2 68 crore person days in 1980 This estimate in person days refers not only to the number of persons who do not find adequate work but also to the duration of time for which they may not have work Of this total magnitude, 77 per cent has been estimated as rural employment and 23 per cent as urban unemployment These figures imply that about 8 to 10 per cent of the labour force of 26 8 crores in 1980 was unable to find adequate work These numbers are considerably larger, both in absolute as well as in relative terms, than the corresponding estimates 10 to 15 years ago

Similarly, employment exchange registrations indicate a trend of increasing unemployment Although, the number of registrations can increase due to some unrelated factors (such as increase in number of exchanges), yet the fact that registrations have gone up without a corres-

ponding increase in placements through the exchanges is indicative of a worsening situation Registrations have increased from about one crore in 1975 to more than 1 4 crores in 1980 and to over 2 3 crores in 1984

The estimates of unemployment among the educated, particularly the young entrants in the labour force, are equally alarming The Planning Commission has estimated that in 1980 the unemployment rate among secondary level educated youth was 21 per cent of the labour force and that among graduates was still higher at 27 per cent of the labour force The trend is towards further increase in these rates In fact, the Planning Commission data show that the absolute size of unemployment in each category of the educated labour force is likely to go up during the Sixth Plan (1980-85) period The largest increase in unemployment is expected among the Arts, Science and Commerce graduates There ware in 1980 about 70 lakh graduates Their number is increasing at the rate of 5 to 6 lakhs per year The total number of unemployed graduates is 86 lakhs The capacity of the economic system to absorb graduates in white collar jobs is not more than 4 lakhs per year In other words, if present trends continue the prognostication for the immediate future is not optimistic In technical categories, such as engineers, doctors, etc the increases are smaller but, according to the Planning Commi sion estimates, the expected absolute numbers of unemployed are large

The policies that are suggested or are being implemented are many It is however clear that solutions are neither easy, nor can they give results immediately For example, demographic pressure is one of the important factors in explaining the problem However, population policy that leads to a decline in the birth rate, can do so not in the immediate future but in a long-run perspective of 15 to 20 years This is because labour force growth today is the result of population growth of the last two decades Persons who will enter the labour force in the next fifteen years are already born Emphasis on population policy strongly justified in the long run perspective is not the answer for the employment problem in the short-run Similarly, there is broad agreement that a change is necessary in the pattern of education in order to impart more vocational skills and to remove the preference for urban white collar jobs Some steps in this direction have aldreacy been taken Yet changes in this area are extremely slow to implement and the results at any point of time are imperceptibly small

From the macro-aggregative point of view, greater employment can result either if the magnitude of investment increases rapidly and/or if the related capital-labour ratio falls, without any decline in the output-capital and the output-labour ratios In India, performance on the investment front is not unsatisfactory but because of several complex factors all the related ratios are moving unfavourably Thus the capital-labour ratio is not only high but has increased In other words, the investment requirements of an employment programme are much higher today than a few years ago The average capital-output ratio has more than doubled in 10 years It now requires about Rs 6 in investment to produce Re 1 worth of output, when during the sixties only Rs 3 investment was required per unit of output This is due not so much to rise in prices of investment goods as to low capacity utilisation More than 50 per cent of industries operate below a 60 per cent capacity utilisation level The power sector, which emerged as a crucial bottleneck in the late seventies, also suffers from low capacity utilisation and poor maintenance rather than from an overall shortage of investment Therefore, although the emphasis on an appropriate choice of technology for achieving a lower capital-labour ratio is justified, yet the more important factor is that ultimately what is required is better performance of the industrial sector Techno-

logical choices are limited not only due to the available know-how but also due to the requirements of the desired product-mix On the other hand, choices that can give better performance in the economy are technically many The constraints here are institutional, social and political rather than purely economic and technical A lasting solution to the unemployment problem requires a general employment-oriented growth strategy and action on various fronts

The immediate short-run policy measures that have been adopted from time to time are broadly of two types There are, firstly, programmes where the emphasis is on reducing under-employment and unemployment in rural areas through a programme of public works Secondly, there are programmes that aim at better and more productive utilisation of available manpower by strengthening the productive asset base of rural households In other words, the emphasis in such policies is on generating more on-farm, and non-farm self-employment opportunities in rural as well as urban areas

Rural works programmes have come under different names, e g rural works programme of the Third Plan, the crash scheme for rural employment of the Fourth Plan, and the food for work programme and the national rural employment programmes of the Sixth Plan Some State Governments have undertaken their own schemes Of these,the most significant is the employment guarantee scheme of Maharashtra Under this scheme, the government guarantees to provide manual unskilled employment to all adults who seek such work within the vicinity of their place of residence and at daily wages which are slightly lower than minimum wages The scheme has been in operation since 1972-73 Its evaluation by the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission shows that the scheme has made considerable impact not only on employment but also on family income It has also provided extremely useful infrastructure for agricultural development by getting tanks, *bunds*, etc constructed Extension of similar programmes to other States is constrained by available financial resources The food for work programme attempted to use the stock-piled food reserves for creating employment by providing part payment of wages in kind It had to be given up in 1980-81 when the food stock position deteriorated A perceptible change in employment policy for the rural sector was evident in the Sixth Plan insofar as there was a definite shift in favour of policies aimed at strengthening the asset-base of productive units, both in the rural as well as the urban areas It is expected that this will result in more self-employment in agriculture, allied agricultural activities (such as dairying, poultry, fisheries, forestry, etc) and non-farm rural manufacturing and service occupations The specfic way in which this is to be achieved differs from sector to sector but, in general, strengthening the credit agencies for providing project loans to individuals is the major plank in such programmes In agriculture, extension in irrigation through public investments in canals, power projects, etc as well as through private investments in digging, improving and energising wells, is the chief source for providing more employment and income opportunities

In the urban organised sector, investments in large-scale industry are to be supported by measures for better capacity utilisation and better performance The major thrust for employment creation is to come from the small-scale sector which the Plan proposes to encourage through appropriate fiscal and monetary measures Ancillary services such as better functioning employment exchanges also have an important role in reducing frictional unemployment

It is the area of educated unemployment

where the prospects continue to look bleak, not because the nature of the problem is not known, but because solutions are structural in nature As a result, they are either more difficult to implement and, if implemented, do not produce marked results in the short run Solutions for the problem of educated unemployment lie in the area of national income and wage structures and in the area of educational structures Structural reforms in education as well as in incomes policy are operationally most difficult to implement Inspite of this, the Sixth Plan envisaged concerted action in the area of adult education, non-formal education and vocational education to meet the occupational needs of society These have to be supported by appropriate recruitment policies and supportive policies to facilitate self-employment opportunities both in the rural as well as the urban sectors In order to do this two types of policies are being implemented One is aimed at providing credit as well as technical know-how to promote and facilitate the expansion of the small-scale as well as the self-employment sectors in industry and trade In the rural areas, such assistance is being provided through several programmes for rural development sponsored by the Central Government (e g integrated rural development programme, the national rural employment programme, block-level planning, etc) and by the State Governments The second type of programme emphasizes the training and skill formation aspects This component is being handled either separately or is being built into individual sectoral programmes For example, TRYSEM (Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment) attempts to provide employment to skilled rural craftsmen and others by providing them with facilities for training other rural youth in various crafts and trades

Unemployment amongst women has received considerable attention in recent years Available census and NSS data on employment and unemployment indicate a declining trend in female participation in economic activities In some urban occupations/trades (such as clerical work, telephone operators, teachers, medicine and nursing) this is not so in that the proportion of women among the workers shows a rising trend But in rural areas, in the unorganised sectors, and in some organised sectors, where women constituted a relatively large proportion of the work force in the past (such as cotton textiles and mining), the decline in women's employment is quite marked Unemployment rates among women are also higher than among males in all categories of the labour force inspite of the fact that due to several socio-economic reasons, the proportion of women in the labour force might be lower than what it could be if more employment opportunities were available This aspect of women's employment is important not only from the viewpoint of economics but more so in terms of its social implications Two of the most significant factors determining the status of women in society are education and employment In both these areas women are far behind the male population Many of the often stated assumptions regarding women's work are not based on any firm factual evidence Thus, for example, it is not true that women help add to the family's income by providing a second or a secondary source of income A large number of women are either sole bread winners or the principal income earners in the family It is also not true that women do only light work Yet women often face the situation of "last in first out" due to prejudice or lack of understanding about the problems of women In other words, this is yet another area in which special measures are needed Creating employment opportunities is undoubtedly one of the biggest challenges for policy makers in India in the coming decades

KANTA AHUJA

UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE

The United Nations programme in the field of social welfare dates back to the inception of the world organisation and even to the earlier activities of the League of Nations The earlier social welfare activities in the United Nations were primarily concerned with the needs and problems resulting from the war and its impact on families. Children and other vulnerable groups were objects for special attention and the programmes emphasized social assistance and related remedial and rehabilitative approaches

The focus of United Nations concerns in social welfare changed as the membership of the organisation came to include more and more countries recently liberated from colonial rulers and who were attempting to chart courses of development in line with their own special conditions Thus, the United Nations social welfare programmes in the fifties concentrated on questions of family welfare, impact of urbanisation and industrialisation on families and communities, factors concerning migration and social welfare in industrial contexts, etc The interest in training of personnel also broadened from the education of professional social workers to the training of a greater variety of social welfare personnel, including aides, auxiliaries and other field level functionaries Also, requests for United Nations assistance for training from governments were no more confined to the establishment of schools of social work but extended to the organisation of in-service and short-term training programmes for the large number of governmental personnel employed in various departments The United Nations activities in the fifties and the early sixties marked the shift from remedial to preventive and developmental approaches in social welfare, and an effort to place social welfare in the mainstream of developmental trends in the third world. The late fifties also saw the initiation and expansion of the United Nations activities in the various regions through the regional offices.

Community development programmes which aroused so much interest in the fifties and sixties and to whose development India has contributed so much, was an important area for United Nations activities and the conceptual and programmatic shifts in social welfare, mentioned earlier, brought the two areas much closer The United Nations activities in the forties, fifties and sixties and the conceptual ferment of these years reached its zenith with the 1968 International Conference of Ministers Respsonsible for Social Welfare, that was held in United Nations Headquarters It was the first such global gathering of governmental representatives to consider conceptual and programmatic directions in social welfare This conference also served to highlight the critical role that is performed by United Nations in international social welfare

While the United Nations, including its many specialized agencies, regional commissions in different parts of the world and other organs which comprise the United Nations family, play a significant role in international social welfare, this role is complemented by the activities of many international non-governmental organisations such as the League of Red Cross Societies, International Council of Social Welfare, International Union of Child Welfare, International Union of Family Organisations, International Social Security Association, just to mention a few. In addition, there are many bilateral social welfare activities sponsored by USA, Canada, Sweden, Netherlands and other developed countries [1] The area covered by international social welfare is vast and complex and its precise boundaries are difficult to delineate, because of the lack of consensus as to what the

terms social welfare and social development connote Social workers, especially those who consider themselves as professionals and trained, tend to regard all the areas in which they function as social welfare areas, while some others consider the activities normally coming under the jurisdiction of social welfare ministries and departments as well as related voluntary agencies as constituting the domain of social welfare Another conception of social welfare regards it primarily in terms of the needs and problems of certain vulnerable and disadvantaged segments of the population, such as children, youth, women, handicapped and minorities, Yet another view of social welfare places it in the framework of desirable national and international development goals, thus making it an intersectoral concern A more recent development is the emergence of the concept of developmental social welfare in the formulation of which developing countries have made a significant contribution through the now historic 1968 International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, the 1970 and 1980 Conferences of Asian Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare and similar conferences held in Africa, Arab States and Europe [2]

DEVELOPMENTAL SOCIAL WELFARE

The concept of developmental social welfare is based on the recognition of the inadequacy and inappropriateness of western social welfare models and the need to relate social welfare to the unique demands of development in the third world Basically, this new approach to social welfare refers to (i) a positive orientation towards the development of human potential, (ii) a comprehensive understanding of interrelationships between needs, (iii) the relevance of social welfare to all segments of population, (iv) meeting the total needs of the population and enhancing social relationships and problem-solving capacities of people through active participation in their communities, and (v) creating or modifying institutional processes for change conducive to national development [3]

It is to be noted, however, that the developmental concept of social welfare is far from being accepted and implemented on a uniform and universal basis, and for this reason, national social welfare programmes and indeed even those under United Nations sponsorship, reflect other approaches to social welfare as noted earlier

GLOBAL ISSUES AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Corresponding to the increased interest in social welfare as well as increased expenditures on social services in developing countries is the increased concern about the growing disparities in income, lack of opportunities to self-development, inequities in the distribution of the benefits of development, rapid rates of population growth and the rural exodus to urban areas [4] These concerns have been expressed at the various forums organised under United Nations auspices in recent years The 1974 World Population Conference in Bucharest placed the population question within the broader context of social development, rather than viewing it merely from the angle of regulating births and the dissemination of contraceptive knowledge The 1975 World Conference of the International Women's Year held in Mexico City, highlighted the importance of harnessing the potential of women in the process of development, and advocated important changes in the social, economic and political conditions of women towards this end The 1976 United Nations Conference on Human Settlements in Vancouver, Canada, made a significant contribution in viewing the question of urban and rural housing from a comprehensive and humanistic angle, so that the basic needs of people—shelter, safe water, sanitation, decent physical environment and opportunities for cultural

expression—are met The 1978 World Conference on Primary Health Care, which was held in Alma Ata, U S S R, focussed on the importance of community based delivery of health services, with an emphasis on prevention and popular participation These and other world conferences of the 1970's tended to take a comprehensive and inter-sectoral approach to global needs and problems, hitherto seen in narrower perspectives Further, they stressed the importance of concepts such as equity, popular participation and self-reliance to undergird developmental programmes Similarly, the designation of certain years by the United Nations as International Years such as 1975 as International Women's Year, 1979 as International Year of the Child, and 1981 as International Year of the Disabled Persons, spotlights world attention on specific issues and serves to stimulate national review of related policies and programmes [5]

The activities of the United Nations are derived from the mandates of its principal policy making organs, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council The Commission for Social Development, which operates as a technical advisory body under the aegis of the Economic and Social Council, is a major source for generating social welfare policy recommendations The Commission consists of representatives of 32 member governments and meets biennially The range of social welfare policy questions coming under the purview of the commission extends from specialised concerns of children, migrants, handicapped youth and the aged to training of social welfare personnel, social welfare planning, and major policy statements such as the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1969

DECLARATION

Since its adoption by the General Assembly in 1969, the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, has served as the foremost international social policy pronouncement In its preamble, it recognises that the primary responsibility for the development of the developing countries rests on these countries themselves and emphasizes the inter-dependence of economic and social development The principles that the Declaration enunciates include the need to strengthen the family as the basic unit of society, the active participation of all segments of society in the process of development and the responsibility of each government to ensure social progress and well-being of its people The Declaration also contains a list of objectives, one of which refers to the importance of providing comprehensive social security schemes and social welfare services, the protection of the rights of mother and child as well as the aged, disabled, and the youth The twenty-seven articles of the Declaration cover a wide gamut of social development issues and provide a comprehensive framework for the integration of social concerns in the process of development Together with the proceedings of the 1968 International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, the Declaration for Social Progress and Development as contained in the General Assembly Resolution 2542 (XXIV) of 11 December 1969 constitutes a major landmark in international social welfare

RESEARCH AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION

The periodic meetings of the regional commissions such as the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific, and of the related regional committees on social development also perform policy formulating functions of special interest to their respective regions For the implementation of the policies adopted by the United Nations legislative bodies, the Secretary General carries principal responsibility along with the Executive Secretaries of the regional

commissions In this task, he is assisted by technical personnel at the headquarters and in the regional commissions At the headquarters, the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs administers a global programme of research and provision of staff support to the General Assembly and Economic and Social Council In addition, the Department of Technical Cooperation for Development has the primary responsibility for technical assistance and training There are counterparts to these administrative units in the regional commissions In the ESCAP, the Social Development Division is the principal administrative organ for social welfare matters There are corresponding divisions in the Economic Commission for Africa and the Economic Commission for West Asia

Research constitutes an important part of United Nations social welfare activities Typically, studies on topics such as social welfare administration, social welfare planning, policy trends concerning youth, the handicapped, and the aging are conducted, often with the assistance of consultants from around the world Frequently, these studies are further explored at inter-regional and regional expert group meetings where appropriate recommendations to the United Nations and governments are formulated Some of the research undertaken is of a recurrent nature, such as the surveys on world social situation and training of social welfare personnel [6] In addition to the United Nations Secretariat units, research is also undertaken at the United Nations Institute for Social Development (Geneva) and institutions such as the erstwhile Social Welfare and Development Centre for Asia and Pacific (Manila), the Asia and Pacific Development Centre (Kuala Lumpur) and the European Centre for Social Welfare Training and Research (Vienna) in many social welfare areas In addition to research, dissemination of information on specific topics such as aging and other social welfare matters is also undertaken by the United Nations Secretariat

Advisory services to the governments through inter-regional advisers in youth, rehabilitation of the disabled and regional advisers in social welfare training (ECA and ESCAP) and social aspects of family planning (ESCAP) are illustrative of the technical assistance functions of the United Nations These functions have received a new mandate to emphasize self-reliance in intra-regional cooperation among developing countries, from the 1978 World Conference on Technical Cooperation among developing countries The assistance provided to the governments through the UNDP country programmes in social welfare and other areas is dependent on the expression of interest and priorities of the governments themselves Under its technical assistance programmes, the United Nations has provided assistance in areas such as social welfare training, evaluation of social welfare programmes, child welfare, aging, organisation and administration of social welfare programmes, etc , to several Asian countries However, requests for technical assistance in social welfare from Asian governments have decreased considerably in recent years and the UNDP country programmes in Asia now include very few social welfare projects The implications of this decline deserve a critical examination along with the corresponding need to strengthen the social welfare components in the UNDP programmes in countries such as India

TRAINING OF SOCIAL WELFARE PERSONNEL

Training of social welfare personnel has

been a major area in the United Nations social welfare programmes In the earlier years, the emphasis was on the training of social workers and the establishment of social workers, based very much on Western models In recent years, however, the emphasis has shifted to include personnel working in the broader areas of social welfare, including those working under health, rural development, education, nutrition and similar other auspices Publication of periodic global and regional surveys of social welfare training, convening of inter-regional and regional meetings on aspects of social welfare training such as the incorporation of social development content in social welfare training, training of social welfare administrators and planners, training of field level personnel, and the development of indigenous teaching materials are some of the important aspects of United Nations programmes in social welfare training [7] Other components of these programmes are the exchange of social welfare educators between countries in a given region such as ESCAP and United Nations fellowships for education aborad

Obviously, the recasting of national social welfare programmes in a developmental mould requires a basic shift in the training of social welfare personnel Also, the training of social welfare personnel has to emphasize to a much greater extent than at present the needs of field level personnel and develop locally based and locally relevant training methodologies An innovative attempt in this direction is the Mobile Training Scheme for Social Development Personnel, which was a regional project under the auspices of the United Nations and operated in Nepal, Afghanistan and Bangladesh This project focused on the training of middle level supervisors by helping to analyse existing and emergent social development tasks and relating appropriate knowledge and skills drawn from local and indigenous sources Another significant effort in social welfare training in Asia is to relate the rich local resources in creative literature to develop teaching materials for social workers under the advisory services provided by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

The activities of United Nations specialised agencies in social welfare are primarily geared to the sectoral orientation of these agencies For instance, the activities of the World Health Organisation in social welfare are basically related to health concerns, while those of the International Labour Organisation to labour and employment

UNESCO's significance to social welfare lies in its work of relating social science concepts and knowledge to social welfare, its studies in social aspects of technical assistance and, more recently, in extending non-formal education especially in the rural areas The work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has special significance for social welfare through its provision of assistance to the needy refugees and efforts to find effective and relatively more permanent solutions to their plight The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) which was established to provide help to the Palestinian Refugees concentrates on the provision of food, shelter, health, education as well as vocational training Coordination of the work of the various United Nations specialised agencies is achieved through the Economic and Social Council

Perhaps among all the specialised agencies, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has been most active in the area of social welfare through its support to child welfare services, training of child welfare personnel and similar activities

CONCLUSIONS

To summarise, social welfare has made

important conceptual advances, and what is referred to as developmental social welfare is indistinguishable from social development The United Nations through the various international and regional meetings on social welfare has made a significant contribution to these conceptual advances As noted in a recent review of the implementation of the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, there is, however, considerable gap between these conceptual and policy level advances and their implementation at the level of national social welfare delivery systems [8] There continues to be a great need to closely relate national social welfare manpower needs and the training of related personnel Another important consideration for social welfare is to realign itself firmly into the core of rural development, and the development of specific policies, programmes and training strategies towards this end, so that the existing urban bias in national social welfare programmes is corrected The future of social welfare programmes is very much connected to the official plans to restructure the United Nations system, the strong move to decentralise United Nations activities to the various regions, the quality of technical leadership within the United Nations social welfare and social development programmes, the emphasis that is placed on social welfare concerns by the governments in the various United Nations policy making forums, and the ability of social welfare personnel in convincingly demonstrating their specific contribution to the national development processes

MUKUNDA RAO

NOTES

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URBAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The rapid growth of urban population and its concentration in a few large cities and metropolitan centres in India have resulted in serious deterioration in environmental conditions particularly in respect of health, housing and civic amenities Estimates may vary but most studies put the figure for numbers below the poverty line in urban areas in the neighbourhood of fifty per cent The Planning Commission has placed the proportion of slum dwellers at one-fifth of the total urban population,[1] and there is evidence to suggest that the figure is higher in the larger cities, the percentage being as high as fifty in the case of several class I cities of India The urban poor live in a squalid chaos of tenements, hovels and shacks, huddled together in narrow congested lanes in areas where the absence of basic amenities is almost total Anti-social behaviour such as crime, delinquency, prostitution are the natural consequences of such sub-human conditions of living Dissatisfaction and frustration arising out of these conditions have serious implications for the existing rural-urban dichotomy and for India's urban future

Both preventive and curative measures are being contemplated by policy makers to contain the population of urban slums and to foster their organic linkages with the city economy It is now well accepted that the large cities of India, that are growing at a relatively faster rate than the others,[2] would have an increasing percentage of slum dwelling population, as the movement of dispossessed rural migrants towards these centres is likely to go on unabated for many years to come It was for this reason that the Third Five Year Plan drew attention to the social and economic consequences of rapid urban growth and to the need for an Urban Community Development (UCD) Programme to bring about social, economic and environmental changes, to help particularly the slum dwelling population The Urban-Rural Relationship Committee which reported in 1966 also highlighted the need for public participation in the urban development programme and suggested a framework for undertaking the UCD programme

Experience in the field of community development was gained through the rural community development programme which was begun in 1952 With this experience in the background, a number of pilot community projects were initiated in the urban areas which included the projects in Delhi (1958), Ahmedabad (1962), Baroda (1965) and Calcutta (1966) In 1966, the Government of India decided to launch formally a national experiment in urban community development (UCD) similar to that of rural community development

THE PURPOSE

The Community Development Programme, both in rural and in urban areas, is based on the sound economic principle that in an economy characterised by striking underemployment and disguised unemployment, there is considerable scope for development through the organisation of its surplus labour or surplus labour time The programme stresses the need to provide organisational inputs no less than capital inputs UCD envisages a process of social transformation in urban areas through which the people could organise themselves in communities, understand their local situation, and work for its improvement with limited assistance from the government The programme was seen as a catalyst in the development process wherein the community would be the most important actor, with the local authorities and government playing at best sponsoring and supervising role The objectives of the programme were stated thus[3]

(i) Creating a climate of social coherence by

promoting a sense of belonging to the community and of natural integration through activities requiring popular participation,

(ii) Creating civic consciousness in the community and improving its problem-solving capacity through investment in human resources,

(iii) Encouraging local initiative and getting voluntary agencies involved in the developmental efforts,

(iv) Ensuring fuller utilisation of the technical and welfare services available in the area and creating facilities only in critical areas to improve the environment

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

The programme was started in the central sector with fifty per cent expenditure being met by the Central Government, the rest being shared equally by the State and the local authority In 1969, three years after the initiation of the project, it was transferred to the State sector and as a result the expenditure was to be borne by the State Government and the local authority

In most cases, the municipalities and municipal corporations have been identified as the agency responsible for implementing urban community projects[4] An attempt is often made to establish a separate department as an integral part of the municipality/municipal corporation to take care of the programme The relationship of this department with other concerned departments at different levels of hierarchy is established to ensure their cooperation and coordination Some States have established an urban community development department at the State level (e g , Andhra Pradesh) to supervise the programme and to coordinate the activities of all governmental agencies operating within the project area[5] In others, some existing State department or any other agency, e g the metropolitan development authority in Madras, has been assigned this responsibility The personnel associated with the programme fall into following categories

(1) Part-time community volunteers (e g slum helpers in Hyderabad) chosen from different localities whose basic responsibility is to educate and prepare the people and to ensure community participation in the formulation and implementation of different components of programme They are given simple training to be able to act as a connecting link between the community and the official agencies concerned The volunteers may receive small monthly honorarium

(2) Trained para-professionals (e g Community Organisers) who support the community volunteers and help give formal shape to the project at the local level They try to strengthen the existing local organisations and start new ones like Basti Welfare Committees, Mahila Mandals, etc , that can take up major responsibilities in the implementation of the project.

(3) Technicians and professionals located with the local authority or the concerned State departments whose expertise can be made available to the project staff

(4) Personnel responsible for administration and coordination at the city and State levels They would include functionaries such as Project Officer, Deputy Project Officer, etc , and administrative staffs working in the urban community development and other departments concerned with the programme at the State level

UCD PROGRAMME SUCCESS AND FAILURES

The UCD programme was initially intended to cover fairly quickly all Class I cities with population of one lakh or more, having problems of deteriorating urban environment However, in the first phase, only twenty experimental projects were identified by the

Central Government to cover the major States and Union Territories The following fourteen projects got started in 1966, and the remaining materialised in subsequent years

State	*No of Projects*	*City*
West Bengal	2	Calcutta (Salkia and Tollyganj)
Gujarat	2	Bhavnagar and Rajkot
Uttar Pradesh	2	Kanpur and Jhansi
Delhi	2	Delhi (South Delhi and Trans-Jamuna Colonies)
Maharashtra	1	Aurangabad
Rajasthan	1	Ajmer
Manipur	1	Imphal
Tripura	1	Agartala
Goa, Daman and Diu	1	Panaji
Punjab	1	Ludhiana

Action to start the projects was generally delayed and some States abandoned the idea of executing the project in view of financial constraints and administrative and other problems After the transfer of the programme to the State sector in 1969, some States (e g Goa, Daman and Diu, West Bengal and Rajasthan) decided to close the projects However, a few projects were even started after Central assistance ceased to flow into the programme, e g Jamnagar, Surat and Baroda (Gujarat), Quilon (Kerala) and Gauhati (Assam) In the beginning of the Fifth Plan, only five UCD projects in Gujarat (Baroda, Rajkot, Surat, Bhavnagar and Jamnagar) and one in Andhra Pradesh (Hyderabad) were functioning effectively

The ninth conference of Municipal Corporations (September 1973) considered urban community development in the context of the Minimum Needs Programme for slum improvement and strongly urged the Government of India and State Governments to expedite implementation of the recommendations of the Conference The Conference also suggested that the programme should be taken up by municipal authorities on their own in cities where public response is encouraging State Governments were requested to ensure adequate follow-up action

The Conference of Ministers of Housing and Urban Development held in 1978 recommended the setting up of a committee to report, among other things, on the need for an integrated approach to the problems of slums and to consider the amalgamation of the UCD Programme with the Sixth Plan scheme of Environmental Improvement in Slum Areas This suggestion was reiterated in a letter addressed by the Government of India to all State Governments in May 1980

It is being increasingly realised that mere physical improvements undertaken under the scheme for environmental improvement of slum areas and provision of indirect benefits such as education, maternal and child health and nutrition cannot yield substantial results unless they are supplemented by schemes giving immediate economic gains Also, it is now recognised that the programme to help individuals cannot be totally ignored in the enthusiasm to pursue community projects and that "economic development was essential" without which social programmes would be of less lasting significance [6] These considerations led to appropriate modifications being made in the detailed project design of the UCD Programme

A FEW IMPORTANT CASES

The most successful UCD project by far has been considered to be the one in Hyderabad which started in December 1967, following a month's training of the project staff at the Baroda University Ward 22 was chosen as the first

area of operation During the period 1970-1974, ward 6 and ward 11, half of ward 1, part of ward 17 in Secunderabad and Musheerabad areas were brought under UCD The plan is to cover the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad by the project within the next few years Although the focus of the project is on the welfare of the poor and that of the slum dwelling population, it is meant to ameliorate the general living conditions in the city as well

The Municipal Corporation of Hyderabad has been given the overall responsibility of formulating and implementing the development projects in different localities The UCD Department of the Government of Andhra Pradesh, which is coordinating the activities of various agencies within the project area, has now an engineering and a town planning wing and has taken the responsibility also of constructing houses for the slum dwellers

Two other innovative projects are being planned in Madras and Calcutta Unlike the other UCD schemes that are implemented by Municipal Councils/Corporations, the Madras project is under the control of the Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (TNSCB) The Madras Metropolitan Development Authority, Tamil Nadu Housing Board and New Residents Welfare Trust (a voluntary organisation) are cooperating with the TNSCB in the implementation of the project The Calcutta project is, on the other hand, initiated by a consortium of voluntary agencies (KBPS) and seeks to improve conditions of slum dwelling population through a set of economic schemes such as assistance to small scale industries and vocational training and small loans to the urban poor These schemes are being designed to develop skills among the poor and the female population and to create employment opportunities for them The Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority supervises and monitors this project

UNICEF in India has been advocating "participative and inexpensive' projects to provide basic social amenities and to improve the general level of well-being of the poor The target groups identified for assistance are children, women and the poor

The first UCD project to receive UNICEF assistance was the one at Hyderabad The project was considered to be "a success" and consequently UNICEF decided to extend the financial support till 1984 The other projects to follow were in two metropolitan cities, namely, Ahmedabad and Kanpur, and one Class I city namely, Visakhapatnam Currently, about a dozen Class I cities are in receipt of the UNICEF assistance under the UCD programme

The Ministry of Works and Housing has overall responsibility for coordinating and supervising UNICEF assisted activities for urban development The National Institute of Urban Affairs has been designated as the nodal agency for urban research

The experience of the UCD project in Andhra Pradesh may be cited in support of the cost effectiveness of the programme The UCD department in the State in the late seventies launched a scheme to construct thirteen thousand houses for slum dwellers, who had been given deeds (*pattas*) for the land which they were occupying The job would be beyond the means of the State Government in the absence of a self-help approach As was stated on behalf of the State Government, "We are not building any houses, the people are There are 13,000 families and each one is building its own house " In fact, government help in UCD projects is marginal

There are no programmes currently underway for providing employment to a substantial portion of the urban poor However, as a long-term development strategy, planners cannot afford to be indifferent to the larger questions of strengthening the urban economy and generat-

ing job opportunities at an acceptable level of labour productivity

Dissatisfaction and resentment among the urban poor is a potential threat to the stability of urban society A displaced agricultural worker, moving into a big city, acquires, in a certain sense, a place and recognition in the national political scene His needs tend to get counted, his grievances get reported through the media His frustrations can endanger the law and order situation in the cities It is essential that a minimum level of well-being should be assured to the urban poor

To sum up, Urban Community Development (UCD) is not a comprehensive plan for the development of cities and their hinterland It is basicaly intended to secure the welfare of certain sections of the population and, in this sense, has limited development objectives To be meaningful, it must be integrated with the overall developmental plan for the city or the region

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NOTES

1. Government of India, *Sixth Five Year Plan*, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1980
2. A Kundu, "Theories of City Size Distribution and Indian Urban Structure", *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol 18, No 31, 1983
3. Government of India, *Report of the Rural Urban Relationship Committee*, Ministry of Health and Family Planning, New Delhi, 1966
4. A significant exception to this pattern is the project in Madras which was initially located in the Madras Metropolitan Development Authority, and was subsequently transferred to Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board
5. W J Cousins & C Goyda, *Changing Slum Communities* Manohar Delhi 1979
6. *Ibid*

URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

During the last century and a quarter there has been a far-reaching redistribution of population in the world from rural to urban settlements In some of the industrially developed countries over three-quarters of the population is urban, and the population of the world as a whole is well on the way to becoming preponderantly urban India too is set on the same course, but its population is still overwhelmingly rural, barely 20 per cent of its population was urban in 1971 [1] It is proposed to discuss in this brief article some of the important trends and problems of urbanization and urban development in this country

Although the emergence of urban settlements in India dates back to the Indus Valley Civilization more than 4,000 years ago, the proportion of the urban population remained quite modest for a long time with but minor fluctuations, its steady rise has been taking place only during the last half a century or so However, factual information on rural and urban distribution of population of India systematically collected and presented is available only from the 1901 Census onwards Information on the subject, in a processed form, is also readily available in several sources [2] Accordingly, the period covered for viewing urban development in India is roughly the first three quarters of the 20th century

URBAN SETTLEMENTS

There is no uniformity in the definition of the cut-off point between rural and urban settlements adopted by different countries Census authorities in India have not only their own variant of this definition but have also changed it further since the 1961 Census For the earlier five censuses from 1901 to 1951 a settlement was

regarded as urban (usually termed town), if it satisfied any one of the following three conditions

(1) If it was governed by a municipality, irrespective of its size, (2) if it was a civil lines even though not included within municipal limits, and (3) if it consisted of a continuous collection of houses, permanently inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons, provided further that it was treated as a town for census purposes by the provincial census superintendent

From the 1961 Census the revised definition of town stipulates that to be regarded as urban, a settlement should fulfil all the following three criteria (1) A population of at least 5,000, (2) a density of not less than 1,000 persons per square mile, and (3) a minimum of three-fourths of its working force in non-agricultural occupations

However, the rigorous objectivity of the above definition has been diluted somewhat by an additional proviso which states that regardless of the nonfulfilment of one or more of the above three criteria, the census superintendent can still declare a settement as urban if he is satisfied that it has a few pronounced urban characteristics All the same, the new definition resulted in a declassification of a number of towns in 1961, showing thereby relatively lower rates of urbanization and urban growth during the decade 1951-1961

With the increasing degree of urbanization, the urban settlement patterns too have become more complex so that it is no longer possible to regard each settlement as an isolated town Therefore in the 1951 Census the concept of 'Town group' was introduced to mean "a group of towns which adjoined one another so closely as to form a single inhabited urban locality" At first this concept was applied only to the group of two or more such towns with an aggregate population of over 100,000, but in 1961 its use was extended to cover every group of contiguously located towns irrespective of the size of its aggregate population However, in the 1971 Census the concept of Town Group was discarded in favour of that of "Urban Agglomeration" which includes a city and all other urban areas outside its municipal boundaries but excluding rural pockets Another concept, 'Standard Urban Area', was also introduced in 1971 to take into account rural but potential urban areas surrounding a city

URBANIZATION AND URBAN GROWTH

It is useful to distinguish between two major types of urban demographic trends namely, urbanization and urban growth so as to evaluate the changes that are taking place in the urban situation in India Urbanization refers to the percentage of the total population which is concentrated in urban settlements as well as the rise in this percentage, a rise in this percentage implies a corresponding decrease in the percentage of rural population Urban growth, on the other hand, refers to the percentage increase in the absolute size of the urban population Accordingly, urbanization and urban growth are not necessarily linked with each other As a matter of fact, from the historical perspective the urban demographic situation so far during the 20th century is said to be characterised by a relatively low rate of urbanization but a high rate of urban growth

A look at some of the details of the trends of urbanization and urban growth as revealed by the figures of the last eight censuses will throw light on some of the important aspects of the urban situation Table 'A' shows the trend in urbanization in India from 1901 to 1971 During the period under reference the percentage of urban population has increased from 10 84 to 19 87 The column 4 of the table shows the per cent increase in the percentage of urban population in a decade, which may be regarded as the rate of urbanization There is considerable

amount of fluctuation in the rate of urbanization The rate was rather high during the decade 1931-41 and very high during 1941-51 , Although a part of the steep fall in the rate during 1951-61 can be attributed to the vigorous definition of the concept of town adopted in 1961, the rate of urbanization has undergone a real retardation during the two decades from 1951 to 1971 as compared with the previous two During the four decades from 1931 to 1971 when the rate of urbanization showed an upward swing the average increase in urbanization was only 13 71 per cent This increase is rather low when it is recognised that in 40 underdeveloped countries for which data are available, the average gain in the percentage of urban population in recent decades is 20 per cent per decade[3]

TABLE—A
Urbanization in India, 1901—1971

Census year	*Percent of urban to total population*	*Variation in the percentage of urban population in a decade*	*Percent increase in the percentage of urban population in a decade*
1901	10 84	—	—
1911	10 29	—0 55	—5 07
1921	11 17	0 88	8 55
1931	11 99	0 82	7 34
1941	13 85	1 86	15 51
1951	17 29	3 44	24 84
1961	17 97	0 68	3 93
1971	19 87	1 90	10 57

The rather low rates of urbanization in India in recent decades are not difficult to account for Rapid urbanization of countries has been mainly due to their rapid industrialisation and economic development Although the professed objectives and policies of the governments in India gave one the appearance of rapid industrialisation and economic development, the real achievements of the country in these directions have not been quite substantial If economic development is measured in terms of the growing percentage of secondary and tertiary occupations in the working force at the expense of the percentage of primary occupations, this figure has remained almost constant—just above 25 per cent—in recent decades So also, if the growth of industrialisation is reckoned in terms of the percentage of the working force in manufacturing occupations other than those in household industry, this figure has barely touched 6 per cent even in 1971 Considering such relatively low achievements in the levels of economic development and industrialisation, it is hardly surprising that rates of urbanization in India have been quite low All the same, given the global trends with regard to urbanization, it cannot be gainsaid that rapid industrialisation and urbanization are imminent in India

Whereas the percentage of urban population has doubled itself from 1901 to 1971, the absolute size of this population has increased 4 2 times during the same period Accordingly, as compared with the rates of urbanization, the rates of growth of urban population which are

shown in Table 'B' under the column 'per cent increase in a decade' have been quite high These high rates of increase in recent years are mainly due to high rates of increase in the general population, which is brought out in the last column of the table Ordinarily, the increase in urbanization is mainly due to rural to urban migration, but the growth of urban population is due both to rural to urban migration and to natural increase In a rapidly urbanizing country, however, the component of rural to urban migration is greater than that of natural increase But in penultimate column of Table 'B') This is a feature which India shares with several other developing countries On the other hand, it has been pointed out that in the case of the currently developed and highly urbanized countries, when they were undergoing rapid urban growth similar to the experience of developing countries of today, their rural population either dropped or rose only slightly[5] This difference calls attention to the special handicap accompanying rapid urbanization applicable to the present day developing countries such as India

TABLE—B
Growth of Urban Population in India, 1901—1971

Census year	*No of towns*	*Total urban population (million)*	*Per cent increase in a decade*	*Per cent increase of rural population in a decade*	*Per cent increase in total population in a decade*
1901	1917	25 85	—	—	—
1911	1909	25 94	0 35	6 4	5 7
1921	2047	28 09	8 29	1 3	—0 3
1931	2219	33 46	19 12	10 0	11 0
1941	2424	44 15	31 95	11 8	14 2
1951	3060	62 44	41 43	8 8	13 3
1961	2700	78 94	26 43	20 6	21 6
1971	2641	108 80	37 80	21 8	24 8

India during the decade, 1961-71, the percentage of urban growth attributable to natural increase has been as high as 67 7[4] Thus the peculiar urban situation in India, characterised by relatively low rates of urbanization but high rates of urban growth is due to the fact that the upward swing in urbanization has occurred under conditions of high rates of natural increase in the general population

Under the above conditions the rural population too has been increasing despite rapid growth of urban population (shown in the

GROWTH OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS

Indian Censuses classify urban settlements into six classes according to their size Table 'C' shows the distribution of the urban settlements in 1971 into these classes The 1971 Census has recorded 3,119 urban settlements of varying sizes In the lowest-size class of 'less than 5,000 population' there were 290 towns and in the highest-size class of '100,000 and over,' there were 151 cities which included 8 metropolises each with a population of more than one million

A notable feature of the distribution of urban settlements into the six size-classes, which has drawn the attention of demographers, is that the relative proportions of the population in different classes have been changing more or less in a consistent manner over the decades The percentage of population in Class I cities has increased continually from 22 4 in 1901 to 52 4 in 1971 On the other hand, the corresponding percentages in the three lower classes, IV, V and VI, have been diminishing continually, when the three classes are taken together, their combined percentage declined from 45 8 in 1901 to 18 1 in 1971 Such a pattern of change has prompted some scholars to assume that the size *per se* of an urban settlement is a factor in its growth so that when a town reaches a certain size it grows faster because of the largeness of its size[6] This assumption has implications which also affect policy decisions regarding urban as well as economic development

However, when probed further, the assumption that the size of a city determines its growth, does not appear to be well founded It has been pointed out that this notion is mainly an illusion created by the instantaneous method of computing growth rates, which conceals the fact that a part of the decadal increase in the proportion of the population in the highest-size class of cities is due to the upward shifts of towns from lower size classes When a different method of computation, namely, the continuous method (which is more appropriate for observing growth patterns) is adopted, the pattern of population shifts over the decades in the different classes of settlements changes in a manner which would invalidate the assumption that size determines growth[7]

Yet, what determines the growth of urban settlements, is a significant question Here we are concerned not merely with urban growth but with urbanization as well, more particularly with urbanization which results from rural to urban migration and which is reflected in the differential growth rates of towns and cities It can be safely affirmed that more than one factor is responsible for the rise of urbanization and differential growth of urban settlements, and the composition of the set of factors may vary from country to country But evidence from a growing number of studies tends to show that rapid economic development has inevitably led to rapid urbanization in developing countries[8] Rapid economic development in recent times has depended mainly on industrialisation and so rapid industrialisation and rapid urbanization go together[9]

While generally agreeing with the above thesis, Bert Hoselitz has put forward the point of view that in developing countries in Asia,

TABLE—C

Distribution of Urban Settlements in 1971 into six classes of size

Class	*Population limits*	*No of settlements*
I	100 000 and over	151
II	50,000 to 99,999	219
III	20 000 to 49 999	652
IV	10 000 to 19 999	987
V	5 000 to 9,999	820
VI	Below 5 000	290
Total number of settlements		3,119

including India, urbanization has run ahead of industrialisation He has termed this abnormality 'overurbanisation' Although ordinarily rural to urban migration involved in rapid urbanization depends upon the 'pull' factors at the urban and 'push' factors from the rural end, according to Hoselitz, in developing countries it is mainly the push factors which are operating [10] These ideas, however, have not been borne out by subsequent studies [11] As a matter of fact, in India too as in many other developing countries, cities with manufacturing functions have been growing faster than the others There is also a relationship between regional variation in industrial growth, which further confirms the proposition that growing urbanization in India is a consequence of industrialisation and economic development

RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION

Rural to urban migration is the principal source of urbanization although not necessarily of urban growth The 1961 and 1971 Censuses provide some information on rural to urban migration in addition to the migration pattern in general The broad patterns of migration are more or less the same for the decades 1951-61 and 1961-71 According to the 1961 Census, 30 7 per cent of the population was born outside the place of enumeration and the corresponding percentage in 1971 was 29 5 The majority of migrants, around 70 per cent of the total, were women The preponderance of women is due to the social practice whereby most women change their residence at marriage Men's change of residence is governed more by economic reasons

In both the Censuses of 1961 and 1971 the migration streams are classified into four categories namely, (1) rural to rural, (2) urban to rural, (3) rural to urban and (4) urban to urban Among these streams the one from rural to rural was by far the largest, accounting for 77 and 76 per cent of the migrants in 1961 and 1971 respectively Women are more pronounced in this stream, for example, in 1971, whereas 53 5 per cent of the male migrants belonged to this stream the corresponding percentage among the female migrants was 78 8 The next larger stream is rural to urban migration It is the males who preponderate in this stream, in 1971, 26 1 per cent of the male and 10 3 per cent of the female migrants belonged to this stream, the two categories together forming 15 0 per cent of the total migrants

Thus rural to urban migration which is an important factor in urbanization formed only a small fraction of the total migration in 1971, this was so also in 1961 These figures agree with the relatively low rates of urbanization in 1961 and 1971 Only 8 8 per cent of the total migrants belonged to the urban to urban stream in 1971 and in this case the males were over represented (14 3 per cent against 6 5 per cent among female migrants) Urban to rural migration comprised the smallest stream, claiming only 4 9 per cent of the total migrants In this case also the male migrants were over-represented

If we subtract the percentage of the urban to rural migrants from the rural to urban migrants the net gain of urban population as a result of population redistribution between rural and urban areas works out to be only 10 1 of the total migrants in 1971 Census, the corresponding figure for 1961 Census is 10 9 This meagre net migration from rural to urban areas belies the hypothesis that rural to urban migration is the result of mainly the 'push' factor On the other hand the fact that both in absolute and relative terms the males who mostly migrate to improve their economic condition are over-represented among the rural to urban migrants, indicates that the operation of the 'pull' factor also is important in this type of migration stream

Rural to urban migration upon which urbanization depends to a large extent takes place in a

selective manner Such a phenomenon, coupled with the fact that socio-cultural conditions in the urban settlements are very much different from those in the rural ones, has rendered characteristics of the urban population markedly different from those of the rural population As compared with the rural population, the urban population has a smaller proportion of its total members in general and of its female members in particular in the working force It is obvious that urban workers are predominantly in non-agricultural occupations whereas the rural workers are found mainly in agricultural occupations In the urban areas the proportion of workers in manufacturing occupations is showing a rising trend

In the sex composition of India males are over-represented in the general population itself, but this phenomenon is much more accentuated in the urban population Both birth rates and death rates are lower in the urban population, but rates of natural increase are nearly equal in the urban and rural populations although slightly lower in the former case The age composition is marked by a higher proportion of the population in the age ranges of 15-59 and lower proportion in the younger and older groups, as compared with the rural population Urban people marry later than the rural ones, their families tend to be nuclear in a larger proportion as compared with those of the rural people who have a greater proportion of extended and joint families

The urban population is better educated compared with the rural population, and the better educated people in rural areas tend to migrate to urban areas There is also a difference in the religious composition of rural and urban areas On the whole, the population of the religious minorities is represented in the urban areas to an extent greater than their due share according to their proportion in the general population, in any given region, by and large, the religious minorities of the region are over-represented in its urban population Differential representation in rural and urban areas in relation to their total populations holds good in the case of caste composition also, the higher castes are over-represented in the urban population compared with the backward and the scheduled castes and tribes The category of the scheduled castes is most under-represented The dominant castes represented in the urban areas, however, tend to be different from their counterparts in the rural areas Because of all these socio-cultural and economic differentiations between the people in the rural and the urban areas, the interests of the two sections become broadly different, leading to political and economic conflicts of interest

CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS

The discussion so far is confined to a consideration of some of the significant features of urbanization and urban growth viewed as broad phenomena But the urban population lives in different settlements called towns and cities[12] and therefore it would be useful to discuss some of the general characteristics of these settlements Urban settlements vary not only in size, but also in a number of other characteristics One such important variable has to do with urban functions From the point of view of their significance for the existence of the city, the economic functions of a city are divided into two broad categories designated as basic (city forming) and non-basic (city serving) functions, the former refer to the functions which the city performs for people living outside its limits and the latter are those which it performs for its own residents It is the former category of functions which is responsible for bringing the city into existence and it is with regard to these functions that cities mostly vary The functional specialisation of cities is related to various aspects of urban settlements such as their location, growth and development, land use pattern, social organisation, and demographic characteristics

Cities also undergo functional transformation in the course of their history Indian cities in the past, as in the case of pre-industrial societies everywhere, were noted for religious, governmental and commercial functions In recent decades commercial and manufacturing functions have been growing in importance For instance, during 1961-71, with the phenomenal development of agriculture in the Punjab, the commercial function had become predominant in the Punjab, in many of the towns of this State [13] However, rapid urbanization in developing countries has been contingent upon the rise of cities with manufacturing functions The trend in India also seems to be in the same direction

Modern cities with manufacturing functions have undergone far-reaching transformation in their internal structures as well, and the ideal-typical industrial city presents a sharp contrast to its pre-industrial counterpart In the industrial city, compared with the pre-industrial one, there is greater separation between the place of residence and the place of work, more and more specialisation of land use, better transportation and communication facilities, segregation of people according to economic characteristics (against segregation based on ethnic differences in the case of the pre-industrial city), tendency for the residences of people of higher economic categories to shift from localities near the city's centre to those at its periphery, and so on

During the British period the internal structure of the indigenous type of the Indian city accorded with the pre-industrial city pattern For their own convenience, the British introduced the European type of city design which by that time had come to resemble the pattern of the industrial city But often the imported pattern called the Civil Lines and the indigenous one existed side by side "the typical Indian urban centre contains a congested old section, adjacent to it may be found 'carefully planned' and often spacious sections dating from the British period The urban morphology of India thus shows either conflict or blending of indigenous features and the hybridised European features "[14]

Apart from the changes directly introduced by the British the internal structures of the Indian cities are also indirectly affected by the technological forces of industrialisation However, the change is not uniform in all cases and so the internal structures of the Indian cities nowadays present varying patterns ranging from the pre-industrial type at the one extreme to the industrial type at the other But most cities are in a transitional stage combining the elements of both pre-industrial and industrial city patterns in varying degrees

There is an intimate relationship between the social structure and the spatial structure (ecological pattern) of a city The traditional Indian social structure was characterised by religious, linguistic and caste distinctions The occupational specialisation followed the caste lines, and privileges and disabilities were also channelled on the same principles Accordingly, the residents of a city were segregated on the basis of religion, language and caste The dominant castes occupied localities closer to the centre of the city and the under-privileged ones resided at the periphery

At present the neighbourhood patterns of cities as well as the internal composition of neighbourhoods are undergoing a change First of all, the ethnic and caste basis of occupational specialisation and of distribution of privileges and disabilities has become weaker so that the ethnic groups are becoming socio-economically heterogeneous There is a corresponding change in the spatial structure also The residents of a neighbourhood have tended to become ethnically heterogeneous The segregation now is based more on economic homogeneity of members than on ethnic unity So also the dominant sections of the city's residents are tending

to move to the spacious areas on the periphery leaving behind the under-privileged sections in the congested localities near the centre Despite the changing situation, the ethnic and caste segregation is still an important aspect of the spatial structures of even metropolitan cities such as Calcutta[15] and Madras [16]

The process of rural to urban migration involved in urbanization leads to the presence of ethnic minorities in cities, which have come from faraway regions How are these groups which are culturally distinct from the main sections of the community, socially adjusted in the cities is an interesting question Indian cities do not easily assimilate their cultural minorities On the other hand, in their social adjustments the immigrant groups recreate in their host communities the cultural conditions of their home communities [17] Such a phenomenon does not mean that these groups are less adjusted than the population of the main sections, sometimes the situation may be just the other way round [18]

Family and kinship ties in urban communities compared with their rural counterparts are known to become much weaker all the world over The Indian traditional society which is still the predominant type in the rural areas is noted for the existence of the joint family system and strong kinship networks Social organisation in urban communities has changed but not to the extent of seriously undermining the role of family and kinship [19]

It is now well recognised that the quality of life is largely dependent upon the condition of human settlements But the urban settlements in India in general are woefully deficient in this respect They are characterised by an acute shortage of housing, the prevalence of vast slum areas, inadequate health, education and recreational facilities and poor transportation and communication channels The larger cities are also plagued by the problem of environmental pollution

There has been a tendency of late to regard some of the urban problems such as poverty and slums as an extension of rural poverty It is assumed that these problems are a consequence of the continual migration of the rural poor into the urban areas—in search of livelihood—and their failure to find adequate means to support themselves in the cities The implication is that if you take care of rural poverty, the urban problems of poverty and slums will resolve themselves on their own [20] These assumptions do not bear a critical analysis but only serve to divert attention from some of the serious problems of the urban settlements On the other hand, there are studies to show that many of the urban problems have their deep roots in the city itself and have to be tackled directly in their own locale [21]

POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

Urban development policies have to address themselves to two sets of issues The first set stems from the consideration that a city and its region are interdependent in as much as the main reason for the existence of the city is the function it performs for the people living outside its limits The second set of issues are related to the fact that the city has to cater for the needs of its own residents The first set of issues are relevant mainly in the context of regional planning and the second in that of city planning However, there is a great deal of overlap between the two For instance, policies regarding the location of industries for balanced regional growth of urbanization are a matter of regional planning, but sometimes industries need to be established in a city to solve the unemployment problem of its own residents, in which case the same issue becomes a matter of city-planning policy So also when urban land development and land use are planned for the benefit of the city-dwellers, the activity forms part of city planning, whereas the same activity,

when intended to serve the people of the region, becomes an aspect of regional planning

These issues however have not been dealt with in a clear cut manner in urban and regional development policies in India The major reason for such a discrepancy is the failure on the part of the authorities concerned to evolve a comprehensive urban development policy However, as a prelude to such a venture the Government of India organised a seminar in 1975 to discuss the document prepared by its Town and Country Planning Organisation on urbanization policy [22] Although the seminar did come up with its final statement of a national urbanization policy for adoption by the government, the matter did not go beyond that stage However, notwithstanding the absence of a comprehensive national policy on urbanization there have been policy decisions on a number of different facets of urbanization and urban settlements on a piecemeal basis in the various Five Year Plans Urban and regional development as a separate focus for planning received due recognition only since the Third Five Year Plan But plan outlays under this head of development were small in relation to the total plan outlay, in the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Plans their percentage in the total was only 1 5, 3 2, 1 3 and 1 1 respectively Each Plan, however, has emphasised different aspects of urban and regional development The Third Plan sought to regulate urban land values through public acquisition of land, to lay down tolerable standards for housing and other services, and to strengthen municipal administration for undertaking new development responsibilities In pursuance of these policies it made a provision of central assistance to help States prepare Master Plans for selected cities Under the scheme over 500 Master Plans were prepared. In subsequent plans, however, responsibility for preparing Master Plans of urban settlements was transferred to the States by making suitable adjustments in the State allocations for urban development

An effort was made in the Fourth Plan towards a more even distribution of economic activities among different cities and to check the unrestricted growth of metropolises A regional approach to the problem of urban development was urged and steps were taken to enforce an urban land policy in regard to land acquisition and land values The plan outlays for urban development and related items during the Fourth Plan were also relatively more generous

The Fifth Plan, while pursuing the regional approach suggested during the previous Plan, emphasized the idea of integrated urban development and recommended that metropolitan problems be tackled on a comprehensive and regional basis The Plan introduced the Integrated Urban Development Programme under which State Governments were given assistance for undertaking land acquistion and development schemes in cities with a population of over three lakh as well as in cities of national importance It also paid special attention to the needs of the economically weaker sections recommending that a national programme of minimum needs be extended to all human settlements so as to improve the living conditions of the weaker sections and especially those of the slum-dwellers

The Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) noted that, while urbanization had proceeded at a relatively slow rate over the preceding 30 years, the country exhibited all the urban problems found anywhere in the world Many of these problems were aggravated by the very low per capita income observed even in large cities The Plan considered the size distribution of settlements to be balanced despite the much more rapid growth of the larger compared to the smaller towns There was need to distinguish urban problems as they occurred between different regions and different cities In the more backward States, problems of urbanization could be traced to stagnation, but in the more advanced States they were caused by relatively

rapid growth Therefore, national urbanization policy should evolve from specific consideration of regional problems in the context of its relationship with rural development in each region Over the next decade the thrust of urbanization policy should be to give greater emphasis to provision of adequate infrastructural and other facilities in small, medium and intermediate towns which had been neglected in the past in these aspects Market centres should be equipped to serve as growth and service centres for the rural hinterland In the large cities, with the appalling conditions in which the poorer sections live, conditions of the urban poor must be improved and the civic services must be raised in terms of realistic norms and standards Low cost standards for infrastructure should be adopted so as to benefit the maximum number of urban people

URBAN LAND POLICIES

The phenomenal rise in urban land values and non-availability of land for use are among the major hurdles against urban development Both these tendencies are due to unrestricted ownership of urban property and unchecked speculation in urban land Suggestions were offered in the Third Five Year Plan and subsequently to regulate urban land values and to make land available through public acquisition and development of land But the steadily growing demand for land has tended to nullify the effect of such action

Until 1976 there was no national policy on the ownership of urban land The unrestricted scope of ownership of urban land even after the imposition of a ceiling on agricultural lands was an eyesore to the rural sections, besides the deprivation which it brought to large sections of urban dwellers by way of prohibitive rents Therefore, in order to assuage the public feeling and to solve the urban land problem to some extent, the Land Ceiling and Regulation Act, 1976, was passed, which provided a ceiling on ownership and possession of built up as well as vacant land in urban settlements

The measure which was introduced during the emergency regime lost its rigour in implementation after the termination of the emergency In any case it does not seem to have made any dent on the land problem

URBAN PLANNING

Urban land use and town planning legislations fall within the province of State Governments The Acts under which the Town Improvement Trusts were created from the start of the present century are the precursors of the town planning legislation existing in most of the States at present The earlier Town Improvement Trusts did not have power to prepare master plans Subsequently, many States passed legislation under which Town Planning Trusts were invested with this power Thanks to the urbanization policies of the Five Year Plans from the Third Plan onwards, now there are full-fledged town planning departments in almost all the States, which have generated a large number of master plans although most of them have not yet been implemented

Most cities in India as elsewhere have grown from small beginnings with gradual accretion of economic activities, without any initial attempt being made to plan and direct their growth In some cases master plans are now being prepared to correct their imbalances and to direct their future growth But somethimes the scale of new economic activities is so large that the existing settlement cannot easily accommodate them or the nature of the activities itself may demand an altogether a new location In either case there is a need to build a new town which provides an opportunity to the planners of planning the community from the start

Before independence, with a few notable exceptions such as Jamshedpur and New Delhi,

the new towns were mostly planned as railway colonies or military cantonments Since independence, however, more than 100 new towns have been built, but most of them have been planned to serve specific industrial projects and a few for administrative purposes Some of the new towns such as Sindri near Dhanbad and Gandhinagar near Ahmedabad have been designed as satellites to the existing cities nearby, on whom they are dependent for the satisfaction of many of their needs Some other new towns have been planned as autonomous and self-contained communities not depending upon any nearby old cities for the satisfaction of their day-to-day needs Chandigarh is a good example of a self-contained new town

However, in planning new towns, in most cases, it is mainly the physical aspects which have received attention on the part of the planners By and by the new towns have also become heirs to the same kinds of gnawing problems which plague the older cities

REGIONAL PLANNING

Regional planning in the context of urban and regional development is based on the idea that urban and rural development are complementary to each other and that regional planning contributes to the development of both the types of areas This kind of regional planning is organised around the nodal aspect of the urban settlements, which brings about the exchange and integration of activities in the region, in the development process the urban settlements are regarded as the growth poles

The need for integrated rural urban development in Indian planning was stressed for the first time in the Third Five Year Plan which recognised the economic interdependence between the town and the surrounding rural areas Ever since a number of urban and regional development projects have been formulated Some of these projects deal with regional plans centred on metropolitan cities and some others on small and medium-sized towns [23] But most of these schemes are yet to be implemented

Urban and regional planning, more than any other approach to planning, leans heavily on a national urbanization policy; but such a policy has not yet crystallised in India Secondly, it is also based on the assumption that urbanization is an independent variable in economic growth and rural development, but this is a problematic assumption and the conditions under which urbanization plays such a role have yet to be thoroughly investigated These and other related issues need to be resolved before the regional planning approach can become effective

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NOTES

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VOCATIONAL TRAINING

The impact of industrialisation and continuing scientific and technological developments have been changing the pattern of requirement of skills to meet the needs of industry 'Vocational Training', which had a limited scope some years back, has come to have a wider coverage and includes training for all people who are at work or are preparing for it from the level of manual workers to craftsmen, technician, technologists, etc It is needless to emphasise that training helps people to think and act in scientific and disciplined manner and it is a continuing process

Development of human skills is perhaps the best form of investment for the economic development of a nation The number of persons undergoing vocational or occupational training in a country could be taken as an index of its stage of development It is, therefore, necessary that vocational training should be properly planned and developed so that both the individual and society could be benefited by it To keep pace with rapidly changing technology, human

resources development has also to be improved simultaneously .by upgrading and updating skills by modular as well as advanced training systems In the development of vocational training in India, these factors have received some measure of consideration

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The Apprentices Act of 1850 was the first piece of labour legislation in India under foreign rule The Act was designed "to better enable orphans and poor children brought up by public help to learn trades and crafts for employment by which when they come to full age they may gain a livelihood" However, the Act remained on the statute book without any special follow-up action over a long period

Some establishments like Railways and Defence had a few systematic taining programmes to meet their requirements It was during the second world war that the first training scheme organised on a national basis was launched in 1940 to provide the different services and the civilian industries on war work with skilled and semi-skilled personnel and also to create a pool of skilled workers for accelerating industrial progress This was the War Technicians Training Scheme It was modified in 1945 for training ex-servicemen As a result of the partition of the country in 1947, the scheme was again modified for training displaced persons from Pakistan with a view to their rehabilitation It was only in 1950 that a more organised system of training of craftsmen came into being A brief account of the development of the vocational training system in India is given in the following paragraphs

CRAFTSMEN TRAINING

The rapid industrialisation of the country boosted the demand for trained manpower The number of industrial training institutes which was 59 with a seating capacity of about 10,500 at the end of the First Five Year Plan rose to 163 with a seating capacity of about 43,000 by the end of the Second Five Year Plan and recorded a further increase raising the total number of institutes to 357 with a seating capacity of 1 13 lakhs by the end of the Third Five Year Plan By the end of June 1981, the number of institutes-/centres rose to 970 (including privately run affiliated institutes) with a total seating capacity of 2 01 lakhs Out of these 126 institutes having seating capacity of approximately 4,400 are exclusively for women

CRAFT INSTRUCTOR TRAINING

Only a well-trained instructor would be able to impart skills/techniques and knowledge to personnel to meet the needs of industry The 970 institutes that train craftsmen require trained instructors in various trades This requirement has been sought to be met by the establishment of Central Training Institutes for Instructors in six places in the country The first such institute was set up in May 1948 in Koni-Bilaspur, which was subsequently shifted to Calcutta in 1961 The other institutes are located at Kanpur, Bombay, Ludhiana, Madras and Hyderabad Five of these institutes, viz , those at Calcutta, Bombay, Hyderabad, Kanpur and Ludhiana, have now been upgraded as Advanced Taining Institutes A Central Training Institute for Women Instructors was set up in 1955 in Delhi which has now been upgraded into the National Vocational Training Institute for Women

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

The institutional system of training has its own limitations It has been recognised that the most effective and efficient way of imparting practical training to a trainee is by the system of "on-the-job training/apprenticeship training

The system of voluntary apprenticeship, which was started in 1959, did not produce the required results Apprenticeship training was, therefore, made statutory by the enactment of the Apprentices Act, 1961, implemented from January 1963 This Act was amended in 1973 to cover graduate engineers and technician apprentices also

ADVANCED VOCATIONAL TRAINING

In addition to the above measures to ensure supply of skilled manpower to industry, attention was given to development of human resources at advanced skill levels as well as supervisory and managerial levels The Advanced Training Institute, Madras,and the Advanced Training Institute for Electronics and Process Instrumentation, Hyderabad, were established in 1971 and 1975 respectively to train highly skilled craftsmen in selected trades to meet requirements of the industry A Foremen Training Institute was set up in Bangalore in 1971 to train potential shop-floor foremen/supervisors A Central Staff Training and Research Institute was set up in Calcutta in 1968 to conduct research in vocational training and also to provide developmental training to senior staff in training workshops and industrial training institutes and also to officers holding key position in vocational training in Central and State Governments In order to provide training in advanced skills in occupations suitable for women, the Central Training Institute for Women Instructors in Delhi was upgraded into that of National Vocational Training Institute for Women in 1977 Two Regional Vocational Training Institutes have also been set up in Bombay and Bangalore in 1977 All the above mentioned institutes for training personnel in advanced levels of skills and supervisory and managerial levels have been set up with foreign collaboration whereby expert services and sophisticated equipment were made available The Indian counterparts had also the benefit of undergoing training in developed countries abroad An Advanced Vocational Training System was also launched in September 1977, with assistance from the United Nations Development Programme, to train highly skilled workers and technicians in a variety of advanced and sophisticated skills that were not available under the other training programmes Under this system, five Central Training Institutes and 16 Industrial Training Institutes in 15 States have been upgraded

During the Sixth Five Year Plan, a number of new training institutions are proposed to be established of which another Advanced Training Institute for Electronics and Process Instrumentation has already started functioning at Dehra Dun, and a second Foremen. Training Institute at Jamshedpur is expected to come into being shortly Also, under the second phase of the advanced vocational training system, 75 Industrial Training Institutes are proposed to be modernised on lines similar to the 16 ITIs in the first phase

Apart from the above, other schemes like progressive trade test, part-time classes for industrial workers and scheme for pre-cum-post release training of other ranks in the Indian Army are also conducted Keeping in view the technological changes continuously taking place, the training programmes are also suitably modified/diversified to train/retrain personnel to meet the changing requirements of the individual and the industry Under the progressive trade testing scheme, the quality of training imparted in Industrial Training Institutes and establishments engaging apprentices under the Apprentices Act, 1961, is periodically assessed and suitable guidelines to improve the quality are provided Under the scheme of part-time classes for industrial workers, theoretical training is given to industrial workers who have not had the benefit of systematic institutional training These classes are conducted in Central Training Institutes for Instructors as well as in

some Industrial Training Institutes Under the scheme of pre-cum-post-release training of other ranks in the Indian Army, training is arranged in Industrial Training Institutes to facilitate the rehabilitation of other ranks of the Indian Army in civil life on their release/retirement from services

ALL-INDIA SKILL COMPETITION

With a view to fostering a spirit of healthy competition among trainees under the craftsmen as well as apprenticeship training schemes and also amongst the training institutes and establishments training them, All-India Skill Competitions are held annually for craftsmen and once in six months for apprentices in some selected trades In the case of craftsmen, the best trainee in each trade on an all-India basis is awarded a silver medal, tool-kit and a cash prize of Rs 5,000 In the case of apprentices, the best apprentice in each trade on an all-India basis is awarded a gold medal, tool-kit and a cash prize of Rs 5,000 These winners, both craftsmen as well as apprentices, are given an opportunity to visit a number of industrial establishments both in the public and private sectors in the country The President's running shield is awarded to the 'best state' whose trainee secures the highest marks in the competition in the case of craftsmen training The President's running trophy is awarded to the 'best establishment' whose apprentice secures the highest marks in the competition in the case of apprenticeship training

BENEFITS TO UNDER-PRIVILEGED SECTIONS

Seats are reserved in Industrial Training Institutes for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe candidates on the basis of the percentage of the population of these categories in the respective States and such candidates are paid increased stipends also Certain States have even set up separate industrial training institutes for training scheduled tribe candidates

In the case of apprenticeship training, care has been taken to ensure that scheduled castes/scheduled tribes, minorities, the physically handicapped and other under-privileged sections of society get a fair deal in recruitment

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION CENTRES

In order to assess the vocational and psychological needs of physically handicapped persons and also to render assistance in the rehabilitation of such persons, two Vocational Rehabilitation Centres, one each at Bombay and Hyderabad, were set up by the Government of India in June 1968 Encouraged by the performance of these two Centres, subsequently ten more Centres have been set up, one each at Delhi, Jabalpur, Ludhiana, Kanpur, Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Madras, Trivandrum, Bangalore and Sitamarhi One more Centre sanctioned at Gauhati is likely to be set up shortly These Centres assess the residual capacities of the physically handicapped client, taking into account his disability, aptitude and interests with the help of a psychologist and an evaluator in the workshop Based upon the assessment of the Centre, a vocational plan is prepared for him Such a plan may direct a client to vocational training or on-the-job training or work adjustment training or even immediate employment in the open industry or self-employment

In order to provide interim employment to the physically handicapped persons till such time as they are in a position to secure regular employment, the Vocational Rehabilitation Centres have been assisting cooperative societies of physically handicapped persons for procuring job orders from the industry The Vocational Rehabilitation Centres have been rocognised as an agency for the purpose of imparting in-plant training to physically handi-

capped persons, followed by their training in industry, under the scheme of the Ministry of Social Welfare, according to which a physically handicapped person gets a stipend of Rs 100 per month upto a maximum period of one year on his being employed as in-plant trainee The Vocational Rehabilitation Centres have been given co-sponsoring powers for submitting suitable candidates against vacancies reserved for physically handicapped persons in central government departments

Experience of the Vocational Rehabilitation Centres has shown that lack of skill training (which is found in about 80 per cent of the physically handicapped clients who approach the Vocational Rehabililtation Centres) is one of the major impediments in their rehabilitation With a view to bridge the gap between evaluation and ultimate rehabilitation, a skill training workshop has been sanctioned for the Vocational Rehabilitation Centre, Bombay, which is to impart skill training in eight trades (i) electric/electronics, (ii) general mechanics, (iii) air conditioning and refrigeration, (iv) automobile engineering, (v) printing, book-binding and composing, (vi) arts and crafts, (vii) textile and tailoring and (viii) commercial/secretarial practice Similar workshops have also been sanctioned at the Vocational Rehabilitation Centres for the Physically Handicapped at Ahmedabad, Bangalore, and Madras during 1981-82 which are in the process of being established

In order to facilitate speedy rehabilitation of physically handicapped persons, as also to extend to the physically handicapped persons living in rural areas the training facilities being currently provided to physically handicapped persons by Vocational Rehabilitation Centres for the Physically Handicapped, Rural Rehabilitation Extension Offices under five selected Vocational Rehabilitation Centres for the Physically Handicapped have been sanctioned during 1981-82 Vocational Rehabilitation Centres have been helping physically handicapped persons in securing loans from various banks to enable them to settle in self-employment ventures

QUALITY OF TRAINING

The need for improving the quality of training imparted under various schemes has always been kept in view and suitable steps have been taken by the government from time to time based on the recommendations of the committees appointed for the purpose The Government of India, Ministry of Labour, appointed in April 1978 a committee of experts to examine in depth the quality of training imparted to apprentices in establishments under the Apprentices Act and also to trainees in training institutes, and to suggest suitable measures for improving the quality of training The committee made several recommendations for improvement in the quality of training, including a vital recommendation for restructuring the existing training system on modular basis Most of the recommendations have been accepted by the government A decision was taken during 1981-82 to set up four new Model Industrial Training Institutes for imparting training on modular basis in different trade groups

ADMINISTRATION OF TRAINING SCHEMES

The Directorate General of Employment and Training (D G E T) in the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, is incharge of the development and administration of the training programmes at the national level, particularly for laying down standards, policies, training of instructors, supervisors/foremen, conduct of trade tests and award of certificates The Government are advised by two tripartite bodies, viz., the National Council for Voca-

tional Training (NCVT) and the Central Apprenticeship Council (CAC) The Union Minister of Labour is the Chairman of both Councils

The administrative control of Industrial Training Institutes, which were earlier completely under the Central Government, was transferred to States/Union Territories in November 1956 and the expenditure on the running of these Institutes was shared for some years by the Central and the State Governments in the ratio of 60 40 On the recommendations of the National Development Council, this system was abolished with effect from 1 April 1969 and the complete administrative and financial control of these Institutes was passed on to the State Governments/Union Territories The Central Training Institutes for Instructors, the National Vocational Taining Institute for Women along with the two Regional Vocational Training Institutes, the Advanced Training Institutes at Madras and Hyderabad, the Foremen Training Institute at Bangalore, the Central Staff Training and Research Institute at Calcutta and the new Institutes which are being established during the Sixth Plan function under the administrative control of the Directorate General of Employment and Training

In the case of the Apprenticeship Training Scheme, the implementation of the scheme in Central sector establishments, including Central public sector undertakings, is under the control of the Central Government whereas the implemetation in State and private sector establishments is under the control of the respective State Governments/Union Territories Four Regional Directorates of Apprenticeship Training, one in each region,, are functioning at Kanpur, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras for the above purpose

ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE TRAINING SCHEMES

Details of the various training schemes are given in the following paragraphs

(1) Craftsmen Training Scheme 970 Industrial Training Institutes spread all over the country provide training in 32 engineering and 24 non-engineering trades to persons in the age-group of 15 to 25 years The period of training is two years for some of the trades while it is one year for most of them The educational qualification for admission varies from a pass in the eighth class to matriculation according to the trade Upto July 1981, about 12,79,352 persons have successfully completed their training under the scheme

(2) Craft Instructor Training Scheme Five Central Training Institutes for Instructors (now upgraded as Advanced Training Institutes) at Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad, Ludhiana and Kanpur and one Central Training Institute for Instructors at Madras train craft instructors required by Industrial Training Institutes and apprenticeship training establishments These institutes provide a series of one year courses both for skill development and principles of teaching Refresher and re-training courses are also conducted by these Institutes Upto July 1981, 25,384 craft instructors have been trained

(3) Apprenticeship Training Scheme The Apprentices Act was enacted in 1961 and its implementation commenced in January 1963 The Act provides for the regulation and control of training of apprentices in industry and matters connected therewith Under the Act, it is the statutory obligation of all employers in the specified industries to engage apprentices in the designated trades as per the prescribed ratio The duration of training ranges from six months to four years according to the trade The minimum educational qualification also varies from trade to trade and ranges from a pass in the fifth standard to a pass in tenth standard with science The training consists of basic training followed by on-the-job or shop-floor training At the end of the training the candidates are

trade tested by the NCVT and are awarded the National Apprenticeship Certificate During the training period, apprentices are paid stipends as prescribed in the rule under the Apprentices Act, 1961

The Apprentices Act, 1961, and the Apprenticeship Rules, 1962, were amended in 1973 and 1975 respectively to cover the apprenticeship training of graduate engineers and diploma holders also Prior to this amendment, the scheme was run by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare on a voluntary basis The period of apprenticeship training in the case of engineering graduates and diploma holders is one year

Under the Apprentices Act, 1961, the number of trades designated upto January 1981 was 138 in 217 specified industries In November 1981, the number of trade apprentices undergoing training in about 15,000 establishments was 1,22,842 Out of these, the number belonging to the under-privileged sections was 42,187 viz, scheduled castes, 11,949, scheduled tribes, 2,666, physically handicapped, 367, minorities, 24,812, and women, 2,933

In addition, about 10,957 graduate and technician apprentices were undergoing training in 71 subject fields designated under the Apprentices (Amendment) Act, 1973. Out of these, 980 apprentices belonged to the under-privileged sections

(4) Advanced Vocational Training Schemes In order to meet the needs of industry for skilled personnel at advanced levels and supervisory personnel and also to provide developmental training to senior staff of training workshops in industry, etc, the Government of India have set up institutes with assistance from developed countries Details of the same are given below These institutes function under the administrative control of the Directorate General of Employment and Training

The Advanced Training Institute, Madras, was set up in 1971 with assistance from the United Nations Development Programme to train highly skilled craftsmen in specialised areas like tool-design, tool and die making, heat-treatment, metrology and inspection, etc, by conducting short-term/long-term, full-time/part-time courses The Institute has trained about 7,004 trainees upto November 1981 This Institute is now functioning as the apex for the advanced vocational training system which is being implemented with assistance from UNDP/ILO and has trained the principals and instructional staff of the various institutes wherein the system has been introduced

The Foremen Training Institute, Bangalore, was set up in 1971 with collaboration from the State of Baden-Wuerttemberg in the Federal Republic of Germany This Institute conducts training programmes to existing/potential shop-foremen and supervisors in technical and managerial skills by organising full-time/part-time courses The Institute has trained 4,339 trainees upto November 1981

The Central Staff Training and Research Institute, Calcutta, was set up in 1968 in collaboration with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany It conducts research in vocational training, develops teaching aids and demonstration materials, etc Developmental training is arranged in the Institute to the senior staff of training workshops in industry, industrial training and central training institutes and also officers holding key positions in vocational training in Central and State Governments Upto August 1981, 2,375 officers from Central/State Governments and the industry have been trained

The Advanced Training Institute for Electronics and Process Instrumentation, Hyderabad, was established in 1975 with assistance from the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA), with ILO as the executing agency The Institute trains highly skilled per-

sonnel in the fields of industrial, domestic and medical electronics and process instrumentation by conducting short-term/long-term courses The Institute which started functioning from January 1976, has conducted 121 short-term and long-term courses in which 1,505 trainees have been trained upto November 1981

(5) Advanced Vocational Training System The Project on Advanced Vocational Training System based on modules of employable skills was launched in October 1977 by the Government of India and State Governments in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and International Labour Organisation (ILO) The Project provides training for highly skilled workers and technicians sponsored by industry in a variety of advanced and sophisticated skills not available under other vocational training programmes The advanced skill training under the project has been introduced in six Central Institutes under the Directorate General of Employment & Training In addition, 16 selected ITIs in 15 States have also been modernised and updated by equipping these Institutes with sophisticated indigenous and imported machinery/equipment and other training facilities Under the Project, training is being imparted in trades like mechanical/electrical maintenance, advanced welding techniques, advanced tool and die making, metrology and inspection, plastic mould making, process control instrumentation, industrial chemistry, Indian standard and blue print reading, etc Out of the 81 trade units planned, 79 units are operational and till May 1982, the Project has trained 12,250 workers from over 100 industrial establishments The Project is being extended to cover additional 75 ITIs all over the country in the Sixth Plan period

(6) Vocational Training in Women's Occupations To provide training facilities in basic, advanced and instructional skills in a few selected trades with high employment potential like dress-making, embroidery and needle-craft electronics, hair and skin care, instrument mechanics, secretarial practice and instructor course in principles of teaching a Project was launched in May 1977, with assistance from the Swedish International Development Authority, with I L O as the executing agency Under the Project, the Central Training Institute for Women Instructors (CTI), Delhi, has been upgaded into a National Vocational Training Institute for Women Two Regional Vocational Training Institutes, one each at Bombay and Bangalore, have also been set up in August and October 1977, respectively There is a total capacity of 200 seats which includes 120 seats in advanced skill and 80 seats in the instructor general course in the N V T I, New Delhi Till December 1981, 850 trainees have been trained which include 564 trained in advanced skill and 286 in instructor general course at N V T I The number of students enrolled in January 1982 was 153

CONCLUSION

The information furnished in the foregoing paragraphs indicates how vocational training in India has grown during the past three decades keeping pace with the accelerating trend of development in science and technology The system which started as a war technician scheme in 1941 has developed into a well-organised system covering a wide range for meeting the changing needs of industry and in turn the country's economy It may also be mentioned that trainees from developing countries undergo training under various vocational training programmes in India and the services of the vocational training experts of India are made available to developing countries in planning and developing their vocational training programmes Stupendous work still lies ahead in building up and strengthening the vocational training system, which would be a continuous

process, to serve the individual as well as the society

K.C. SAKSENA

VOLUNTARY ACTION IN CRIME PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Promotion of voluntary action is a time-honoured tradition of all democratic societies which value citizen participation All such societies have developed the mechanism of voluntary association as a normal expression of democratic life and also a practical strategy of encouraging citizens' action in combating difficult social problems The services which are being provided by such voluntary action groups are a tremendous boon, and in many cases a necessity In contemporary criminological and correctional circles many people now call for massive utilisation of organised voluntary resources in prevention and control of crime and delinquency [1] The assumption is that "it is the citizenry that will curb crime, not the police, nor the courts and nor the prisons "[2]

The tradition of voluntary action and citizen involvement antedates all institutional arrangements societies have been able to devise in their internal defence against crime [3] In this sense then, citizen involvement in crime prevention and control is as old as the problem itself "The human communities," observes Wickar, "have always had their ways of protecting themselves, their resources, their members, and their common standards, against persons who fail to respect them Community justice is one of the oldest of human institutions "[4]

In earlier societies the enforcement of norms of behaviour, customs, traditions and beliefs was, and still is, the responsibility of the people therein State intervention was minimal and informal mechanisms of social control were potent enough to prevent individual or group delinquency Such societies were relatively free from crime and did not require social defence mechanisms on an elaborate scale

The situation obtaining in modern complex and urbanized societies is, however, very different The organisational realities of such societies do not warrant total reliance on mechanisms of informal social control In such societies a complex network of laws, large-scale deployment of police and a vast array of judicial, punitive and correctional strategies are necessary to control and regulate the deviant behaviour of individuals and groups The people manning police, the courts and correctional institutions often work in almost total isolation from the citizens in general

There are useful inferences to be drawn from the practices of citizen participation in combating crime in several countries On one side it is observed that the forms of citizen participation in preventive activities of law-enforcement agencies are improving On the other, new kinds of self-inspired public organisations continue to appear in the field of crime prevention, and the efficiency of established organisations, which have proved their value, is also increasing Some countries have gone further in their attempt to widen the role of the public in crime prevention and control They have imposed this duty on the citizen by law Thus, countries in which such a legal provision exists include Finland, Cyprus, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania and Turkey [5] In some other countries, where citizens are legally bound to assist the State machinery of law enforcement and criminal justice, efforts are being made to devise ways of directing public interest in resolving of social problems by means of commissions, committees, citizen action groups, seminars and conferences, etc In general, in most countries, governments recognise that voluntary action should have been given

adequate support in its role in the field of social defence

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Though India has a long tradition of voluntary action in social welfare, there seems little evidence of any such tradition in the field of social defence The reason, perhaps, is that orphans, widows, destitutes and the disabled evoked generous response from the people and the focus of voluntary action was on alleviation of human misery born out of natural or social calamities Voluntary workers who were active in many of several areas of social concern were disinclined to help men, women and children who had violated law, outraged societal morality, or trampled upon the traditions and values cherished by the society Criminals and delinquents were treated with hostility and contempts, the idea of reforming them was by and large absent As a result, prevention of crime and treatment of offenders became primarily a State concern The absence of cooperation of people was also due to at least three other factors The social defence or criminal justice system could not, in many respects, be shared or delegated to private individuals or groups Secondly, the complexity of the system of law-enforcement, courts and corrections tended to ward off initiatives from citizens Thirdly, the very size and complexity of the crime problem engendered a feeling of helplessness on the part of citizens [6]

Public participation in functioning of the criminal justice system in the country was initiated sometimes around the end of the nineteenth century Many a legislation pertaining to the administration of criminal justice system and other allied fields of modern social defence operations contained specific provisions aimed at involving the community in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency The Criminal Procedure Code of 1898 contained certain provisions which sought to mobilise voluntary action in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency In particular, they envisaged the cooperation of citizens with the police in the detection and investigation of crime Subsequent developments paved the way for the emergence of certain voluntary action groups which showed interest in establishing and running institutions for women and children, who, if unhelped, were in danger of developing criminal tendencies Establishment of charitable institutions (orphanages in particular) in the early years of the twentieth century marked the beginning of voluntary action in the welfare of socially handicapped children These institutions also aimed at the prevention of vagrancy, delinquency and begging by such children Orphanages started by Christian missionaries encouraged a large number of individual philanthropists and voluntary organisations, both sectarian and secular, to work for the setting up of home-like institutions for helpless women and children in various parts of the country Later, the organisers of these institutions took interest in the reform and rehabilitation of the victims

The establishment of children aid societies in Madras and Bombay in 1925 and 1927 respectively marked the beginning of voluntary action in prevention of child delinquency and treatment of juvenile and adolescent offenders This paved the way for the enactment and implementation of Children Acts in the country Much of what we see in the field of juvenile corrections in the country today has emerged from the activities of voluntary organisations and workers in the broader field of child welfare

After-care and follow-up services for the rehabilitation of juvenile and adult offenders were initiated after the Indian Jail Committee (1919-1920) made a strong plea for the development of such services for ex-prisoners The Committee's recommendations stressed the possibilities of voluntary action in this field and

provided a basis for the setting up of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies These were established in Madras (1921), Central Provinces (1925), Bengal (1928), Punjab (1929), Bombay (1933), United Provinces (1938), and Kerala (1956)

The history of voluntary action in the field of rehabilitation of 'fallen women' began with the establishment of the Madras Vigilance Association as early as 1924-25 The Association was instrumental in the enactment of the Madras Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act in 1930 The Madras Vigilance Association worked for the awakening of public interest in the welfare of women and girls who were forced by their circumstances into prostitution By persuading the Government of Madras to pass the Act for preventing immoral traffic in women and girls and by opening shelter homes for women in moral danger, the Association set an example for the rest of the country The Association of Moral and Social Hygiene (now renamed as Association for Social Health in India) has been playing a vital role in this field since 1928

The post-independence era has witnessed the emergence of social defence institutions and agencies in the country primarily by voluntary organisations for the care, protection, reformation and rehabilitation of socially handicapped men, women and children They contribute meaningfully to the prevention of crime and delinquency by primary, secondary and tertiary methods The principal social defence legislation in the country, including Criminal Procedure Code (1973), Probation of Offenders Act (1958), Children Act (1960), Suppression of Immoral Traffiq in Women and Girls Act (1956), Prevention of Begging Acts, and Prisons and Prisoners Acts, contain specific provisions which seek to involve and mobilise voluntary welfare resources of citizens in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency through association with the police, the courts, the prisons and other correctional institutions either individually or as a group The role of the State is expanding The voluntary social welfare sector is being encouraged to maximize its activities in crime and delinquency prevention and control More grants-in-aid are now available to voluntary organisations in the field of social defence

The provisions and modalities of voluntary action in the field of social defence pertain mainly to the following three fields (a) treatment and rehabilitation of offenders, (b) prevention and control of juvenile delinquency, and (c) suppression of immoral traffic in women and girls

REHABILITATION OF OFFENDERS

Participation of voluntary workers in the treatment of offenders in adult correctional institutions like prisons is effected through the system of non-official jail visitors The Indian Jail Enquiry Committee of 1921 recommended the system for the purpose of ensuring prisoners humane treatment to which they were entitled under the Prisons Act of 1894 The function of these non-official jail visitors is to make surprise visits at regular intervals and to bring to the notice of the prison authorities the complaints of prisoners regarding bad food, brutal and oppressive treatment, bribery, corruption and deliberate breach of the existing rules and regulations by the prison employees The provisions of non-official jail visitors now exists in all the State Prison Manuals and government has been vested with the power to nominate a couple of eminent citizens as non-official jail visitors for each central or district jail

After-care of released offenders appears to be the exclusive domain of voluntary action in the field of social defence The Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, as aided non-governmental organisations, help the released prisoners in their social and economic rehabilitation in the community, and thereby help in reducing the

rate of relapse amongst the ex-offenders Voluntary workers associated with these societies have advocated the redressal of prisoners' grievances both within and beyond the prison walls Some of them not only visit jails and undertake group work with prisoners and their families during the period of sentence but also support and advise the offenders and their families after discharge These societies also provide legal and financial assistance to the released prisoners, arrange for their employment, and maintain after-care hostels However many of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies have been ineffective for want of funds and proper governmental support and recognition Some of the active ones are the U P Crime Prevention Society, the All-India Crime Prevention Society, the Madras Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, and the Maharashtra State Probation and After-care Association

Another important field for the participation of voluntary workers is the supervision of offenders placed on probation The Probation of Offenders Act of 1958 provides for the appointment of voluntary Probation Officers by the Court The Act also empowers State Governments with the approval of the Central Government to make rules regarding the appointment of probation officers, the terms and conditions of their service, and the area in which they are to exercise their jurisdiction Most of the State Governments, however, have not framed any rules for the purpose, and thus the scheme which has great promise has not been implemented in most parts of the country

PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The field of prevention and control of juvenile delinquency has been and continues to be the mainstay of voluntary action in the country A large number of institutions and agencies set up by the premier voluntary organisations (like the Indian Council of Child Welfare, the Children Aid Society and the Society for the Protection of Children in India) provide for the care and protection of destitute, neglected, victimised and exploited children These institutions have made a significant contribution to the eradication of juvenile delinquency in the country The scheme pertaining to the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency as initiated under the framework of Children Acts contains systematic procedures for obtaining the cooperation of non-official voluntary organisations and workers in the apprehension, institutionalisation and after-care of children who come in conflict with the law, or who because of neglect, exploitation and victimisation are prone to delinquent behaviour [7] Some of the provisions of the Children Acts envisage (a) citizen cooperation in the referral of children in need of care and protection to the 'appropriate authority', (b) constitution of Child Welfare Boards manned entirely by voluntary social workers to exercise magisterial powers in relation to the disposal of the cases of neglected children produced before the Boards, (c) appointment of persons having adequate knowledge and expertise of child psychology and child welfare as honorary juvenile court magistrates, (d) certification of voluntary child welfare institutions as 'fit persons' institutions, (e) placement or release on licence of the inmates of Children Act institutions under the care and guardianship of voluntary social workers or agencies, with or without supervision, and (f) obtaining the support of voluntary organisations in the after-care and follow-up of children released from correctional institutions

Since 1974-75, the Government of India is running a scheme for assisting voluntary organisations for providing services to abandoned, neglected, orphaned and homeless children The National Policy for Children and the National Children's Board have reiterated the need and urgency of voluntary action in the field

SUPPRESSION OF IMMORAL TRAFFIC

The policy of encouraging voluntary action in the suppression of immoral traffic has found considerable governmental support ever since the enforcement of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act of 1956 The government seeks to make use of the services of voluntary workers in the following manner under the provisions of the Act (I) constitution of a non-official advisory board consisting of not more than five leading social workers of the city to advise special police officers on the question of general importance regarding the working of the Act, (ii) requisition of the attendance of two more respectable inhabitants (at least one of whom shall be a woman) of the locality by the police while conducting search without warrants at the premises where prostitution is carried on, and (iii) constitution of a managing committee of official and non-official workers for each protective home or similar institutions set up under the Act

A few voluntary organisations, such as the Association of Social Health in India, the All-India Women's Conference and the Council of Women in India, have been encouraged and assisted to undertake preventive programmes in the field The Association of Social Health in India has a record of about fifty years service in the field It has 22 State level and 140 district level branches in the country The most important activities of the Association and its State and district level branches are eradication of commercialised prostitution, running institutions for the shelter, training and rehabilitation of exploited women, and those in moral danger, initiating health education and programme of control of sexually transmitted diseases, organising training programmes, seminars and conferences for voluntary workers in the field, bringing out literature for the promotion and understanding of the problem, and mobilising public cooperation for the effective implementation of the S I T Act

PROBLEMS OF VOLUNTARY ACTION

Voluntary action in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency suffers from the dearth of workers It is, perhaps, a field in which the citizens are hesitant to participate Their reluctance is not because they do not realise sufficiently the consequences of their inaction but because they find little that they can do about the steadily deteriorating law and order situation in the country The sense of public helplessness is quite overwhelming, people are not prepared to intervene even when criminal incidents occur in their presence mainly because of the fear of criminal elements This sense of helplessness weakens the cause of voluntary action in crime prevention and control, and affects adversely the morale and efficiency of voluntary organistions and workers Many men and women, whom these organisations persuade or prepare for crime prevention functions, do not demonstrate love or passion for tasks that require hard work, untiring patience and an abiding faith in their goals

In addition to the problem of getting sufficient number of capable volunteers, most of the voluntary social defence institutions face problems such as piecemeal programming, insufficient funding, untrained and poorly paid personnel, and lack of public understanding and support

Another serious handicap is the inability to find a common platform for giving vent to their problems and difficulties The entire field seems to be characterised by a diversity of operational techniques which have little in common with one another There is no single national organisation or body that can advocate their cause and solicit greater public support and action for voluntary social defence organisations

SOME ISSUES

Some of the issues in relation to the promo-

tion of voluntary action in crime prevention and control which call for planned action are (1) true recognition of the need and significance of voluntary action as a strategy supplemental to governmental action in the field, (2) official endorsement of the need to mobilise voluntary welfare resources in the operation of state controlled machinery for law enforcement and dispensation of criminal justice, (3) enumeration and articulation of means and modalities through which public and private organisations in the field of social defence can work unitedly in order to achieve greater coordination in their respective endeavours, (4) identification of problems and priorities in relation to the development of a wide network of voluntary citizen associations and groups undertaking crime prevention programmes at the community end, (5) promotion of a climate conducive to involvement of citizens with the criminal justice machinery in its law enforcement and peace keeping functions, and (6) recognition of the need for research and evaluation of the impact of programmes and policies devised and directed for the promotion of voluntary action in the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders

The policy of the Government of India has all along been to foster the active involvement of voluntary organisations and workers working hand in hand with the police, the judiciary, the prisons, and other correctional institutions The government is keen to obtain the "cooperation of voluntary welfare resources and agencies which represent the consciousness and concern of the public towards the problems in this field "[8] But the inclination of government for institutional programmes still continues despite massive evidence to show that correctional institutions, though useful, have contributed little to contain and curb the problem of crime The simple fact has been overlooked that the way to reduce these problems lies in preventing them in the first place and not in correcting or rehabilitating persons who have already committed some offence Crime prevention goals in administration appear to be to seek solution in the treatment of individual offenders rather than in the prevention of criminal opportunities and correction of criminogenic factors and forces

Promotion of voluntary action in prevention and control of crime and delinquency is not an easy task Citizen action would be difficult unless participation of the public is vigorously endorsed, stimulated and assisted by social defence planning and executive bodies at the national and State levels The public must not only be made aware of the effective role it can play in crime prevention and control but should also be convinced of continued support and participation in decision-making Organised efforts to educate the public in respect of their role in social defence operations should clearly convey that the government is earnest about its policy of promoting organised voluntary action and is prepared to take every possible step to stimulate civic consciousness and public participation in all its programmes and activities aimed at crime prevention and control

A good beginning in engendering a healthy climate for the growth of voluntary action can be made by establishing a national council on crime and delinquency—a federating organisation of voluntary and governmental institutions and workers in the field of social defence—to serve as an apex body to bring about coordination in the functioning of governmental and voluntary social defence agencies The Council can also help in laying down the policies in social defence, decide on priority areas, initiate action, and supervise and direct programmes and activities The national council should also seek to establish regional and local crime prevention councils whose function should be to study local crime patterns and encourage citizen participation in developing crime prevention measures at the community end Alternatively, the State Governments could establish State

level bureaux to perform functions such as the following (i) bringing about greater awareness and understanding of voluntary action in crime prevention and control, (ii) encouraging citizen volunteers to assist criminal justice functionaries at different levels, (iii) developing potentials of existing voluntary social defence services, and (iv) providing due recognition and assistance to voluntary social defence organisations and workers

S P SRIVASTAVA

NOTES

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3 U N Working paper on "Participation of the Public in the Prevention and Control of Crime and Delinquency" presented at the Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders (Kyoto, Japan, 17-26 August 1970), p 3

4 Wickar W H, "Community Development for Social Defence," *International Review of Criminal Policy*, No 27, p 47

5 UN Working paper, *op cit*, pp 7-8

6 Rector, Milton G, *op cit*, p 32

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WELFARE AMENITIES FOR WORKERS IN MINING INDUSTRY

In India, mining continues to be a labour-intensive industry The average daily employment of men and women in all mines by place of work, i e below-ground, opencast workings (quarries) and above ground, is given in Table 'A'

Employment in coal and major non-coal mines is given in Table 'B' In the coal mines, employment has gone down due to the depletion of reserves In mica mines which are in private hands, production has been declining over the past few years and the number of persons employed has also decreased

DEVELOPMENT OF WELFARE AMENITIES

Safety, health and welfare of mine workers is a Central subject regulated under the Mines Act 1952 and allied legislation

Mines Act Prior to independence the Mines Act applied to British India only Princely States like Mysore and Hyderabad had their own rules for mines within the State In Kolar Gold Field, Mysore (now Karnataka), miners affected by dust disease were eligible for compensation under the Mysore Silicosis Rules, 1940 The first Mines Act was enacted in 1901 It has been amended several times The Act prohibits employment of children in mines, the minimum age of employment has been raised

from 12 to 15 years Employment of women during night hours and also in underground mines is prohibited The hours of work on surface are limited to nine and that in underground mines to eight on any day, subject to a maximum of 48 hours in any one week These measures are intended to reduce the work load on labour, particularly women and children, in arduous mining conditions

Mine Rules Earlier, the Mines Act empowered local governments to frame rules relating to health, sanitation, medical facilities, etc But under the Mines Act 1952, that power rests with the Central Government, and the Mines Rules, 1955, have been framed accordingly These rules apply to all mines and provide for drinking water, latrines, urinals, rest shelter, canteen first-aid, medical services and welfare officers In 1978, these rules were amended to require initial and periodical medical examination of workers Mine workers are prone to air borne dust diseases, which show up after exposure to

TABLE—A

Average daily employment in all mines by place of work

Year	*Below ground*	*Opencast workings*		*Above ground*		*Total*
	Men	*Men*	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1951	2,20,312	89,467	54,107	1 29 662	55 500	5 49 048
1961	2,61,703	1 57,033	67 927	1 45,944	38 380	6 70 986
1971	2 55 297	1 42,911	52 916	1 57 295	22,316	6 30 735
1980	3 21,749	1,47,602	48,705	1,93,621	29,003	7 40 680

(Source Directorate General of Mines Safety)

TABLE—B

Average daily employment in coal and major non-coal mines (in thousands)

Year	*Coal*	*Gold*	*Copper*	*Iron ore*	*Manganese*	*Mica*	*Crude oil*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1950	349	—	3 65	17	34	31	—
1960	397	16	4 5	49	56	33	—
1970	391	11	7 0	51	29	13	11 0
1980	499	11 8	13 2	44	26 8	6 6	14 4

(Source Directorate General of Mines Safety)

dust over a long period It is only by regular medical examination that the diseases can be detected in early stages and cured

Mine Creche Rules In 1946, for the first time, rules were framed under the Mines Act requiring the provision of a creche or shelter for the use of children under six years of age belonging to women workers in mines These rules have been amended from time to time and the Mine Creche Rules, 1966, are now in force

Coal Mines Pit Head Bath Rules In 1946, rules were also framed under the Mines Act requiring the maintenance at or near pit-heads of bathing places equipped with shower baths and of locker rooms separately for men and women

Maternity Benefit Act and Rules In 1941, the Mines Maternity Benefit Act was first enacted, rules were framed under this Act to ensure payment to women mine workers during the period of pregnancy and confinement In 1961, the Maternity Benefit Act was enacted to secure uniformity in the payment of maternity and certain other benefits to women industrial workers in mines, factories and plantations The Mines Maternity Benefit Rules, 1963, framed under the Act apply to all mines

Other Amenities To provide welfare facilities to workers employed in coal, mica, iron ore, manganese ore, limestone and dolomite mines, statutory welfare funds have been set up to supplement the efforts of employers Welfare measures financed out of the Funds relate to development of medical facilities, housing, supply of drinking water, support for education of dependents, recreation, family welfare and population education programmes

CURRENT SITUATION STATUTORY AMENITIES

Drinking water: Wholesome drinking water is provided at the rate of two litres per person Water bottles are provided to workmen free of cost

Latrines and urinals These are provided at the rate of one for every 50 persons employed Separate facilities for men and women are provided

Rest shelter Shelters of at least 14 sq m floor area are provided on surface, mine entrance, opencast workings where 25 or more persons are employed

Canteen Mines employing more than 250 persons are required to provide canteens The building of the canteen is as per approved design Kitchen equipment, serving counters and adequate staff are provided The canteen is run by a Canteen Managing Committee consisting of representatives of management and workmen Food is served on a no-profit basis

First aid Supervisors carry first aid kits First aid stations are maintained at the rate of one for every 50 persons employed These provide for first aid boxes, blankets, and stretchers Ambulance vans are maintained wherever more than 2,000 persons are employed

Dispensary At the mines where no hospital or dispensary exists nearby and 150 or more persons are employed, a first aid room is required to be maintained with specified equipment

Medical examination Initial medical examination of new entrants and periodical medical examination every five years of all persons are obligatory

Creche The creche is open to all children upto the age of six years belonging to working mothers The creche is of approved design with provision for bathing and sanitation facilities, free supply of food and milk as per specified norms, regular medical examination of nursing mothers and children, dresses and playthings Arrangements for isolating sick children are also provided The medical officer of the mine is in charge of the creche, he is assisted by a qualified nurse

Maternity benefit. Women workers are entitled to payment at the rate of average daily wages for a maximum period of six weeks before and six weeks following delivery A bonus of Rs 25 is payable as confinement charges Benefits in case of miscarriage, premature birth, and illness arising out of pregnancy are also admissible

CURRENT SITUATION OTHER AMENITIES

Welfare in Coal Mines Medical facilities include a network of central and regional hospitals with facilities for specialised treatment, maternity and child welfare centres, treatment for tuberculosis, dispensary service including mobile service, anti-malaria operation in the form of surveillance, entomological survey, spraying of D D T , antilarval work and treatment of malaria cases, and filaria control operation in the form of anti-larval work like weeding, drainage and oiling, free supply of medicine, surveillance and treatment Education and recreation is provided through multipurpose institutes with facilities for adult education, vocational training for women, mid-day meals for children, family counselling service, sports, cultural programmes and film shows Several housing and water supply schemes for workers are under operation

Welfare in Iron Ore and Manganese Ore Mines Central hospitals, primary health centres, and dispensaries including mobile ones have been set up Under the housing schemes, subsidy is given to mine owners for construction of houses for their workers Water supply schemes and sinking of wells are executed in mining areas Scholarships, school buses and mid-day meals for children in the lower classes are provided Multipurpose institutes with facilities like radio, library, cinema shows are available Sports are also organised A few buses have been provided for workers to reach the mines from their residences

Welfare in Mica, Limestone and Dolomite Mines The amenities provided are similar to those in iron-ore mines mentioned above in respect of medical facilities, housing, water supply, education and recreation

NATURE AND EXTENT OF COVERAGE

Among the statutory amenities, provision of drinking water is compulsory for all persons whether employed below ground or on surface Except where the mine leasehold is small and the mine reserves are at the verge of exhaustion, latrines and urinals have to be provided Rest shelters are required only for persons employed at surface and at opencast mines Canteens are required to be provided if the average daily employment exceeds 250 Canteen services during night shift are generally not available There is no relaxation in respect of carrying of first aid kit and first aid stations Ambulance vans can however be stationed for a group of mines provided they can be summoned at short notice So far as medical examination is concerned, at present only new entrants and persons employed below ground for more than 15 years are to be examined In the next phase, other workers are proposed to be examined But creches are compulsory for all mines If, however, the reserves of any mine are likely to be exhausted soon or the number of children aged six years or less is small, the competent authority can permit maintenance of a creche shelter of simpler design instead of a creche of approved type A woman worker is entitled to maternity benefit only if she has actually worked for 160 days in the twelve months preceding the date of her expected delivery

Regarding non-statutory amenities, the position in different categories of mines is as follows

Coal Mines Welfare amenities are made

available to all persons employed in coal mines in the public sector and captive mines of TISCO The source of income for the Coal Mines Welfare Fund is a cess, under the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Act, imposed on despatches of coal and coke at the rate of 75 paise per metric tonne There were over 40 hospitals, 380 dispensaries with about 600 doctors, including specialists, in 1980 About 1,77,000 houses for miners have been constructed Over 11,70,000 persons have been benefited by the water supply schemes

Iron Ore and Manganese Ore Mines About 53,000 workers in iron ore mines and 28,000 workers in manganese mines in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Goa and Maharashtra have benefited The source of income for the Welfare Fund is a cess imposed at the rate of 25 paise per metric tonne of iron ore and rupee one per metric tonne of manganese ore exported or internally consumed There were in 1980 four central hospitals, four primary health centres and eight mobile dispensaries Over 9,551 houses have been constructed About 34 water supply schemes are in operation

Mica Mines About 9,000 workers in mica mines in Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan are benefited The source of income for the Mica Mines Labour Welfare Fund is a cess as customs duty on all mica exported at the rate of 3½ per cent *ad valorem* effective from 15 July 1974 There were, in 1980, 3 central hospitals, 3 regional hospitals and 23 dispensaries including 14 Ayurvedic dispensaries About 600 houses have been constructed under 'own house scheme'

Limestone and Dolomite Mines About 56,000 persons employed in limestone and dolomite mines of Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Haryana are benefited

The source of income for the Welfare Fund is a cess at the rate of 20 paise per metric tonne of limestone and dolomite sold or disposed off or used in manufacture of cement or steel In 1980, 22 dispensaries catered to the needs of the miners Under the subsidised housing schemes over 1,213 houses have been constructed

ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

The Directorate-General of Mines Safety (DGMS), under the Ministry of Labour, has been entrusted with the enforcement of the provisions of the Mines Act, 1952, and Mines Rules, 1955, in respect of all mines It also enforces the provisions of Mine Creche Rules, 1966, and Mines Maternity Benefit Rules, 1963, in non-coal mines

The DGMS has its headquarters at Dhanbad and has four zonal and 18 regional offices in different parts of the country Statutory welfare provisions are enforced by a system of inspection of mines by inspecting officers belonging to the cadre of mining and industrial hygiene

The Coal Mines Labour Welfare Organisation (CMLWO) which was transferred from the Ministry of Labour to the Department of Coal in October 1979 administers the provisions of Coal Mines Pit Head Bath Rules, 1959, Mine Creche Rules, 1966, and Mine Maternity Benefit Rules, 1963, in coal mines The other amenities for coal mine workers under the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund are also administered by the CMLWO.

In iron ore, manganese ore, mica, limestone and dolomite mines, the respective welfare organisations administer the different activities The Director General (Labour Welfare) in the Ministry of Labour is in overall charge of the welfare wing, and the programmes in the field are implemented through Welfare Commissioners posted in different regions Tripartite advisory bodies with equal representation of employees, workers and government formulate policies and programmes under the Welfare Funds

In every mine, where 500 or more persons are employed, a welfare officer with requisite qualifications is required to be appointed under the Mines Rules, 1955 It is the duty of the Welfare Officer to advise management on welfare provisions, supervise welfare activities, and perform other duties connected with the welfare of workers

PERSPECTIVE

The overall assessment of welfare facilities and amenities can be considered under two broad groups (i) within the precincts of the mine—arrangement for drinking water, latrines and urinals, rest shelters, creche, canteens, first-aid service, and (ii) outside the mine—housing, medical facilities, education, maternity benefit, recreation, etc

The amenities within the precincts of the mine are meant to secure more humane conditions of work, while the amenities outside the mine are intended to improve the living conditions of workers and their families in general

Studies made by the Labour Investigation Committee (1946) had revealed that except a few enlightened employers, others took a most indifferent and nonchalant attitude towards welfare facilities within the precincts of the establishment According to the Committee, there was a need to prescribe minimum standards of welfare to be observed by employers in different industries The provisions of the Mines Act and subordinate legislations as mentioned earlier have fulfilled this need The facilities provided outside the mines under different Welfare Funds within the last three decades have also been significant, specially in terms of medical facilities After nationalisation of coal mines and other major minerals, the total outlay on welfare activities has increased substantially

In large mining companies, welfare amenities and activities are designed to improve the quality of working life and thereby ensure higher productivity and better standards of safety and health at work However, workers employed in stone mines and other small mines are not so favourably placed Small mine owners, because of limited resources and short terms of lease, generally provide the barest minimum facilities which an employer can get away with The standards of service and maintenance are often poor so that workers do not make much use of it

It has been observed that in many mines the available welfare facilities are not effectively used by the workers This calls for the education and involvement of workmen and their representatives

The Committee on Labour Welfare (1969) and the National Commission on Labour (1969) had recommended creation of a General Mine Labour Welfare Fund in respect of workers in all mines While mines in the public sector have adequate facilities such a Fund is specially needed for workers in the unorganised mining sector

The benefits of welfare measures can be fully secured only if there is meaningful participation by workmen and their representatives in the planning of welfare programmes, maintenance and upkeep of facilities and regular consultations between the employers and workmen

OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

The Indian mining industry has had the problem of inadequate and unsatisfactory labour for several decades The mine worker is primarily an agriculturist and remains attached to his land back in the village to which he returns at certain seasons of the year His demands for comfortable living are generally not very high In the past the working conditions and welfare amenities in mines were not of a very high standard which could attract the labour to the mining industry

The situation has completely changed in the major mineral industries, particularly after nationalisation of mines Today more advanced technology is being adopted and massive capital, material and manpower inputs have been mobilised for rapid industrial development and high productivity A trained, educated and skilled workforce will gradually replace the rural labour of yesterday The worker would take up mining as his principal vocation rather than as a secondary source of livelihood in addition to agriculture The expectations of a trained and highly skilled workforce in modern mines will naturally be higher It will make greater demands on welfare services for a higher standard of living and better opportunities for workmen to spend their leisure hours in the development of creative abilities The scope of welfare programmes would have to be enlarged for the fulfilment of aspirations of the working class Statutory provisions, together with joint efforts of the government, employers and the trade unions, could contribute towards a better quality of working life and living conditions, stabilisation of the mining workforce, and peaceful and harmonious social conditions

B M BHAT

WELFARE AMENITIES FOR WORKERS IN PLANTATIONS

While the definition of plantations adopted by the International Labour Organisation is broad and includes a variety of agricultural enterprises, when we speak of plantations in India we generally mean large commercial undertakings growing tea, coffee, rubber or cinchona In the Plantations Labour Act, 1951, lands measuring 10 117 hectares or more used for growing tea, coffee, rubber or cinchona are termed as plantations Of these crops, tea occupies the most important place in the economy of the country—it covers the maximum area under cultivation in comparison to coffee, rubber or cinchona, accounts for the largest production in terms of quantity and value, earns the largest amount of foreign exchange, is a major source of employment, and provides to the masses the most popular and inexpensive beverage

THE GENESIS

The British East India Company started planting tea in Assam in the 1830's[1] Now tea is grown mainly in the States of Assam, West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Karnataka Some tea is also grown in Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar Coffee has been grown in India as a backyard produce from as early as the seventeenth century After the annexation of Mysore, the British East India Company took steps to grow coffee as a plantation crop [2] Coffee is grown now in Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu The production of rubber is confined largely to Kerala With the invention of synthetic drug substitutes, the production of cinchona has dwindled considerably Now it is grown mainly in government owned plantations in West Bengal and in south India About 15 lakh people are directly employed in the tea, coffee and rubber plantations Most of the plantation workers reside on the estates along with their families and dependents

The early plantations were started mainly in cleared forest tracts situated in remote areas away from sources of supply of labour People belonging to the agricultural communities in the neighbourhood, if there were any, were not willing to work in the new plantations as wage labourers Labour had, therefore, to be brought from distant places The in-migrant labour had

to settle down in areas where the environmental and climatic conditions were foreign to them

The system of recruitment of the workers from their home districts, transporting them to the tea districts, providing them with at least the minimum amenities of housing, etc and inducting them into their new jobs required careful planning and effective implementation At least at the initial stages not enough attention was paid towards the comforts and health of the new recruits There were serious abuses of power also Therefore the abolition of the evils of indentured labour was the first major step towards the welfare of plantation workers This was achieved by the year 1926

In course of time many of the in-migrant labour families had settled down in the tea gardens, successive generations having taken up employment in the plantations Plantations' labour had come a long way A working class had developed in the plantations industries with its distinctive features In the different plantation areas, the workers were of different origin, language, and culture, yet there were many distinctive features common amongst them

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR

The Royal Commission on Labour, whose Report was published in 1931, had looked into the living conditions of the plantation workers This was the first comprehensive study of the living conditions of plantation workers in India The Commission had found that long before the question of introducing a minimum wage had been thought of in other industries, wages in the plantations had been regulated from time to time The Commission made a very comprehensive study of the health and welfare of the workers in the plantations While the findings revealed that much needed to be done regarding these, it was also found that some of the enlightened planters were providing voluntarily to the workers' families welfare facilities which were not available to the working class elsewhere On this point the Commission made the following comments "In the plantation areas we have been given records of vital statistics for a number of individual estates These show that, generally speaking, the death and infantile mortality rates of plantation populations are considerably lower than the corresponding rates of the respective provinces as a whole "[3] Malaria and hookworm were rife among the plantation workers, but efforts had been made by the planters for their control and eradication The Indian Tea Association had made generous grants to the School of Tropical Medicine at Calcutta for research and campaign against malaria, hookworm and *kala-azar* Regarding general medical facilities the Royal Commission's Report had the following comment to make "In the absence of government or other medical institutions, the provision of medical facilities for their labour is accepted by most planters as an essential part of their expenditure In many of the larger and more progressive concerns the medical arrangements are of high standard "[4] The Commission found that many plantations had the practice of giving maternity benefit to women workers On certain estates not only were sick workers given free food and medical attendance, in case of serious illness a relation was granted paid leave to act as an attendant Although it was found by the Royal Commission that the general living condition and health standard of the plantation workers were normally better than those prevailing both in the neighbouring rural areas and in the tribal areas from where the workers originally came, still there was much to be done for the workers and their dependents The welfare amenities that were available to workers in some estates needed to be extended to the others, and the amenities which were not available at all to the workers had to be introduced on all estates

The Commission had made a number of specific suggestions, but these had to be kept in

abeyance because of the world trade depression of the 1930's and the unprecedented slump in the commodity prices, particularly those of plantation crops like tea, coffee and rubber The only legislative measure which was taken during this period was the framing of Rules in the State of Cochin for "Conserving the Health and Protecting the Interests of Labourers Employed on Plantation Estates" Cochin was then a feudatory state and the Ruler had a reputation for introducing reforms Before the end of the decade came the second world war and the thoughts of reform or introduction of welfare measures got shelved for the time being

LABOUR INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE

An indirect outcome of the Royal Commission's Report was the setting up of the Labour Investigation Committee by the Government of India As a result of the recommendation of the Tripartite Labour Conference in 1943, the Labour Investigation Committee was set up in 1944 under the chairmanship of D V Rege, I C S The Committee made very detailed studies of the conditions of work and living conditions of the plantation workers in India and made a number of valuable suggestions for legislative measures The Committee's Report was published in 1946 The Rege Committee had studied in geat depth all aspects of the living conditions of the workers, including their employment, earnings, health, housing and welfare

Briefly, the Committee found that labour conditions in the south Indian tea estates were better than in the north, although estates in north-east India were better in respect of wages, maternity benefit, housing, and the absence of an intermediary in the shape of the *kangani*, the recruiting agent The conditions of the tea plantation workers in the south were better than in the coffee and rubber estates The Committee found that the cash wages and the standard of living of the plantation workers were appallingly low, and their real wages had fallen during the second world war because the concessions given to them had not kept pace with the increasing cost of living Much improvement was necessary in regard to housing, sanitation, medical attention, and educational facilities The Committee also found that while the employers were well organised the workers were not In the whole country the plantation workers did not have any trade unions other than a small one in the Cachar District of Assam The Committee felt that the best safeguard for labour was ultimately the evolution of trade unionism and the introduction of collective bargaining, but until such time as the workers were able to stand on their own legs, it was necessary for the Central Government to protect their interests

LEGISLATIVE MEASURES

Partition and independence came a year after the publication of the Report of the Labour Investigation Committee Within a few years there were a number of labour laws in the statute books Plantation workers also benefited from these But the law which brought to them the largest degree of benefit was the Plantations Labour Act, which was based largely on the findings and recommendations of the Labour Investigation Committee In 1947 the Industrial Committee on Plantations was set up by the Government of India, which considered the question of framing a labour code for regulating the conditions of work in the plantations The draft Plantations Labour Bill was discussed at the Tripartite Plantations Conference in September 1949 and at the Third Session of the Industrial Committee on Plantations in November 1950 Parliament enacted the Plantations Labour Act in October 1951, and it came into force on 1 April 1954 However, because of a severe recession in the plantations industry

enforcement was delayed a little By 1956 all the important plantation States, except Kerala, had framed the Rules and enforced the Act Kerala framed the Rules and enforced the Act in 1959 Thus, plantation workers had at last got their charter

So comprehensive a labour law, covering not only the conditions of work but also the conditions of living, had not been passed before in the country The Act regulated the hours of work weekly days of rest, employment of women and children, annual and sickness leave, overtime work, and so on It also made it obligatory for the employer to provide such facilities as housing accommodation, medical attention, creche, canteens, education of children and protective clothing It would be worthwhile now to examine in detail what amenities the workers are getting at present and study those in the light of the conditions prevailing before

HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

The health of the workers and their family members is of great importance The Royal Commission on Labour had found that the general health conditions of plantation workers were of higher standard than that of the populations in the recruiting areas and the nearby rural areas But fifteen years later the Labour Investigation Committee made observations regarding the deteriorating conditions of health of tea garden workers, especially in Assam and West Bengal, because of malnutrition Subsequently a special study was made by Dr Lloyd Jones then Deputy Director General of Public Health, Government of India, into the "Standards of Medical Care for Tea Plantations in India "The provisions in the Plantations Labour Act regarding health and medical attention were based on the findings of the Labour Investigation Committee and the recommendations of Dr Lloyd Jones

According to the Act, all plantations with one thousand or more workers must maintain a hospital with a qualified doctor and other medical and para-medical staff Estates with a smaller number of workers have to maintain dispensaries with detention beds and also have arrangements with a nearby estate for hospitalisation of patients Group hospitals are required to be provided for specialised treatment The Rules framed by the State Governments lay down in detail the standards and quality of medical facilities to be provided Medical attention is available, completely free of cost not only to the workers but also to their dependents While a high standard of medical care has been prescribed in the Plantations Labour Act implementation has not been uniform on all estates and areas By and large the implementation has been satisfactory in estates belonging to the larger companies Available statistics show that while the number of doctors nurses and hospital beds provided in the larger estates exceed the number required under the Plantations Labour Rules, the position is just the opposite in the smaller and the proprietary estates In many such estates satisfactory arrangements have not been made for medical care of the workers

Dr Lloyd Jones had observed that the bulk of the mortality and morbidity among plantation workers was the result of conditions arising from poor diet, inefficient sanitation, contaminated water supply and general ignorance of the workers Whereas improvement has taken place in regard to sanitation immunisation and medical attention, the position has not improved much in respect of water supply, poor diet and general ignorance The general health of plantation workers has undoubtedly improved over the years The death rate has come down and longevity has increased Diseases (like malaria hookworm and *kala azar*), which were prevalent on almost all estates and took a large death toll, have disappeared almost completely

HOUSING

Commendable progress has been made regarding housing during the last two decades Plantation workers had always been provided with houses on the estates, but they were *kutcha* houses The type of houses and nature of accommodation varied from estate to estate In some places, particularly in the south, there was overcrowding In 1950 the International Labour Organisation's Committee on Work on Plantations had adopted a Resolution regarding housing of plantation workers The Resolution, *inter alia,* stated that minimum standards should be established by legislation The Plantations Labour Act, 1951, lays down, "It shall be the duty of every employer to provide and maintain for every worker and his family residing in the plantations necessary housing accommodation " The Act also provided for State Governments to make Rules and lay down the standards and specifications Between 1956 and 1959 all State Governments had brought their Plantations Labour Rules into force These Rules laid down the standards and specifications of *pucca* houses to be provided Under these Rules, plantations are required to provide, completely free of cost, to every family *pucca* quarters of approved standards It was also laid down in all the State Rules that every year each estate should build at least 8 per cent of the estate's total requirement of standard houses In other words every plantation worker was to be provided with a new *pucca* house within twelve years

There has been considerable progress on the housing front, but few of the estates have been able to keep to the schedule of building every year 8 per cent of the required number of houses Also, the progress has been unequal between large and small estates Most of the large company owned estates have nearly completed their housing programmes, but in the smaller and proprietary estates much remains to be done When the Rules were published the employers had warned against the adoption of an over-ambitious programme of housing, particularly in view of the scarcity of resources, both financial and material A further constraint on completion of the housing programme has been the steadily increasing cost of construction, aggravated by periodic upward revision of standards by some of the State Governments, notably Assam

The question of housing was discussed at various tripartite conferences While the workers' representatives complained about the failure of the plantations to follow the programme, the employers expressed their difficulties in adhering to the annual programme because of the absence of necessary assistance by way of subsidy, development rabate, etc On the basis of the recommendations of the Working Group on Plantations Labour Housing, which submitted its Report to the Government in 1964, the Plantations Labour Housing Scheme was introduced in 1967 The scheme envisages grant of subsidy and loan @37½ and 50 per cent of the cost respectively to the estates, with a ceiling cost of Rs 5,000 per house Unfortunately the plantations do not get adequate relief under the scheme because adequate funds are not allowed by the Central Government and the actual cost of a house has gone up to nearly Rs 10,000 Nevertheless, the progress to date on housing is not unsatisfactory if it is remembered that no other industry had to undertake such a large-scale housing programme, and all along there has been shortage of money and material The available data show that in the three south Indian States almost one hundred per cent of the required houses have been built This has been possible because the standard of the houses there is not so high as laid down for Assam and West Bengal In West Bengal 80 per cent of the required number of houses had been provided by the end of the year 1978 The corresponding figure for Assam was 77 per cent

OTHER STATUTORY AMENITIES

The other statutory welfare amenities which plantation workers are entitled to have are creches, canteens, primary schools for children, and recreational facilities The Plantations Labour Act, 1951, lays down that employers have to provide these facilities for their workers completely free of charge The nature, extent and quality of these facilities vary widely from area to area and estate to estate The facilities provided are, generally speaking, much better in the estates owned by large companies than in the smaller proprietary ones

Under the Plantations Labour Act, canteens have to be provided in all estates employing 250 or more workers Canteens have not proved very successful in the plantations There are various reasons Neither the managements nor the workers seem to have taken so much interest in the matter as they have done regarding some of the other welfare measures In most of the plantations the canteen space has been provided in the factory premises or in an adjacent place, where tea or coffee and snacks are made available to the workers either at cost or at subsidised rates It is difficult to obtain reliable data about the progress of implementation In 1961-62, that is six years after the Plantations Labour Act came into force, the Labour Bureau, Simla, carried out a survey The survey revealed that progress had not at all been satisfactory Since then no comprehensive study of that kind has been undertaken Only from the Annual Reports of State Governments on the working of the Plantations Labour Act one can get some idea about the latest position But these Reports are published much behind time and do not always provide the required information However, it is understood that most of the larger estates have provided canteen services for the workers

The Plantations Labour Act requires that every plantation where 50 or more women workers are employed should provide a creche for use by children below the age of six A creche has to be of approved standard and be under the care of a woman trained in the care of children and infants The children attending the creches have to be supplied with milk and wholesome refreshments It is unfortunate that creches of the expected standards cannot be found in many of the estates The Labour Bureau survey of 1961-62 and the Annual Reports of State Governments give us some idea about the number of creches provided but not much information is available about the nature and quality of services provided However, it is quite obvious that a lot needs to be done in this area of labour welfare in the plantations

Long before the Plantations Labour Act came into force, the plantations, particularly the large tea estates, were provding workers voluntarily with recreational facilities The facilities provided included both outdoor games and assembly halls where indoor games could be played and community meets could be held The Plantations Labour Act made it obligatory for plantation managements to provide recreational facilities "for the workers and the children employed therein" The Labour Bureau survey of 1961-62 revealed that 87 per cent of the tea plantations, 44 per cent of the rubber estates and 37 per cent of the coffee estates had provided recreational facilities in some form or the other The present position is not unsatisfactory Barring a negligible few, all tea estates, and most of the larger size coffee and rubber estates have provided the workers with both indoor and outdoor recreational facilities In many cases proper club houses have been provided equipped with indoor games, wireless sets, etc Many estates have arranged for regular exhibition of feature films

Way back in 1931, the Royal Commission on Labour emphasised the need for the employers to provide educational facilities for the children of workers 'Although a few tea estates had

voluntarily provided this facility, the Labour Investigation Committee found that in many estates in Assam, which were visited by the Committee, the school facility was not available, and even where it was available the attendance was very thin The reason for thin attendance was the general apathy of the parents towards education of their children, which in itself arose from economic necessity and general ignorance on the part of the workers

The Plantations Labour Act and the Rules framed under it require employers to provide and maintain primary schools where the number of workers' children in the age group of 6 to 12 years exceed 25 No tuition fees can be charged in these schools Almost all plantations have provided schools, but the educational facilities available are neither uniform nor adequate The apathy of the parents and in many cases a lack of real interest on the part of the managements result in poor attendance of children and absence of motivation on the part of the school teacher In West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, and Karnataka plantations pay an education cess to the local bodies which are responsible for running the schools In Assam, all tea garden schools in the districts of Cachar and Sibsagar have now been taken over by the State Government The intention is that the government take-over would be extended to other districts in due course The objective behind the take over of tea garden schools by the State Government was to integrate them into the State primary education systems, which would not only bring uniformity but also break the isolation of the tea garden worker community Detailed information is not available but it is apparent that even after the State take over the old apathy continues It is true that more children attend the schools now The reason is that the children do not get employment so easily now as they did before and their parents are no longer as ignorant as their parents were a generation or two back However, the teachers appointed by district school authorities do not seem to be any more motivated than their predecessors who were employed by estate managements All concerned—the State Governments, the employers and the trade unions—should take an active interest in the matter, and take steps without any further delay to bring about a radical improvement in the education of children of plantation workers

NON-STATUTORY AMENITIES

There are a number of non-statutory welfare measures carried out voluntarily by the employers, the Commodity Boards, the State Welfare Boards and in some cases by the trade unions These amenities cover so many fields that it is not possible to describe them all within this short article However, a brief description of the major items is being given

Employers have a long tradition of introducing various measures in the plantations for the welfare of the workers and their dependents These measures were carried out either individually by the planters or collectively by the Employers Associations the Indian Tea Association in the north and the United Planters' Association of Southern India in the south Many of the welfare activities now come under statutory provisions Nonetheless, the pioneering spirit is still there with the result that welfare activities have been extended to new fields or the traditional activities are carried out in such a manner that the nature of the services far exceed, both in terms of quality and quantity, the standard laid down in law For example, in many large estates the hospital beds and medical staff provided are much in excess of those required under the Plantations Labour Rules

Earlier, the employers had given the lead for the treatment and eradication of diseases like malaria, hookworm, and *kala azar* Today the lead is in respect of a matter which is of the

greatest national importance family planning and population control As far back as in 1950, when a national family planning programme had not even been drawn up, the Indian Tea Association had made a cautious beginning With the assistance of the Ross Institute of Tropical Hygiene tea estate doctors were given instructions on family planning techniques so that they could assist the workers in adopting suitable measures for limiting their families In course of time a vigorous programme was introduced to cover all estates in the membership of the Association As a result of these efforts the average birth rate, which in the Assam tea plantations stood at 44 30 per 1,000 in 1961, has come down to 26 03 per 1,000 in 1978

In the south Indian plantations the work was started later, but considerable progress has since been made Some companies and medical establishments in the estates in south India had attempted introducing family planning among its workers, but its impact on the entire plantation population had been small After carrying out careful and detailed studies in 1972, a nine-point comprehensive labour welfare scheme was introduced by the United Planters' Association of Southern India with financial assistance from the Government of India and some international agencies Family planning was an integral part of the scheme It was first introduced in three estates as a pilot project and later on extended to others

There is one more area where enlightened plantation managements have spent substantial amounts of money and benefited the workers For many years tea estates in Assam and West Bengal have supplied to the workers and their dependents foodgrains rations at highly subsidised rates The benefit is still available to the workers and the price charged even today varies between 40 and 53 paise per kg of foodgrains (rice and wheat), depending upon the area This benefit has given workers protection against rising prices of foodgrains and dependence on local traders On many estates generous grant of surplus land is made to the workers for cultivation, which has also benefited the workers There are many other aras in which employers, either as individual companies or collectively through their Associations, are engaged in doing voluntarily welfare work for th workers and their dependents

COMMODITY BOARDS

The Commodity Boards, particularly the Tea Board, provide grants towards meeting the cost of various welfare amenities to plantation workers The Tea Board has made grants for scholarships for higher education of deserving tea garden students, capital grants to schools and hospitals which provide special facilities for plantation populations, treatment of tuberculosis and leprosy in specialised hospitals, encouraging sports and scouting activities amongst tea garden children, running of welfare centres, and so on The grants are administered through the Labour Welfare Committee of the Tea Board, which consists of officials and representatives of employers and trade unions In a similar manner, the Coffee and the Rubber Boards make grants for the welfare of coffee and rubber plantation workers

STATE GOVERNMENTS

State Government have not played as importants a role in respect of welfare of plantation workers as they could have done The activity has remained confined to opening and running of a few welfare centres Even for opening welfare centres, urban industrial areas have normally received greater attention

The Government of Assam was the first amongst the plantation States to pass an Act creating a Fund for Labour Welfare In 1959 the Assam Tea Plantations Employees' Welfare

Fund Act was passed The Fund is financed mainly from unclaimed dues of workers and State Government grants A tripartite Board, set up under the provision of the Act, is responsible for sanctioning grants which are made for suitable welfare projects carried out by trade unions or other welfare organisations One of the successful projects started and still maintained with financial assistance from the Welfare Fund in Assam is the Labour Welfare Training Centre at Mazenga for women workers and a similar Centre at Titabor for male workers

In 1974, the West Bengal Labour Welfare Fund Act was passed The Fund is financed by compulsory contributions from employers, workers and the State Government The Fund also receives all the unclaimed dues of the workers The activities of the Welfare Board in West Bengal have so far been confined mainly to running a few labour welfare centres including some in the plantation areas In other plantation States also, labour welfare centres are run by the State Governments In some of these welfare centres craft training is given to workers and their dependents

TRADE UNIONS

Like the State Governments the trade unions have not generally played an important role in respect of welfare of plantation labour This is not, of course, to deny the vital role played by trade unions in organising plantation workers and gaining recognition of their importance in the national economy However, some trade unions are playing a useful role in respect of labour welfare In Assam, the Indian National Trade Union Congress and its affiliate body, the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh have done considerable work The Union has established workers' cooperatives The Assam Tea Industries Cooperative Ltd has even gone to the length of acquiring and running some tea estates In the south, some trade unions have played an active part in starting cooperative credit societies and other welfare work for the plantation workers No doubt there are other welfare projects run locally by the trade unions, but information regarding these are not readily available

KHITINDRA NATH SIRCAR

NOTES

1 Sir Percival Griffiths, *The History of Indian Tea Industry*, London, Widenfeld and Nicolson, 1967, p 61
2 *Baba-ud-din's Coffee* ,Coonoor, United Planters' Association of Southern India, 1970, p 2
3 *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, London, H M Stationery Office, 1931, p 405
4 *Ibid*, p 410

WELFARE OF DEAF AND DUMB

The deaf are those in whom the sense of hearing is nonfunctional for ordinary purposes of life The cases included in this category are of those having hearing loss of more than 90 decibles in the better ear (profound impairment) or total loss of hearing in both ears The partially hearing could be categorised as those with mild impairment (more than 30 but not more than 45 decibles in the better ear), serious impairment (more than 45 but not more than 60 decibles in better ear) and severe impairment (more than 60 but not more than 90 decibles in the better ear)

The hearing portion of the ear functionally has two parts—a perceiving apparatus which analyses and interprets the sounds which reach it and a conducting apparatus whose function is simply to convey sounds to the perceiving apparatus In perceptive deafness hearing for high tones tends to be affected earlier than the hearing for low tones and, therefore, an audiogram of perceptive deafness indicates greater loss for high tones than for low tones at any stage of perceptive deafness In conductive deafness the passage conducting the sounds to the perceiving apparatus because of some immediate problem is partially or totally blocked for the sounds to reach the perceiving apparatus

Deafness may be the result of a combination of many aetiological factors Perceptive deafness is caused when during pre-natal period the immature cochlea is either damaged or its development is arrested, or when during neo-natal period nerve cells are strained or when during post-natal period there occur measles, mumps and meningitis Conductive deafness may be caused due to accumulation of too much wax in the external auditory canal due to closure of canal, acute inflammation of the middle ear cleft, etc Deafness in elderly persons is caused due to head injuries, continuous exposure to noise, acoustic tumours, etc In India 'ear discharge and illness' accounted for the bulk of this disability among the hearing handicapped German measles is not a significant cause of the disability About 53 per cent in the rural sector and 49 per cent in the urban sector did not know the cause of disability

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

The National Sample Survey Organisation during the International Year of the Disabled Persons (1981) conducted a nation-wide survey on the disabled population to estimate the extent and causes of disability in the country It did not cover children in the age-group 0-4 years with hearing and speech disabilities as it was felt that information about them would be unreliable and incomplete For the purposes of survey, a person having one ear with normal hearing ability and the other with total loss of hearing ability was treated as having normal hearing ability Hearing ability was judged without the use of hearing aid Those having hearing disability were classified into four categories (i) those who cannot hear at all (i e not hearing loud sound such as thunder and understanding only gestures), (ii) those with profound hearing loss (i e hearing only loud sound such as thunder and understanding only gestures), (iii) those with severe hearing loss (i e hearing only shouted words or hearing if the speaker is in front), and (iv) those with moderate hearing loss (i e having disability to such an extent that they usually ask to repeat or like to see the face of the speaker or feel difficulty in conducting telephonic conversation or in hearing whispers) Persons having speech defects other than those who cannot speak at all were classified into (i) speaking unintelligibly, (ii) stammering, (iii) speaking with abnormal voice, and (iv) other speech defects (nasal voice and articulation defect)

The survey arrived at an estimate of 1 2 crore persons having at least one or the other disabilities, this constituted about 1 8 per cent of the total population of 68 crores About 10 per cent of these physically disabled were reported to have more than one type of physical disability Those with hearing disabilities were estimated to number 30.2 lakhs and those with speech disabilities were 17 5 lakhs

The prevalence rate of hearing disability among the rural population was estimated to be 553 per one lakh population as against 390 for the urban population Rates for males and females were 595 and 510 respectively for all-India rural, and those for males and females for all-India urban were 386 and 395 respectively The survey showed that there was a large variation in the prevalence of hearing disability over

the States in both rural and urban areas Nearly 187 males per one lakh persons in the rural areas of the country and nearly 120 males per lakh in urban areas were reported to have hearing disability from birth The prevalence of disability among females was estimated at 146 for the rural sector and at 96 for the urban sector The prevalence rates in hearing disability rise with increase of age after the age-group 15-35 years in both sectors and for both males and females The prevalence of hearing disability amongst rural males and females was found to be higher than amongst urban males and females of the corresponding age-group

The estimated numbers of persons having speech disability per one lakh population aged 5 years and above were 304 persons for the rural population and 279 persons for the urban population The numbers of persons having speech disability from birth were estimated at 234 per one lakh population in rural areas and at 186 per one lakh in urban areas The prevalence of speech disability among both males and females of the country in both rural and urban sectors falls steadily over the age-groups 5-14 years, 15-39 years and 40-59 years and then rises to some extent at ages 60 years and above. The prevalence of speech disability amongst males per one lakh population of age 5 years and above was estimated at 379 in rural areas and at 342 in urban areas The prevalence rates amongst females were estimated at 228 in rural areas and at 207 in urban areas Among children of age 5-14 years the prevalence rates were estimated at 411 in rural areas and at 429 in urban areas

SERVICES FOR THE DEAF

Development of services for the deaf has in the past been the product of somewhat limited experience of individuals and their field observations There has been no systematic attempt at assessment of felt needs and the availability of services Voluntary organisations have played a pioneering role in the education, training and rehabilitation of the deaf The Governments at the Centre and in the States in successive five year plans have come forward to help initiate various programmes and services for the welfare and rehabilitation of the deaf

EDUCATION

Education of the deaf is an important measure for their effective rehabilitation. Hearing impaired children need a differentiated educational offer Educational programmes for the deaf may be classified into four (i) pure orally oriented programmes for profoundly deaf children who can be successfully educated in this way, (ii) combined oral-manual programmes for some of the profoundly deaf children who cannot be educated with success in pure oral way, (iii) segregated programmes for those children for whom such programmes are essential for whatever reason, and finally, (iv) integrated programmes for those children for whom this way of education promises a better emotional, cognitive, social and linguistic development

The first school for the deaf in India was established by Christian missionaries They started the Bombay Institution for Deaf and Mute as early as 1885 The Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School was the second school established in 1893 The third school was started in 1896 at Palamcottah in South India At present there are about 150 schools for the deaf

The majority of special schools for the deaf teach upto the primary level while some teach upto the middle level Some schools, mostly for children with some residual hearing capacity, teach upto the high school level The greater part of the school time is devoted to development of means of communication through oral methods Signs and finger spellings are used only in a limited way in informal setting

The majority of children attending special schools are profoundly deaf Most of the partially deaf children are studying with profoundly deaf children This affects the progress of partially deaf children There is a school for partially deaf children in Hyderabad There is dire need of having more such schools to teach deaf children upto the primary level There is also need to upgrade prevailing standards of education in the special schools The majority of schools claim that their standard of education is the same as that prescribed by Education Board Further these schools are located in large towns and there is wide variation in the standards of education and in the methods and aids used Most of the schools do not have technically trained personnel to plan useful education programmes for children

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Vocational training is very important for making boys and girls with impaired hearing economically independent Boys are given vocational training in drawing, painting, tailoring and girls are trained in crafts such as knitting, tailoring, embroidery and book-binding Of late there has been considerable progress in this area Earlier, it was considered that only some simple craft could be taught to deaf and dumb Today, deaf undertake a wide range of industrial operations such as sheet metal works, printing, turning, fitting, welding, electrician's trade, carpentry, etc Training to the hearing handicapped in these crafts is provided in training institutes run by government as well as voluntary organisations However, there is need to plan vocational training which is job-oriented and matched to their abilities and aptitudes A few of these organisations are organising well-planned training in collaboration with particular industries Voluntary organisations are also being encouraged and assisted by the government to set up facilities for the training of the deaf In order to encourage a large number of deaf persons to go in for vocational training in courses open for normal persons, some seats should be reserved for them and financial assistance should be given to them Slight modification in theory papers could be made to enable the deaf to appear for examinations In this manner they would be in a position to learn more independently and get integrated in the society

EMPLOYMENT

At the national level, the Directorate General of Employment and Training, Ministry of Labour, assists in the vocational rehabilitation of the physically handicapped, including the deaf and the dumb, through Special Employment Exchanges and Vocational Rehabilitation Centres Twenty-two Special Employment Exchanges for the physically handicapped are functioning in the country to assist the physically handicapped persons to get suitable employment In order to provide specialised services to large numbers of physically handicapped, one assistant employment officer (physically handicapped) has also been posted in the 31 normal Employment Exchanges in the country

Fourteen Vocational Rehabilitation Centres for the handicapped are functioning in the country These Centres provide vocational and adjustment training to physically handicapped persons to facilitate their early rehabilitation Efforts are also made to procure job orders for the physically handicapped through Cooperative Societies in order to provide interim employment to them till they get regular jobs Eleven extension centres are run in rural areas Directorate General of Employment and Training also conducts surveys to indentify jobs for physically handicapped

TRAINING OF EDUCATORS

Availability of trained manpower for different categories is an essential pre-requisite for developing rehabilitation services for the deaf A number of agencies are engaged in imparting training at the various levels to educators, instructors, paramedicos, therapists and peripheral workers engaged in the field These include the Ali Yavar Jung National Institute for the Hearing Handicapped and the All India Institute of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, Bombay, and the All-India Institute of Speech and Hearing in Mysore There are centres in the voluntary sector for the training of teachers for the deaf in Lucknow, Bombay, Calcutta and New Delhi The Central Government finances such centres for training teachers for the deaf The National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT), New Delhi, has also initiated six-month training course for key-personnel involved in the implementation of integrated education for the disabled

MEDICAL SERVICES

There are at present over 150 hospital and medical college where special medical facilities for persons with hearing impairment are provided Besides medical colleges, speech centres are functioning in New Delhi, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Srinagar, Mysore, Bombay, Vellore, and Calcutta The services provided by these centres include early detection of deafness, advice and training for parents of pre-school deaf children and audiometry measurement of hearing loss In the course of growth of speech and hearing, other diverse disciplines of medical and paramedical sciences and other allied areas including otolaryngology, paediatrics, neurology and neurosurgery, psychiatry, audiology, speech pathology, speech therapy, vocational counselling, linguistics, have come to be associated with the rehabilitation programme for the deaf

AIDS AND APPLIANCES

The importance of aids and appliances in improving the functional ability of the deaf and thereby facilitating their participation in social life cannot be overemphasised Supply and fitting of hearing aids at subsidised rates to the needy is made possible through a Government of India scheme However, the aids nanufactured and supplied are inadequate for meeting the needs of deaf Further, facilities for purchase and fitting of aids are available only in big cities A great deal remains to be done in the selection procedure prescribing hearing aids with proper earmoulds Certain misconceptions have already affected the future of hearing impaired children because of wrong selection, but this trend is gradually being reversed with more qualified personnel entering this field There is greater awareness but much attention is needed in improving future prospects of language and speech training in children Besides availability of different types of hearing aid, Indian manufacturers have introduced good quality of hearing aids in the last few years While there appears to be breakthrough in the direction of better designs to provide hearing aids with a wider frequency range and higher gains with lower distortions, if we are to get best of these aids, these services should be provided at all levels In recent years there has been considerable progress in electroacoustic instrumentation like individual hearing aids, speech trainers, loops induction, group aids, etc

CONCESSIONS FOR THE DEAF

The Central and State Governments have instituted a large number of concessions and exemptions for the disabled, including deaf, with a view to promoting their welfare in the areas of health, education, training, communication and economic rehabilitation These concessions are by way of scholarships, stipends, age relaxation in appointment to Group C and

D posts, educational qualifications, medical examination, bus and rail travel, and exemptions from payment of import and excise duties on certain items including hearing aids

The Ministry of Welfare implements a scheme which provides financial assistance to voluntary organisations engaged in rehabilitation of disabled A sum of Rs 210 lakhs was provided in the annual budget for 1984-85 for assisting 150 voluntary organisations The government has also launched scheme of assistance to disabled persons for purchase/fitting of aids/appliances During the year 1984-85 assistance to the order of Rs 175 lakhs were provided to 56 implementing agencies

The Government of India has also reserved 3 per cent jobs in Group C and Group D posts in government departments as well as in comparable posts in Central Government public sector undetakings Out of these, one per cent posts are reserved for the deaf Several State Governments have also reserved vacancies for them The government has instituted national awards for outstanding employers and more efficient handicapped employees It has also initiated national awards for the best work done for the welfare of the disabled

The National Society for Equal Opportunities for the Handicapped, Bombay, has also instituted N D Dewan Memorial Award Fund Under this, two awards are presented every year to two outstanding workers in the field of handicapped The award includes suitably worded scrolls of honour and cash award not exceeding Rs 1,000

A National Handicapped Welfare Fund with voluntary contributions from the public sector, the private sector and the general public was set up in 1983 The fund is intended to augment voluntary sector services in the field of handicapped welfare

ALI YAVAR JUNG NATIONAL INSTITUTE

The Ali Yavar Jung National Institute for Hearing Handicapped set up in Bombay as an autonomous body in 1982 provides integrated services at the national level for the education, training and research for the handicapped The Institute has units such as assessment and evaluation unit, audiology unit, speech pathology unit, psychology unit, training and material development unit, information and documentation unit and a centre for aids and appliances The Training Centre for the Adult Deaf, Hyderabad, imparts training in various engineering and non-engineering trades, namely, sheet metal work, electrical wiremanship, carpentry, fitting, welding and photography

APPROACHES AND STRATEGY

Early Detection and Prevention There is growing emphasis on early detection and prevention of impairments and on alleviation of disabilities Detection and improvement during the first year or during the first few months of life are of paramount importance Early detection of deafness is possible with the help of parents, otologists, audiologists, pediatricians and family physicians Though it is very difficult to assess the hearing loss of a deaf child accurately at a very early stage, all the same a mother can start auditory awareness of child right from the time the child is a few months old The mother sings and talks to the child in every day activity Home training programme for the parents, therefore, assumes significant importance Under this programme, specially trained and experienced teachers carry out spot surveys of deaf children in rural areas with the help of audio-metre and other electronic aids In school, auditory training can be developed through various channels of daily communication like playing musical chairs Early detection does not call for establishing any new infrastructures, but only for integration of components of

early detection of disabilities and referral with the on-going health and educational programmes including school health programmes Community level workers like the Village Health Worker, Anganwadi Worker (Child Development Worker), Pre-medical staff and *Dais* may be given short term training in early detection and prevention of disabilities among children However, efforts aimed at early detection would be fruitless if these were not backed up with suitable referral centres with diagnostic and treatment facilities within the reach of the community Parent Guidance Clinics, under which parents of deaf children are given counselling services for detection and prevention of disabilities, would be important A country-wide programme of disability detection and prevention called IMPACT has been launched recently as a collaborative effort of UNDP, WHO and UNICEF The programme has a target of 50 per cent reduction in incidence of disabilities by 2000 A D

Integrated Education In 1974-75, the Ministry of Welfare introduced the scheme of Integrated Education of Disabled on basis of 100 per cent Central assistance The scheme was revised in 1981-82 to bring it in conformity with the recommendation of the Working Group constituted for the purpose It was noted that most of the schools, where the integrated scheme would be run, are controlled by the Directorates of Education It was, therefore, felt that for effective coordination, it would be better if the scheme were handled at the Centre by the Department of Education under the Ministry of Human Resources Development and in the States by the Department of Education The revised scheme has a provision, among other things, for a resource room Grant for purchase of special equipment is also available

District Rehabilitation Centre Scheme In 1982-83, the Ministry of Welfare launched the Scheme of District Rehabilitation Centres on pilot basis in a few districts of the country The centres aimed at providing comprehensive coordinated services to the disabled in rural areas by suitably reorienting and augmenting the existing infrastructure at a minimum cost and with as few specialists as possible These centres also aim at promoting cost effective technologies and developing suitable training programmes for building up required manpower They also aim at developing specific programmes for training family members in prevention, detection and early intervention At present, the scheme has been launched in six districts in the country Five more districts are being covered during 1985-86, the first year of the Seventh Plan During the Seventh Plan period, each State is proposed to be covered by this scheme

Training, Research and Development Training of personnel constitutes an important variable for the success of education and rehabilitation programmes Due to shortage of training facilities for teachers, instructors, and speech therapists most of the institutions do not have qualified and trained personnel and it adversely affects the education and rehabilitation programmes National Institutes such as NCERT and Ali Yavar Jung National Institute for the Hearing Handicapped, Bombay, have a vital role to play in standardising the training curriculum and developing material NCERT could organise short term orientation refresher and in-service training programmes for teachers in normal schools to equip them with required knowledge of shouldering additional responsibilities under the integrated education programmes More centres for the training of teachers for deaf have to be opened Facilities for training of instructors in engineering and non-engineering works have to be suitably strengthened.

Research facilities in areas such as evaluation of hearing loss, testing of hearing aids and communication aids have to be developed so as to assist the deaf in upgrading their skills Instru-

ments in these areas have to be developed by combining modern technology with indigenous material

It has also to be studied whether electronic hearing aids, which are cheaper and lighter in weight, could be designed Facilities for sound proof and airconditioned rooms could also be provided where auditory tests of children could be taken in order to study whether there are improvements in the faculty of hearing of the child Research also needs to be conducted in methods of teaching and communicating with deaf The Ministry of Welfare provides grants-in-aid to organisations like the Indian Institutes of Technology and universities which have infrastructures for conducting such research A budget provision of Rs 7 lakhs was made in 1985-86

The Ali Yavar Jung National Instituire for the Hearing Handicapped, Bombay, proposes to study the effects of the two major modes of communication in the education of deaf children It also proposes to bring out a bulletin for teachers It is also preparing pamphlets to create awareness of hearing conservation and milestones of norms in development of speech

Role of Media The media—radio, television, films, publications and numerous other vehicles of communication—have a powerful impact on creating public opinion around the world They all play a unique role in constructively influencing attitudes about people who are disabled By assisting the people to obtain accurate information about various forms of disability and their causes and implications, the media can help in promoting attitudes and social behaviour essential for the successful integration of disabled in the society By giving in their presentation examples of the participation of disabled people in the ordinary life of the community, the media can reinforce knowledge with awareness and understanding Organisations which have knowledge, information and insights concerning the problems of disability should accept special responsibility for ensuring that the media present people with disabilities and the issues related to disability in ways that are constructive and desirable

Role of Voluntary Organisations Voluntary organisations have played a dominant role in the initiation of programmes of education, training and rehabilitation of the deaf In the past they have undertaken programmes for the education and vocational training of the deaf They have yet to initiate sizeable programmes relating to early detection and prevention Voluntary organisations are not distributed evenly in the country, and they need to spread out to neglected areas

It is estimated that there are about 800 voluntary organisations in the country in the field of handicapped welfare The Government of India provide assistance upto 90 per cent of the estimated cost of setting up facilities for education of handicapped children The scheme of assistance to voluntary organisations covers programmes not only for the education of the handicapped, but also for their vocational training and employment. During 1982-83, grants totalling Rs 175 lakhs were given to 138 voluntary organisations benefiting about 38,000 handicapped persons at an average cost of Rs 500 per year Assistance programmes for voluntary organisations are being expanded in the Seventh Plan (1985-1990)

NAGENDRA NATH

WELFARE OF THE LEPROSY AFFLICTED AND THEIR FAMILIES

Leprosy is a very ancient disease which is still prevalent in many parts of the world It is today a world problem affecting over a hundred countries The Report of the WHO Expert Committee on Leprosy (1977) says, "Revised estimates from a number of the larger countries indicate that the total cases throughout the world may well exceed 12 million" Experienced leprologists think that the figure may be around 15 million

The great ancient Indian physician Sushruta gives in his Medical Treatise *Sushrat Samhita* (600 BC) a fairly good description of this disease which was obviously prevalent in our country from olden days Estimated cases of leprosy as per 1971 census number about 33 5 lakhs Andhra Pradesh (6 28 lakhs) and Tamil Nadu (7 83 lakhs) have the largest number of cases Bihar, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Meghalaya, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal have also a sizeable leprosy problem

A large proportion of leprosy patients suffer from deformities, especially of hands, feet and face The age-old horror of leprosy is largely accounted for by these deformities Leprosy has been a major crippling disease resulting in socio-economic difficulties for the patient and the family of the patient The fact that there were no proven remedies for the cure of leprosy till the advent of sulphones in 1941 added to the fear and stigma surrounding leprosy A fatalistic attitude prevailed and leprosy was considered a curse of God The leprosy patient may be said to suffer from two diseases simultaneously, (i) the physical disease with all its bodily suffering, and (ii) a myth, sanctified by even religious beliefs and surrounded by superstitious fears, dread and ostracism of the patient, leading to mental suffering, social dislocation and serious economic difficulties for the patient The central problem of leprosy is that we have to treat the patient, dispel the false beliefs surrounding the disease and protect the patient and his family from the insults and injuries to which he or she has been traditionally subjected An insistent campaign has to be conducted for the acceptance of patients in society at all levels and in all contexts

Around 1873 the long dark night of the leprosy sufferer broke into a dawn, though the broad light of the day was yet far away Dr Gerhard Armauer Hansen of Norway discovered the leprosy bacillus in 1873 In the same year Fr Damien went to Molokai in the Pacific Islands to live among the uncared for victims of leprosy, thereby beginning a life of matchless heroism which ultimately awakened the world in a vivid manner to the needs of leprosy patients It was at this time that Wellesley Bailey was paying his first visits to the leprosy sufferers at Ambala This led to the foundation of the Mission to Lepers, now known as The Leprosy Mission, which has done incalculable service in leprosy research and treatment and care of leprosy patients The voluntary spirit behind all this early endeavour is a precious inheritance which should be preserved and enriched For, by so doing, it will be possible not only to conquer leprosy but also to improve the quality of life First, and last, it should be remembered that leprosy work is a means of humanizing human life and giving greater depth to civilised life

INDIAN LEPROSY COMMISSION

Fr Damien, who contracted leprosy, died in 1889 at the age of 49, leaving in mourning not only Molokai but the wider world of his admirers in many countries It was the martyrdom of Father Damien that led to the appointment of

the Indian Leprosy Commission of 1890 The Prince of Wales (who later became King Edward VII) said, "The heroic life and death of Father Damien has not only roused the sympathy of the United Kingdom, but it has gone deeper—it has brought home to us that the circumstances of our vast Indian and Colonial Empire oblige us, in a measure at least, to follow his example "[1] The Indian Leprosy Commission reported that leprosy is not hereditary and that it showed a natural tendency to die out, and that while from the scientific standpoint it should be regarded as contagious, the extent of its propagation is so small that they found it impossible to advise compulsory isolation, although they advocated voluntary isolation and prohibition of certain trades for the leprosy patients They were strangely 'modern' in many of their views But they went wrong in their views of the causation of the disease and said that in the majority of cases leprosy originated *de novo* Official recognition of the leprosy problem and the attention of the then government marked a milestone in the history of leprosy in India The appointment of the Indian Leprosy Commission by the British Government marked also an interesting and big step forward in international action for the welfare of leprosy patients and the control of leprosy For, a son of Belgium who toiled for leprosy patients in an island of Hawaii was honoured by the British Government by the appointment of a Commission to investigate the problem of leprosy in India

THE CHAULMOOGRA TREATMENT

In the first quarter of the century the 'Mission to Lepers' (now known as The Leprosy Mission) built their homes all over the country The Roman Catholic Missions, inspired by the heroic example of Father Damien's work in Molokai, also built some asylums In 1924, the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association was formed in London and a branch of it was established in India in 1925 This was the period when in India and other countries great interest was aroused by the reports of various workers claiming striking results of treatment with *chaulmoogra* (hydnocarpus oil) *Chaulmoogra* treatment was really re-discovered then, since Sushruta of 600 B C gives a good description of treatment of leprosy with chaulmoogra oil In India, Sir Leonard Rogers and others using and modifying methods of treatment adopted by workers in other countries claimed very good results It was in this enthusiastic atmosphere that in 1925 Lord Reading, the then Viceroy, issued an appeal and collected over Rs 20 lakhs which formed the corpus of the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association (now Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh) In the first annual report of the Indian Council, it was stated definitely that leprosy could be controlled by making treatment with hydnocarpus oil available on a wide scale Within a very few years, however, the limitations of hydnocarpus treatment were recognised and workers began to turn once more to prevention as the key to control Nevertheless, the enthusiasm of these years helped to focus attention on leprosy and to increase knowledge of the disease to a certain extent At the same time, increased governmental interest, greater awareness of the problem on the part of the public and a more sympathetic attitude to the patients also developed But isolation of infective patients remained the only approach to the control of the disease The Report on Leprosy and its Control of the Government of India (1941) says rather grimly, "The one generally recommended measure against leprosy, and the only one which is advocated by all leprosy workers, is the isolation of infective cases It is no use adopting the attitude, as is sometimes done, that isolation in India is impracticable and therefore other methods must be used There is no other method which will replace isolation What has to be done is to

try to evolve methods of isolation which are suitable to Indian conditions" Even the Bhore Committee Report on Health Survey and Development emphasised the development of group isolation colonies Thus even in 1946 the outlook on leprosy, though far more humanized, lacked cheerfulness and positive hopefulness

THE SULPHONE REVOLUTION

In the 1940s the coming of the sulphones in the treatment of leprosy amounted to a revolution in the therapy of leprosy Since 1941 experiments had been made with Promin in the Leprosy Hospital, Carville, U S A under the leadership of Dr Faget Diasone and Sulphetrone came later But all these drugs were prohibitively costly and this new effective chemotherapy could not reach the vast numbers of those suffering from leprosy in developing countries Dr Robert Cochrane in India and Dr John Lowe in Africa experimented with the administration of the parent sulphone by injections and in tablets to be swallowed by the patients They arrived after initial difficulties at dosages which were not too toxic Oral administration of DDS became capable of use on a wide scale through out patient treatment Sulphones were hailed as a wonder drug It was regarded as a blessing to the patients and an effective tool for the physician and the administrator, which it still continues to be, though some of its limitations have now come into view The sulphones brought an entirely new situation for the patient He could have treatment as an outpatient He could look forward to cure if he took the right number of the right tablets under medical supervision over the prescribed length of time The dread of isolation and separation from family and work was gone The leprosy patient could be a man like other men, living in society and looking after his family The administrator was quick to seize the opportunity of the new method of leprosy control Widespread treatment with Dapsone through outpatient clinics became the new strategy The Report of the WHO Expert Committee on Leprosy (1953) declared; "Modern treatment which effectively reduced the infection in leprosy patients, and therefore their infectiveness, is regarded as the most potent generally applicable weapon now available in the control of the disease"

RECONSTRUCTIVE SURGERY

In the wake of the more promising results of sulphone theraphy, there came the researches of Dr Paul Brand in the Christian Medical College, Vellore, on the claw hands and drop-foot in leprosy The work of Dr Brand and others who have followed him in this field of research has shown that it is possible to prevent a good many of the deformities of hands and feet by proper education in the care of anaesthetic extremities The claw hand and the drop-foot can be adequately corrected by proper corrective surgery Dr Antia of Bombay, a leading plastic surgeon, did work on leprosy patients and devised operative procedures for the reconstruction of depressed noses, the replacement of missing eyebrows, the trimming of hanging ear lobes and the removal of excessive folds of the skin in the face Reconstructive surgery can now correct patients with lagophthalmos and prevent blindness Physiotheraphy and occupational therapy play their important role in the prevention and correction of deformity The advances in reconstructive surgery, and the application of physiotheraphy and occupational theraphy to the treatment of leprosy patients have opened up a new and growing prospect regarding the rehabilitation of leprosy patients Prevention and correction of deformity have helped in the social rehabilitation of the patients These have also promoted their skill in occupations and given the patients economic rehabilitation which often throws open

the door to social and domestic rehabilitation Above all, surgical rehabilitation improves the quality of the patient's daily life by giving him or her the ability to do the innumerable little, little things which make life easy, but without which life becomes a veritable burden and misery

MAHATMA GANDHI'S CONTRIBUTION

The new hope of cure for leprosy and the control of the disease in the community came to India at a very propitious moment Mahatma Gandhi whose interest in leprosy was, to put it in his own words, 'as old as his residence in South Africa'[2] had a Christ-like compassion for leprosy patients He was also convinced that it is only when we turn our attention to the neglected and forlorn, like the leprosy patients, that a nation can be reared in non-violence and brotherhood of men His approach to leprosy was essentially spiritual In 1946, he drew the attention of the country to the leprosy problem by including leprosy work as an integral part of his well-known Constructive Programme[3] The nation became free in 1947 With a new enthusiasm and hope, government and the public alike took the key from the Father of the Nation and made a new approach to the leprosy problem and the leprosy patient The First All India Leprosy Workers' Conference met in Wardha in 1947, and in spite of Gandhiji's grave concern and deep grief over the violent disturbances that came in the wake of the partition of India, he found time in his prayer speeches on 23 and 24 October 1947[4] to draw the attention of the country to the coming Leprosy Conference and to the importance of the leprosy problem The British Leprosy Relief Association (Indian Council) was transformed in 1950 into the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh, thereby breathing into it a new national spirit The voluntary spirit of our own people was directed towards leprosy and many national voluntary organisations began to take up leprosy work

NATIONAL LEPROSY CONTROL SCHEME

Taking advantage of the striking results of sulphone therapy and based on the principles outlined by the WHO Expert Committe on Leprosy, the Government of India, in collaboration with State Governments, launched the National Leprosy Control Scheme in 1955 even during the First Five Year Plan The principal aim of the National Leprosy Control Scheme is to cover all the endemic zones of the country with leprosy control units manned by doctors and paramedical workers trained in leprosy The programme is a three-pronged one, consisting of survey of the endemic population for detection of leprosy cases includig the very early ones, the education of the patients and the public, and the treatment of leprosy patients on an outpatient basis The plan allocations for each five year plan have been increasing considerably Dr Dharmendra, a top authority, writers, "One definite result of the expanding National Leprosy Control Programme has been that it has made us aware, more than ever before, of the hugeness of the problem Moreover, it has been instrumental in making available modern treatment of leprosy to about 1 6 million (16 lakhs) patients, i e 50 percent of the estimated cases However, it is not correctly known as to how many of the registered cases are actually taking treatment regularly".[5] Leprosy control activities by government and voluntary associations and the international agencies have certainly helped to limit the increase of leprosy even if it has failed so far to make a big impact on the control of leprosy For, the transmission rate of the diseases would appear to be at the same level With considerable increase in population, with more active case finding, and with many patients reporting themselves voluntarily for treatment, the estimated number of leprosy cases has naturally gone up While recognising the limitations and failures of the National Leprosy Control Programme, it should be remembered that it is based on sound principles and

that one has to take adequate steps to improve it in the light of experience

The shortfalls of the national leprosy control campaign are due partly to the limitations of sulphone theraphy and partly to administrative inadequacies, human difficulties and human failures Too much was expected of the sulphones and through them speedy leprosy control Over-enthusisam led to over-simplification It soon became apparent that the organisation of mass control campaigns was not a soulless mechanical reaching out of drugs, but a dynamic process in which many technical and human factors were involved Treatment with sulphones was prolonged and patients tended to be irregular and they even dropped out The sulphones did not have any direct effect on correcting deformity or healing a plantar ulcer Temporary hospitalisation facilities were few and far between, though now the situation is improving with the building of temporary hospitalisation wards in government hospitals, big and small The felt human needs of the leprosy patient, like his economic want and social upliftment, did not receive enough attention To add to all these difficulties, the irregular patients are now throwing up resistance to the sulphones. A new challenge is posed and it is necessary to mobilise all the medical and human resources to meet this threat and bring new energy and new vision into the leprosy campaign It should not be forgotten that though the results of the national leprosy control campaign as a whole for the country have not come up to expectations, some well-planned leprosy control centres which have maintained a persistently high quality of work have achieved substantial and even striking progress in leprosy control At this stage, it is important that one should not fall from the former euphoria into stark pessimism It is necessary to revitalise the campaign with balanced optimism

In the Sixth Plan (1980-85) the leprosy control programme was to be intensified to cover the entire endemic population by 1990, provide more comprehensive treatment and medico-surgical facilities for rehabilitation, support voluntary organisations working in the field of leprosy welfare and rehabilitation, and step up public education and mass publicity programmes

A working group on the eradication of leprosy was set up by the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare in 1981 under the Chairmanship of Dr M S Swaminathan, Member, Planning Commission The Committee has submitted its report on the problem and suggested programmes of action Eradication of leprosy has also been included in the new 20-point programme which is an indication of the importance that is being given to undertaking measures for its solution

NEW ADVANCES

It is well over a hundred years since Hansen discovered the leprosy bacillus, but till today the leprosy bacillus has not been successfully cultivated *in vitro* (laboratory media) But happily, in the last two decades, notable success has been achieved in attempts to culture it *in vivo* (in animal models) Leprosy bacilli have been inoculated into the foot pad of mice with successful results of multiplication of the leprosy bacilli Later, came experiments on the armadillo which have shown greater susceptibility to take the disease and yield a richer harvest of leprosy bacillus It is now possible to screen drugs for anti-leprosy activity in these infected animals When leprosy patients are not able to tolerate dapsone, or when they have become resistant to dapsone, there are now alternative drugs to meet these situations A notable advance was the demonstration of the activity of Clofazimine against Myco Leprae The drug is also anti-inflammatory A recent entrant in the field of leprosy therapy is Rifampicin, which is a potent antibiotic The administration of these drugs

requires close medical supervision For the more serious infective type of cases (Lepromatous) multi-therapy in combination with dapsone is now recommended Leprosy treatment will demand higher cost, more skilled and dedicated personnel and more effective organisation

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Public relations which, in general, demand knowledge, skill, tact, energy and persistence are particularly difficult in relation to leprosy control, because of certain special factors concerning leprosy It is needless to reiterate that the depth of prejudice against leprosy and the fear of the leprosy patient still lingers amongst the public It is more pertinent to note the welcome change that is taking place in this matter The sharpness of prejudice is generally on the wane and the nature of the prejudice and its severity or otherwise varies from region to region In certain sections of society, the real problem is the complete absence of prejudice or fear leading to total unconcern about the prevalence of the disease—a state of mind very unfavourable to public health activities This indifference seems to be a special feature of areas with high prevalence of leprosy Moreover, the fear of leprosy is more prevalent in the more educated and sophisticated sections of the public For, they tend to regard leprosy as a disease of dirt and depravity that will never affect them and therefore has only to be shunned This fact emphasises the need for educating the educated The widespread loathing of this disease from ancient days would seem to be a result of certain features concerning the disease itself The diseases caused external manifestations and led to progressive crippling and deforming It was chronic and non-fatal and the patient passed into destitution, especially[1] in communities with low standards of living The fact that even in highly endemic regions, it did not become an epidemic like smallpox or cholera made many citizens look upon the disease as one that would never affect them This attitude hardly promoted vigilant, united action The long incubation period, the slow and inconspicuous onset of the disease, the incurability of the disease in the past, the visible deformities of patients, especially of the beggars with leprosy who appear in public places—all these contribute to the ill-repute which leprosy has attained through the ages as "the greatest human affliction", or the "big disease", as it is known in India

The problem in public relations is two-fold, (1) how to 'de-horrorize' leprosy, and eradicate the image of the most terrible of human afflictions from the public, (2) how, at the same time, to substitute public fear by public concern and to emphasise the seriousness ofthe problem so as to ensure continuing public interest Early leprosy—which has none of the physically repulsive features associated traditionally with the disease—must be distinguished in our thought from advanced leprosy The word 'leprosy' may have to be disassociated from early leprosy, and those suffering from the disease at this stage should be treated as ordinary outpatients in skin clinics In this way, the patient and his relatives are spared the shame and fear of ostracism that constitute serious obstacles to voluntary presentation and treatment An adult, or the parent of a child with an early patch of leprosy, experiences a shock when the diagnosis is revealed They should be told that there is an enormous difference between the disease as they have it and their mental picture of it The task of removing public fear and at the same time maintaining public concern and interest may be difficult, but is not impossible The education of the public must be made with caution, minimizing the sensational, and promoting an attitude that neither exaggerates the dangers nor ignores the risk The Report of the Panel on Education and Social Aspects of the VIII Inter-

national Congress of Leprology state, "Providing information on leprosy for the public at large is a task to be approached with caution Theoretical and speculative information, no matter how thrilling to the research workers, should be withheld from the public For, newspapers are apt to give undue prominence to these items, and the public, already full of doubts and fears regarding leprosy, are apt to become more confused in their approach to the disease and more confirmed in their old-time notions Although much is still to be learnt about leprosy, this limitation should not prevent our working out a realistic leprosy education programme That programme must take into account the 'knowns' and 'unknowns' and present these to the public in an understandable and reasonable way Writers should aim at promoting a leprosy control policy based on what is known, what can be deduced, and what can be carried out humanely"[6]

SOCIAL ASPECTS

Care of the Helpless Dependents of Leprosy Patients A social problem that throws a challenge to those who are interested in leprosy relief and control is the care of the family of the leprosy patient who is sent to a leprosy institution for treatment or who is unable either for short periods or longer periods to support himself or his family in the course of treatment Anxiety over the helpless dependents creates mental disturbances which are bad for the health of the patient Such anxiety shatters his peace of mind and if only something could be done to assure him that his people will not starve, he will be a happier man and cooperate better with the medical and health authorities Perhaps the best way now to help the leprosy patient and his family to overcome economic difficulties will be to make available to him grants under various developmental schemes to which the underprivileged sections of society are now entitled Voluntary bodies may help patients with grants and loans to keep cattle, develop poultry farms, and run shops, weaving and tailoring establishments, and local cottage industries

The Protection of Children Children should get topmost priority in health education and preventive campaigns and in case detection and treatment programmes In the olden days, the uninfected children of leprosy patients were cared for in what were called healthy children's homes, where they lived away from their parents and received food, clothing and education This method is no longer recommended, as it stigmatises the child as that of a leprosy patient and the child develops complexes which make its integration into the general community difficult An infected child of a leprosy patient may be sent to a sanatorium, if the nature of the disease and the circumstances of its home warrant it But the bulk of these children can be on outpatient treatment remaining in their own homes The uninfected children who are indigent can be sent to general children's homes Those who run such homes must be educated to accept these children as normal and they may be advised on early signs and symptoms so that when they have any doubts about any children in their institution, they can be sent for periodical examinations They should be made to realise that a child with non-infective leprosy can also be looked after in children's homes, provided their treatment is ensured In these days, when leprosy treatment is available on a wide scale, this should be possible Children taking treatment may be encouraged to come regularly for treatment by appropriate gifts of clothing, books, stationery and food packets

REHABILITATION OF LEPROSY PATIENTS

The Problem Stated The handicaps in leprosy are two-fold (a) social and psychological, (b) physical The social and psychological difficulties result from the traditional ignorance and

fear of the disease of the society at large which regards leprosy as an incurable and highly infectious disease and is therefore a bar for the sufferer to the rights and opportunities of their life The unwanted leprosy patient consequently suffers from a sense of loneliness, and his emotional reactions range from apathy to hatred, fatalistic resignation to anti-social bitternes Some leprosy patients can be consumed with a resentment against their own disease

The physical handicap is two-fold (i) The person's very physical presence is dreaded in superstitious ignorance and fear; and (ii) added to this, he suffers from the disabilities and deformities caused by the disease The leprosy patients have to be made to come out of their gloom and apathy and should be infused with new hopefulness and new courage and a strong motivation to keep their place in society, where they have already lost it, they should be encouraged to cooperate fully in programmes for their emotional and physical restoration and their economic self-sufficiency

Prevention and Correction of Deformity The largest single factor contributing to disability and deformity in leprosy is anaesthesia caused by the disease Most patients of leprosy present anaesthetic areas, and many of them have anaesthesia in hands and feet It may be said that the most painful thing about leprosy is the lack of sense of pain The absence of the protective sense of pain exposes the patient to constant hazards of injury and continued ill-treatment of his limbs Leprosy has affected the sensation of pain and the sensation of heat and cold in their hands and feet They can put their hands in fire and yet feel no pain They can grasp an object so hard that their bones may crack, but yet feel no pain They can walk miles and miles and get ulcerated in the feet without feeling pain These patients do not feel the need of resting their injured limbs because they have no pain They go on using injured limbs as if they really did not belong to them It is such continued misuse of hands and feet that has resulted in the deformities of hands and feet which account so much for the prejudice against the disease and the serious disabilities from which patients suffer

Preventive Rehabilitation The greatest emphasise should be laid on what may be called preventive rehabilitation' by which is meant taking all the steps that would prevent the need for the patient of any special rehabilitation services Early diagnosis and early treatment with due regard paid to the threats of deformity can be the most effective preventive rehabilitation There is a great need for re-education centres where patients with threatening deformity or with moderate deformity can go in for shorter or longer periods in order to be trained in a way of life so that they learn to carry on their daily living and work without getting deformed Indeed, every leprosy institution and every leprosy control centre should give top priority to the re-education of patients Rehabilitation begins when the disease is first diagnosed Therefore, the doctor, the paramedical worker and the social worker in the field should be trained to look out for signs of anaesthesia of limbs, early paralysis, etc and to advise patients how to prevent more severe damage and correct the damage already present These workers in the field must help patients to adjust themselves to the limitations imposed by the disease as well as help them to overcome them to the extent possible It is necessary to keep alive in them the urge to have their place in normal life When due attention is paid to the psychology of the patient and his morale is built up it is amazing how active and enthusiastic he can be in rehabilitation programmes for him No special rehabilitation programme can be a substitute for this atmosphere of enthusiasm and concern for the preservation of ability and the prevention of deformity, generated by the medical authority of a leprosy institution or a leprosy control unit For in such an atmosphere, the great majority of

patients should achieve their maximum rehabilitation without any special help and without admission to an institution For, it cannot be over-emphasised that the psychological problem is as great as the physical problem, if not greater The patient must passionately and intelligently want to retain his ability and to regain it and be rehabilitated

Cateogries of Patients For the purpose of rehabilitation, it is useful to divide leprosy patients into two categories and suggest measures for each category. First, there are the patients who have recovered from leprosy unmarked by the disease and have no deformity One should resist encouraging these patients to lean on rehabilitation agencies too much, for, they frequently have such a tendency The chief contribution one can make towards these patients is to carry on educational work with industrial organisations, industrial medical officers and with the public The second category consists of those patients who have been physically handicapped in some measure by leprosy and have therefore to be actively helped towards rehabilitation Many of these patients can be sufficently restored to normal appearance and working power by surgical correction and physiotherapeutic measures The best way of finding employment for these persons will be to get them absorbed in various industries, taking into due consideration any residual deformities, and the presence of anaesthesia and the fitness of the individual to the particular job Studies will have to be conducted in various industries regarding the possibilities of placement for those recovered from leprosy Still, it must be recognised that in regions where there is a great deal of unemployment, it is difficult to get a large number of ex-patients of leprosy absorbed in industries What one should first aim at is to see that those who are already in employment in industries and who have been found to suffer from leprosy should not be thrown out, but are taken back into the industries in some suitable capacity or other after due treatment. The crying need of the hour is to start a number of regional centres in the country for the training of various types of ex-patients with varying degrees of deformity The deformities will have to be classified and the particular trades suited to these deformities. These centres should not be allowed to become in any sense a home or a colony for ex-patients They should strictly be training centres

Sheltered workshops have also to be organised The purpose of these workshops is to give continued employment to those who cannot compete successfully for outside employment Employees should be encouraged to live in their own homes and provide for themselves from their wages Suitable transport arrangements for them will have to be made A sheltered workshop can be (a) a factory style workshop employing patients all in one place, (b) a dispersed cottage industry where a number of workers may be employed in their own homes and making products which are assembled at a central workshop which has a marketing organisation In both cases,integration should be attempted between the persons disabled by leprosy and those disabled by other diseases and accidents The sheltered workshop should also be used for wider purposes of educating industrialists, administrators and the general public They should be made demonstration centres so that people see the handicapped at work and get convinced All the time, leaders of rehabilitation should endeavour to obtain for ex-leprosy patients employment in open industry In fact, several industrial establishments are willingly, if discreetly, taking those healed of leprosy in their employment Some industrialists are willing to help with donations or advances to set up ancillary units The Government of India, through the Ministry of Social Welfare, gives grants-in-aid to put up buildings, purchase equipment, and train and employ staff They also give maintenance grants. It is a pity, however, that special

employment exchanges for the physically handicapped have not yet brought those handicapped by leprosy within their efforts in rehabilitation

The Problem of Beggars with Leprosy Large cities attract a very large number of destitute leprosy patients All pilgrim centres also attract innumerable beggars with leprosy This has resulted in the association of leprosy in the minds of people with dirt and destitution Destitution in leprosy has been the result of callous neglect of the leprosy patient by society and the ostracism which more often than not he had to face, especially in the past This problem has generally been ignored by leprosy experts, because their attention has naturally been directed to the fundamental aspects of the disease and its control Of late, there has been greater emphasis on the control of leprosy in the community as distinguished from relief for the patient and rightly so However, the human aspects of leprosy cannot be ignored and the beggar problem in leprosy is an eminently human one which has to be faced It is hoped that with the establishment of more sanatoria and more treatment centres there will be less and less of destitution among leprosy patients But the existence of a beggar leprosy problem today in the country cannot be ignored or by-passed Special homes have to be organised for them, as the Government of Tamil Nadu and the Bombay Municipal Corporation have done The long-term policy for such Homes should be to care for the absolute minimum of the disabled and the destitute, and to develop an energetic programme of taking out of these homes gradually as many as possible by an intensive process of physical and psychological restoration and vocational training The children of these patients should receive special care and their health protected, education provided, and a reasonable future of self-support and self-respect secured for them Above all, the growth of colonies of discharged patients in the vicinity of leprosy institutions should be prevented This can only be done by a programme of preparation of rehabilitation even in the course of treatment and also by maintaining lively and constant contact between the family of the patient and patient who may have to stay for longer periods in a sanatorium While one cannot shake off the bad legacies of the past, ways and means of preventing destitution among leprosy patients should be adopted by appropriate early treatment on an outpatient basis so that they are not uprooted from their homes and *de*-habilitated

ROLE OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

In pre-independence days, nearly all work for leprosy was done by voluntary agencies like the Leprosy Mission (formerly called Mission to Lepers), the British Empire Leprosy Relief Assocation (Indian Council), and institutions run by Catholic Missions After independence, the government took up leprosy control as one of its prime responsiblities Voluntary agencies have continued to play a vital role and their work has grown side by side with that of government It is recognised that the limitations of government machinery do not give full play to initiative and the human factor has frequently to be subordinated to administrative convenience Government realises that it would be wise on its part to encourage and support voluntary agencies so that the quality and the vigour of the leprosy campaign might be heightened President Rajendra Prasad emphasised this point in memorable words at the Annual Meeting of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh held in 1955 "In the fight against leprosy where ignorance and prejudice have to be broken down, where constructive effort has to replace apathy and neglect, where so much will depend on the people's understanding of what we propose to do, governmental work and voluntary work will have to grow side by side in mutual understanding and cooperation"[7]

Voluntary agencies have pioneered in all aspects of leprosy control work The Maharogi Seva Mandal, Wardha, did pioneering work in leprosy control and care of leprosy patients Pioneering work in leprosy control work on a domiciliary basis supported by a central hospital was done by the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust at Kasturba Kushta Nivaran Nilayam, Malavanthangal Pioneering work in research, health education, physiotheraphy technician programmes, orientations courses for medical officers with particular reference to physiotheraphy, rehabilitation, vocational training, and the starting of sheltered cottage industry, was done by the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh and its branches The Sangh also organises All India Leprosy Workers' Conferences Pioneering work was done by the Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation in research, leadership in leprosy control programmes, training of doctors and paramedical workers, and health education The National Leprosy Organisation serves as a federation of leprosy institutions and fosters brotherhood amongst leprosy workers Anandwan, Warora, pioneered in agro-industrial rehabilitation for leprosy patients Pioneering work for industrial rehabilitation for leprosy patients, integrating them with non-leprosy disabled, was done at the Swedish Red Cross Rehabilitation Industry in Katpadi Township (now known as WORTH) near Vellore The Leprosy Mission, by starting the Schieffelin Leprosy Research and Training Centre, have pioneered research in many fields Valuable research and training programmes are undertaken at various centres of the Leprosy Mission

Large leprosy control centres have been organised and run with great efficiency by some voluntary organisations from abroad, like the Damien Leprosy Foundation, Belgium, in Tamil Nadu, The Danish Save the Children Fund, in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, the JALMA—Japanese Anti-Leprosy Mission for Asia—in Uttar Pradesh, and the ILEP Leprosy Control Project (International Federation of Anti-Leprosy Associations), in Tamil Nadu The German Leprosy Relief Association has pioneered in tackling difficult and growing urban leprosy problems which have so far not received enough attention, through its Gremaltes (Greater Madras Leprosy Treatment and Health Education Scheme) and by operating similar centres in various cities including Calcutta Mother Teresa has made the care of leprosy patients an integral and important part of the work of her Missionaries of Charity Indeed, voluntary agencies have acted as pathfinders and, above all, aroused passionate interest and deep concern for the welfare of the leprosy patients and their families It is a pleasing feature of leprosy work that there is a great spirit of cooperation and coordination between the voluntary agencies and the government

PREVENTION OF LEPROSY

The most potent method of preventing leprosy in the community has been so far to detect leprosy, especially in its very earliest stages and to bring all cases, particularly the infective ones, under regular treatment (secondary prevention) Primary prevention through a vaccine is not yet possible for leprosy BCG used in tuberculosis has been tried in leprosy, but no conclusive proof is available of its efficacy in creating immunity against leprosy Chemoprophylaxis, i e , administration of Dapsone, used for treatment of leprosy, as a prophylactic measure to the child contacts of leprosy patients, has been tried with no proven results Research is being done actively to provide a specific anti-leprosy vaccine Such a vaccine may not be available in the immediate future in view of the number of stages involved in the development of such a vaccine Primary prevention of leprosy is still in the realm of the scientist's aspirations [8]

LEGISLATION

Legislation in relation to leprosy is a legacy of the past Opinion is unanimous that there is really no need for any special legislation on leprosy and that any legal measures dealing with leprosy should form part of general public health regulations Wherever old-time discriminatory regulations against leprosy patients still exist, they should be scrapped Medical certification of leprosy patients for fitness of service should be revised in accordance with the latest expert opinions on the subject

FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

There is no doubt that there have been considerable gains in the last three decades or so since the sulphones were discovered and have been in use, bringing in their wake great advances in several fields of leprosy There is little doubt also that we are at the beginning of a new era in leprosy Efforts to create a broad interest in the social problems of leprosy are beginning to yield good results It is also known now that most human beings are resistant to the naturally encountered infectious hazards by contacts with leprosy patients Leprosy can be cured, deformity can be prevented Urgent and determined research is going on under the auspices of WHO in several crucial fields [9] But, while hoping for new knowledge, it is necessary to improve the present strategy by adding new components into it and strengthening it with correctives in the light of past administrative inadequacies and human failures

One regrettable feature of the trend of the leprosy campaign has been that separate services for leprosy have tended to depress and suppress the academic stature of leprosy as a branch of medicine They also act as a deterrent to the social integration of the patient Yet, for a neglected disease like leprosy, a special leprosy campaign was needed in the beginning However, the special campaign has continued so that the isolation of leprosy as a branch of medicine stands uncorrected The only way in whch the stigma against leprosy can be abolished is to make leprosy treatment part and parcel of every hospital's work and of the physician's role Vertical programmes may be continued and used to develop general health and social services along with leprosy control work The motto may well be "Through leprosy to better health care for all" [10]

More specific attention should be paid to the social and economic aspects of leprosy, since social aspects are important in a total concept of the disease It is now increasingly realised that leprosy can be controlled only with improvement of the economic and social conditions in society Better housing, better clothing, better food, better sanitation and better care of children will greatly advance leprosy control The social and health aspects of leprosy cannot be separated With all the scientific efforts and compassionate action for the control of leprosy, the ultimate eradication of leprosy can come only with improved standards of living and better life for the people

The spiritual strength and political will of the country is behind the efforts to eradicate leprosy From Mahatma Gandhi to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, there have been a succession of leaders, including Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who have realised the deeply spiritual implications of leprosy work which can be made a lever with which to humanise human life They also realised the far-reaching and profound economic and social implications of leprosy The government, more than ever, are determined to launch a new drive for the eradication of leprosy by 2000 A D This is the goal that has been set before the country, and a time-bound programme is being set in operation It is the duty of the nation as a whole to feel a sense of urgency in the matter, so that the end of the century may

see the end of one of man's oldest diseases, until nothing remains of leprosy except the ennobling memory of all those, the more known and less known, who have dedicated themselves to the service of a most challenging and noble cause

T N JAGADISAN

NOTES

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3 Mahatma Gandhi, *Constructive Programme—Its Meaning and Place*, Revised and Enlarged Edition, Navajivan Publishing House Ahmedabad, December 1945
4 Mahatma Gandhi, *Delhi Diary* (Prayer Speeches), Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, First Edition March 1948, p 107, 110
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6 The Report of the Panel on Education and Social Aspects of the VIII International Congress of Leprology Rio De Janeiro, Brazil (1963)
7 Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh 1955
8 *W H O Expert Committee on Leprosy Fifth Report*, Technical Report Series 607, World Health Organization Geneva 1977, p 45
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WELFARE OF THE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED

Of 4 billion habitants on our planet, about 1 to 3 per cent are mentally handicapped [1] The problem of mental retardation is quite serious particularly in an over-populated developing country like India Some sporadic sample surverys have been conducted in different cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Nagpur, Bangalore from time to time The first scientific study of the problem in India was reported by Kamath[2] in 1951 who made a survey while standardising the Binet test for Kannada-speaking people He found that about 4 per cent of the school children were mentally retarded Kuppuswami[3], however, reported an incidence of 'true retardates' in the school population in Mysore as 1 4 per cent No data to account for these conflicting results are available [4] The population of the mentally handicapped in India could be anywhere between 1 8 to 2 crores to which about 4,00,000 retardates are being added every year [5] When this figure is added to the 40 million parents of retarded persons, the problem of mental retardation affects one out of every ten individuals in the country.

This gloomy picture, however, has a silver lining as according to I Q distribution, around 75 per cent of the retarded are known to be mildly retarded, another 20 per cent moderately retarded, and about 5 per cent beyond any hope, who need only custodial care India's proportionate share of the mentally handicapped is getting increasingly alarming The problem is deep-rooted Around 80 per cent of the population in India are rural habitants Even the concept of retardation is not clear to many Many families do not even recognise the presence of a retarded child, unless the problem is a severe one when they try to look for some help from outside agencies The number of such service

agencies is also not large enough to cater to the bulk of the mentally handicapped

The problem of the retarded in the villages is not the same as in the cities When the child is unable to continue at school, he is automatically absorbed in the family trade However, in many cases, their handicap would be conspicuous if they are transferred from a rural set-up to an urban one In the cities, when the mentally handicapped child cannot continue at school, he poses a serious problem for the family as also for the community at large The attitude of the public is lamentable Industrialisation-cum-urbanization brings in more plight for the retarded in terms of their adjustment to the community Even about two decades ago mental retardation did not arouse much interest in the general public or among professionals Lack of knowledge and understanding of some causative factors became a hindrance to proper planning of service-oriented programmes for the mentally handicapped

THE CONCEPT

The definition and terminology used for mental retardation have changed over decades Social norms, philosophy and attitudes and provisions available in different societies have varied Consequently, the definition and classification of mental retardation have been influenced from time to time throughout the world as new data have emerged [6] The definition given in the 1973 revision of American Association on Mental Deficiency Manual on terminology and classification of mental retardation[7] is as follows "Mental retardation refers to significantly subaverage general intellectual functioning existing concurrently with difficulty in adaptive behaviour and manifested during the development period"

The 1975 revision of the Manual has essentially retained this definition, after clarifying certain issues involved [8] The current emphasis is on intellectural functions and adaptive behaviour in defining the level of retardedness

The definition of mental retardation, requiring that an individual will manifest deficiencies both in intelletual functioning and adaptive behaviour, also provides the accepted criteria for determining the degree or level of mental retardation, giving rise to four categories of the mentally handicapped (i) Mild (IQ 52 to 68) The development of an individual in this category is slow He can be educated to some extent and with training he would be capable of earning, at least partially, his livelihood without living an unduly parasitic life (ii) Moderate (IQ 36-51) Individuals in this category are slow in their development, but they are capable of learning to look after their personal needs They can be trained to some extent to work in sheltered workshops and to live in protected environment (iii) Severe (IQ 20-35) Individuals in this category are often unable to manage their own affairs, and their motor development, including speech and language may also get affected in many a cases (iv) Profound (IQ 19 and below) The degree of deficiency of individuals in this category is of very high order which renders them unable to guard themselves even against common physical danger Most often, they are also physically handicapped and need constant custodial care for survival

Clarke[9] has pointed out that social adjustment can hardly be precisely identified, so that in practice, particularly at the higher levels of subnormality, wide differences in interpretation of the definition are imperative

Clarke & Clarke[10], however, consider that for clinical purposes, the use of dual criteria is appropriate They further comment that in terms of dual criteria of intelligence and social adaptability, only one of them, viz., intelligence is as yet measurable (though imperfectly), it is only in cases of severe mental handicap, in

which there is a high correlation between adaptive behaviour and measured intelligence, that reliable diagnosis is possible

The consensus thus appears that borderline intelligence should not be included in the classification of the mentally handicapped After excluding borderline intelligence, the classification scheme provides four categories, viz , mild, moderate, severe and profound degree of retardedness In England the last three categories are conceived under severe subnormality, while the first is viewed as subnormality The dual criteria of mental retardation are useful, particularly at the lower level of intelligence, where social adaptiveness seems to be highly associated with level of intellectual functioning By and large, the latest American Association on Mental Deficiency definition of mentally handicapped seems to be quite adequate

AETIOLOGY OF MENTAL RETARDATION

So far as aetiological aspects of mental retardation are concerned, two major divisions of causes have been identified those which are pathological in origin and those for which no specific cause could be labelled—conventionally known as subcultural types The subcultural type, as opposed to the pathological one, is regarded as representing the lower end of the normal variations in intelligence It is generally recognised that the lower the level of intelligence, the more likely it is that the person is suffering from a pathological condition

The pathological type of mental deficiency has been conveniently divided into those which are genetically determined and those which are environmentally determined, though those two causal agencies are not necessarily mutually exclusive Mental deficiency of specific genetical origin may again be due to harmful genes (some examples are Epiloia, Crouzon's disease, Phenylketonuria, Galactosemia, Amaurotic idiocy, Gargoylism, cretinism, Microcephaly and Hydrocephaly) or as due to conditions of aberrant chromosomes (some examples are Mongolism-Down's syndrome, Patau's syndrome, Edward's syndrome, the Triple X condition, etc)

Environmental events leading to pathological types of mental retardation can occur before, during or after birth Some examples of pre-natal causes are congenital syphilis, rublea, irradiction, and Rhesus-incompatibility Natal causes are birth injury of various types and post-natal causes are tuberculous meningitis, whooping cough, encephalopathy, lead poisoning, head injury, acute dehydration and others

IMPACT OF CULTURAL DEPRIVATION

Occasionally, retardation in intellectual development in the absence of biological pathology has been observed Persons who fall in this category have a parent and sibling who are retarded They are usually lebeled as 'cultural-familial' retardates One basic observation which has been made many times is that children who have a retarded parent and sibling and grow up in a socio-economically limited environment are more likely to exhibit retarded behaviour than are children who have non-retarded parents and siblings and grown up in average socio-economic environments

So far as mild retardation is concerned, socio-cultural deprivation seems to be one of the major causes In the Indian context it includes many social evils like casteism, prejudice and discrimination, poverty, poor nutrition, inadequate health services, inferior quality of education, and unemployment, among many other adversaries.

Poor nutrition whether during the reproductive cycle or after birth, can impair intelligence sometimes by causing irreversible effects upon brain growth and behaviour Kaplan[11] com-

ments that although a casual connection has not been directly demonstrated, malnutrition is a contributing factor in the incidence of mental retardation Das and Pivato[12] also discuss the effect of protein calorie malnutrition (PCM) They point out that even when adequate protein is available in the child's diet, it may not be readily absorbed The cultural peculiarities of a community might also predispose in producing malnutrition

There are many communities in India who subsist on a strict vegetarian diet A rich community may have a low-protein diet while the poor from another subculture might take cheap food, rich in protein However, as observed by Prabhu, it cannot be stated that the incidence of intellectual backwardness is more common in communities which live on low-protein vegetarian diet The complexity of the relationship between malnutrition and mental retardation becomes apparent from Indian instances Elsewhere, Clarke has pointed out the difficulty of establishing the effect of malnutrition on man, this is so because malnutrition being a part of a generally adverse situation, seldom exists in isolation The unstimulating social context might also have a reflection on malnourishment

The unholy trinity of illiteracy, malnutrition and poverty contribute to disadvantages in the intellectual and social development of the growing child Poverty also forces the offspring of the poor to have very limited sphere of experiences

Stimulus deprivation[15] has often been discussed under cultural deprivation The role of a stimulating environment on the development of intellectural and social compipetnce has been the object of research since the time of Itard Often the disadvantages of the rural child when compared with his urban peer seem to be insurmountable There are evidences from cross-cultural research all over the world that learning is enhanced by stimulation which, however, continues to be rather low or restricted for those who are living below the poverty line in India Lack of motivation to learn also results in a larger number of drop-outs among the children of school going age These children feel equally dejected both at school and at home

Cognitive development is facilitated by effective stimulation, and the greater the range of stimuli the greater is the effective stimulation In a culturally deprived environment, there is a restricted range as well as less adequate ordering of stimulation sequences In this persisting deprived environment during formative years, the intellectual endowment is not actualised This substantially delimits the extent and rate of cognitive growth particularly of children who are already suffering because of low intellectual capacity The impact of lack of environmental stimulation is even much more pronounced in the case of those unfortunate children who are already handicapped with their limited intellectual capacities, since stimulus deprivation leads to a relatively slow cognitive development

Deprivation of a stimulating environment manifests itself in a diversified form in terms of affecting building of self-confidence , self-image, aspirational level, perceptual and conceptual development, linguistic development, and also emotional development The low cognitive profile of these children demands special handling of their learning situations with an optimisation of environmental stimulation Organised recreational activities, like taking the children to the zoo or to an excursion have a significant impact on retarded children, and such need is also well recognised There are, however, some instances of parental rejection of retarded children and withdrawal of parental affection and care Instances are also available where the retarded children are deprived of family entertainment and recreation usually meant for the other members of the family These less fortunate individuals need more love, affection and care and also the opportunity to experience

a variety of situations so that the already limited potentiality does not show a diminishing trend for want of its exercise, due to a lack of genuine concern for them

The most crucial impact of stimulus deprivation is perhaps experienced in the field of language development Kagan's extensive work on the role of environmental factors pointed to the need of a stimulating environment for proper growth of intellectual competencies and language development In a recent article the impact of cultural deprivation on cognitive development has been elaborated

The study of malnutrition in a country is essentially an ecological study The quality of the home environment, the individual qualities of the parents, the parents' own upbringing, and the social context into which the child is born are some of the pertinent factors Richardson has listed some of the ecological factors These are mother's intellectual status and educational background, her attitude, her capabilities including verbal ability, child rearing practices, acceptance of new ideas and her aspiration for the child, family characteristics such as stability of the family, social relations between family, friends and neighbours, the child's relationship with the peer group and the community and his activities in the school, etc

Most of the ecological factors are customarily discussed in the context of cultural deprivation Some of the concomitants of cultural deprivation are supposed to be unstimulating environment, lack of verbal correspondence, poor sensory experience and low socio-economic conditions giving rise to poverty and other deleterious factors

In western countries, cultural deprivation is noticed primarily in low socio-economic groups However, the term cultural deprivation perhaps needs a careful definition in Indian setting As noted by Sen when the size of the country and diversity of population with numerous languages, religions and culture are taken into consideration, Indian social structure appears to be highly complex In India, caste, joint family system (though it is now in its waning stage) have some impact on the determination of constraints of culture The interaction of caste and socio-economic conditions in determining cultural deprivation is highly complex The highest caste Brahmin and the lowest caste Sudra (now called Harijan) have been separated by birth for generations, and sometimes being born in a high caste may even compensate for poverty In rural India, caste and socio-economic status may go together, but in a highly bureaucratic and urban society, education, occupation, and income are indicators of socio-economic status and each of these factors is again interdependent with the others

Two major perspectives for tackling the problem of mental retardation are prevention and amelioration The task of prevention would imply adopting primary preventive measures against those conditions which are conducive to the development of mental retardation Since many factors are involved in the aetiology of mental deficiency, preventive measures would also be diverse in nature Amelioration would involve seeking of welfare measures—educational, social and rehabilitational, for some kind of intervention aimed at modifying an existing or developing effect

PREVENTION OF MENTAL RETARDATION

Techniques for primary prevention of all the known pathological conditions leading to mental retardation are by no means complete Nevertheless, quite a few pathological conditions to date are known to be amenable to preventive measures some of which would be applicable by and large in Indian setting as well, as outlined here

(a) Avoidance of Late Pregnancy It has been calculated that if no children were born after

maternal age 35, the incidence of Down's syndrome would have been halved This would imply that the raising of family may be completed around the maternal age of 30 or so with appropirate spacing between one or two children Parents need to be dissuaded from having children after maternal age of 35

(b) Genetic Counselling· This is becoming increasingly popular in the western countries Linked with this is the possibility of pre-natal detection of Down's syndrome through amino-centesis, if the diagnosis is positive, medical termination of pregnancy would be desirable Similarly, Rubella vaccination might have a significant impact in reducing the number of severely handicapped children who would be born

(c) Immunisation Programme The increased use of immunisation techniques for common childhood illnesses such as measles, mumps and whooping cough which can have neurological consequences would also have a significant impact in reducing incidence of pathological conditions

(d) Proper Health Care Better ante-natal and obstetric care would have an impact on the incidence of mental deficiency Regular medical check-up with the onset of pregnancy along with the provison of milk and other nutrients like multi-vitamins may be made for those who cannot afford themselves, and this would be a national investment in the long run

(e) Obstetric Complications Several studies have shown that severe complications of labour and delivery appear to be associated with neurological defects, which in turn may cause mental retardation Better nutrition of the mother in childhood will diminish these obstetric complications

(f) Consanguinity· Consanguineous marriages are common in some communities However, one study by Narayanan *et al.* (1973) had indicated that parental consanguinity often produces mental retardation in the offspring. Counselling of individuals in certain communities could be started against traditionally sanctioned preferential pattern of marital relationship between close relatives

(g) Nutrition As already pointed out, poor nutrition, whether during the reproductive cycle or after birth, can impair intelligence sometimes by causing irreversible effect upon brain growth and behaviour

The scope for implementation of the preventive measures in India is not as yet bright because of paucity of resources like technical personnel, material and finance However, as prevention is always better than cure, any kind of investment would be well repaid in the long run

EDUCATION OF MENTALLY HANDICAPPED

Containing the incidence of mild retardation, however, does not seem to be very promising In this context, amelioration programmes involving welfare measures—educational, social, environmental and rehabilitational—would be the correct perspective following the principle of normalisation

The type of education, care and training required for different categories of the retarded is not the same Early identification and intervention are some of the prerequisites

Education of the mentally retarded was not a matter of much interest anywhere in the world until the early nineteenth century Education of the retarded must be understood in its broadest possible context Education does not limit itself to only academic achievement or mere textbook learning, rather it is more concerned with the all-round development of an individual The problems of the retarded are varied Not only have they limited intellectual and learning capacity which makes it difficult for them to handle the symbols in relation to reading, writ-

ing and arithmetic, but they are also incapable of having mature social and emotional relationships with the peer group or others A retarded persons has poor self-concept and lacks self-confidence in solving problems or getting along with others

An optimistic developmental model of mental retardation holds that a retarded person is capable of growth, development and learning The aim of giving education to him would be to help him to develop as a person so that he can manage his daily personal affairs and regular work and can get a job according to his potentialities, though his psychological abilities dealing with analysis, synthesis, reasoning, recognition, language communication or numerical treatment may never reach the desired level The aim of education should be considred in relation to the characteristics of the individual concerned Even the most severely or profoundly retarded is assumed to have some capacity for developing higher levels of skill progressively The optimistic view suggests that education and training must be provided to the retarded to promote teaching and development

Till recently, education for retarded children in most countries did not form a recognised component of the national or state education ministry However, the situation is changing fast and more and more countries are favouring an educational scheme which recognises that exceptional children need to be integrated with the so-called normal children in schools in such activities as games, physical educationa, school assembly, recreation and hobby activities They, however, need to be taken out of the regular class for remedial treatment where there is less class pressure and where their individual needs can be catered better In Indonesia, for example, in some rural areas the education of handicapped children including the blind, the deaf and the retarded, has been integrated with regular schools Here the special need of the handicapped children is met in part by visiting (specially trained) teachers who at regular intervals do the supervisory work to be followed by the regular teacher The regular teacher thus needs to follow the progress of the child jointly with the special education teacher by reinforcing the remedial treatment in the class Adequate use of programmed instruction and instructional games are imperative in this respect

In India integration of the handicapped children with the mainstream is effected through a scheme of Integrated Education for Handicapped Children The idea is that placing handicapped children in a normal school promotes understanding and appreciation of assets and limitations of handicapped and non-handicapped children Since integration is done by admitting the handicapped child in a normal school, the child remains with his family and is saved from the pernicious consequences arising out of his separation from his family in the crucial years of his growth The integrated system of education is also much less costly compared to special education Since the aim is to impart education to handicapped children in normal schools spread throughout the country, it will be possible for handicapped children in rural areas also to get education The Scheme of Integrated Education was revised and recast during 1981 Now cent per cent assistance is offered to States for implementation of this programme

The usual curriculum provided for the mildly and moderately retarded would not suit youngsters with profound or severe retardation who most often need assistance in such basic skills as sitting up, chewing, swallowing, or going to the toilet These developmental areas are the concern of the special educators who are to decide on the type of curriculum needed, the delivery system of such a curriculum, and facilitating environment most congenial to the development of the training programme for teachers entrusted with the care of the children The moderately retarded need special educational

programmes which should aim at development in major learning areas In addition to basic education in 3 R's, training in self-care skill needs to be given This should include major developing areas like motor integration, perceptual and motor skills, language and communication, and conceptual skills Special curricula may be developed and standardised for this purpose benefiting from the research findings by psychologists and educationists Creation of more service centres and day care centres is needed leading to development and training of the moderately and some severely retarded

The mentally handicapped may be given special training leading to practical help in their day to day life, such as dressing, independent movement, handling of money matters, maintaining personal hygiene, learning to communicate about their needs, self-help, etc Special curricula need to be developed to include self-care training and emotional development

Early identification and intervention followed by special education and training would maximally benefit the mildly retarded The profoundly retarded who need custodial care constitute only a small proportion of the retarded More institutions are needed in all States to look after such cases Adequate trained personnel may be employed in such institutions

Academic achievements are relatively unimportant in comparison with social adaptation and vocational training for the mentally handicapped

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Vocational training is the only means of making the mentally retarded economically and socially self-dependent, at least partially Vocational schools for mentally retarded adults are not too many in India, as a result, many of the retarded do not find suitable jobs even after education and training in special schools For mentally handicapped adults, sheltered workshops, farms and employment by industries are needed For the severely retarded and many moderately retarded who are not capable of receiving open employment, the sheltered workshop is the only answer for employing them permanently After receiving training they work on subcontract works received from various agencies Sheltered workshops may be started in numbers in different parts of the country to absorb the mildly retarded and even some moderately retarded who can prove their worth under proper training and care

RESIDENTIAL FACILITIES

The retarded adults should be integrated into the community as far as possible They may live satisfactory functional lives with their families, they may also live in small residential groups Vocational training and education of the retarded should train them for an independent living as far as possible Work may be given to them with financial recompense The retardates should have a chance, if they so desire, of independent living and working, away from their own family However, the issue of their residential facilities needs to be worked out individually for each society and culture In the Indian context, it seems that whenever possible the family may be encouraged to look after their own retarded offsprings (irrespective of degree of retardation) for which the family may be provided financial assistance, particularly when the retarded person is not gainfully employed in a sheltered workshop or in an open industry

TRAINING OF PERSONNEL

Any programme in the service of the retarded calls for a coordinated effort by all agencies in an attempt to ameliorate the conditions of the handicapped and to rehabilitate him into the community Needless to mention, the govern-

ment both at Centre and State levels, local authorities, voluntary agencies and the public at large should work in this direction

The very nature of the problem of retardation involves persons of different professions with diversified background in training and education Adequate training and education of all personnel involved is of primary importance Medical practitioners, specialists, psychologists, teachers, social workers, technicians, should all receive a good background knowledge in the subject of retardation

The task of training personnel is not simple Special emphassis should be laid on the training of teachers of the handicapped in modern techniques of education, training and management The training programme would also involve training of personnel for residential institutions and day-care centres Similarly, trained personnel are also needed for imparting pre-vocational and vocational training to the retarded

Training of the parents is another important concept They also need counselling for their own psychological adjustment in accepting that their child is handicapped Guidance to parents and their involvement, particularly in the pre-school training of the child, is of utmost significance The concept of mother-teacher needs to be given due consideration In fact, the whole family of the retarded is in need of help, both economic and psychological

Parental counselling would be necessary to facilitate the acceptance of the retarded child by the family Public awareness of the problem of retardation is necessary Appropriate legislation would be necessary to protect the retarded from any kind of exploitation Coordination of professionals concerned with the problem of the retarded may be effected in the form of periodic meetings organised at different locations

THE CHANGING INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

Mental retardation is not just a medical problem, it is basically a social problem It is a challenge to any of the interdisciplinary sciences having direct or indirect concern for the mentally handicapped The most logical way of considering prevention and amelioration would be by means of a cumulative programme both bio-medical and social, for individual development from conception onwards, in conjunction with the parental education and mobilisation of environmental facilities

A gradual growth of facilities for the retarded in India demonstrates the awareness of the problem as well as its consequent solution at individual, organisational and government level—both State and Central The types of facilities in India include residential institution, day-care centres, sheltered workshops, special sections in normal schools, institutes for handicapped persons, and special clinics or wards in hospitals

The oldest existing school using psycho-medical rehabilitation was established at Ranchi in 1934 It was followed by a home for the mentally deficient children in Bombay in 1941, and by another school for children in need for special care in Bombay in 1944, which is now the largest one in India The school requires prospective teachers of the mentally retarded to take a one-year course in mental retardation, recognised by the Government of Maharashtra Recognising the need for trained teachers for the handicapped, the first training programme for teachers was started in 1955 in Bombay at the school for children in need of special care Since then three more institutions have started teacher-training programmes A special school was started in Calcutta in 1951, Bodhi-Peet offers both residential and outpatient facilities In 1953, a non-residential institution was established—a child guidance school in New Delhi—the first known school of this kind in India

The next decade saw the birth of eleven more schools in different parts of the country The total number of institutions in 1966 was 51, it increased to 91 in 1973 In 1981 there were over 150 institutions all over the country catering to the need of the retarded, either exclusively or in conjunction with other handicapping conditions Of these institutions some are run by the State or Central government Voluntary agencies run about 40 institutions Some institutions are run by private organisations Also some social groups like the Rotary Lions, Innerwheel etc have shown much concern for the welfare of the retarded The Fifth and Sixth Five Year Plans made provision for the welfare of the handicapped which includes allocations for developing services for the retarded, with particular reference to their rehabilitation programmes Grants-in-aid are extended to registered voluntary institutions for developing services for the mentally handicapped

However, all these facilities existing at the present time cater only to about one per cent of the retarded population in India, most of the service programmes are situated in urban areas only

The Federation for the Welfare of the Mentally Retarded was formed at the 1966 Conference Most of the members of the Federation were pioneers of the All-India Association on Mental Retardation which was formed in 1965 at Chandigarh at a seminar organised by the Punjab Parent-Teacher Association for Mentally Handicapped Children Since the inception of the Federation, the scope of coordination and communication between various training establishments has been recognised Thus, the Federation for the Welfare of the Mentally Retarded was requested to serve as the platform for coordinating activities of all voluntary organisations working with the mentally retarded This event has proven to be most important for the coordination of care Subsequently, several All-India Conferences on mental retardation were held almost yearly and were attended by psychologists, teachers, physicians, social workers, political leaders and parents In all the conferences there was emphasis on better residential and day-care facilities, provision for special schools for the mentally retarded and special classes in regular school systems The country is now moving in these directions

ANIMA SEN

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WELFARE OF OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES

A scientific and objective definition of 'Other Backward Classes' has not so far been evolved Articles 15 and 340 of the Constitution of India speak of "Socially and Educationally Backward Classes" In legal and administrative parlance, the omnibus expression "Backward Classes" includes· Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-nomadic Communities, and "Other Backward Classes" in a residuary sense, that is, Backward Classes other than the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-nomadic Communities

In our underdeveloped and populous country, where a considerable section of the population is below the subsistence level, identification of social and educational backwardness, as distinct from poverty, presents serious problems, more so, because India is committed to the ideal of a secular and casteless society

SEARCH FOR CRITERIA

In January 1953, the President of India appointed a Backward Classes Commission in accordance with the provisions of article 340 of the Constitution The Commission was specifically directed (i) to determine the criteria for treating any sections of the people, other than the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, as socially and educationally backward, and (ii) in accordance with the criteria thus determined, to prepare a list of such classes

The commission, which was headed by Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, submitted its report in March 1955 The report of the Commission disclosed considerable divergence of opinion among its members, but the majority recommended that the basic criterion for identification of the "Other Backward Classes" should be their low social position in the traditional caste hierarchy of Hindu society Following up this premise, the Commission prepared a formidable list of almost 2,400 communities, they estimated that 930 of these listed communities would alone account for nearly a third of the country's population Though the Commission did not list them seperately as a community, it considered women, as a class, to be backward While placing the report of the Commission before Parliament in September 1956, the Government of India observed that if the bulk of the country's millions were to be regarded as coming within the category of backward classes, no useful purpose would be served by seperate enumeration of such classes Government also endorsed the view expressed by the Chairman of the Commission (in his forwarding note) that acceptance of caste as a criterion of backwardness was not a correct approach, and that the remedies suggested on the basis of caste would be worse than the evil of backwardness itself

After thus finding the controversial recommendations of the Kalelkar Commission unacceptable, the Central Government decided to undertake further studies to arrive at objective and workable criteria Accordingly, the Deputy Registrar General of Census conducted a pilot study of occupations which could be considered backward This effort did not yield any useful result because the Deputy Registrar General found it impossible to draw up any precise and complete list of occupations[1], the members of

which could be treated as socially and educationally backward

CENTRAL POLICY

The Government of India then further discussed the issues with the State Governments One State advocated identification of backward areas rather than backward classes—a concept which later came to be accepted by the Planning Commission Some States favoured adoption of economic backwardness as a criterion, other protested against making any change in their existing caste-based lists of Other Backward Classes It was also observed that the Central Government was under no legal compulsion to draw up an all-India list of socially and educationally backward classes, and that even if such a list were to be drawn up, it would be open to the State Governments to draw up their own lists Added to all this was the feeling that any further exercise in stratification of the population into special groups and classes would only further foster existing divisive tendencies, and run counter to the national objective of establishing a casteless and classless society In August 1961, therefore, the Government of India informed the State Governments that they had "after careful consideration, decided not to draw up any all-India list of backward classes (other than the existing lists of scheculed castes and scheduled tribes) They also consider that while the State Governments have the discretion to choose their own criteria for defining backwardness, in the view of the Government of India, it would be better to apply economic tests than to go by caste[2]"

The dimensions of the identification problem have been complicated by the fact that caste-wise enumeration was discontinued after independence, except in respect of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes Recent census figures of the Other Backward Classes are, therefore, not available The first Backward Classes Commission prepared its estimate of population of each caste in 1951 after taking into consideration the caste-wise information compiled at the previous censuses of 1911, 1921 and 1931 But there were a large number of castes included in the Commission's lists, which were not listed or enumerated at the aforesaid censuses All available estimates and projections of the population of Other Backward Classes have, therefore, to be treated with the greatest caution

SECOND BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION

During recent years, mainly because of population explosion, fierce competition for available resources and employment, and changes in life styles, there has been an unprecedented fragmentation of power and politics in the country This process has tended to increase the importance of intensified pressure from regional or local caste-based and such other groups for privileged status In January 1979, the Government of India once again invoked Article 340 of the Constitution, and the second Backward Classes Commission under the Chairmanship of Shri B P Mandal was appointed The Commission submitted its report at the end of 1980[3] This Commission was asked to determine the criteria for defining socially and educationally backward classes and to recommend steps to be taken for their advancement and to examine the desirability or otherwise of making provisions for reservation of posts in favour of such backward classes as are not adequately represented in pulbic services While examining these matters, the Commission has proceeded on the basis that in Hindu society, socially and educationally backward classes should be determined on the basis of caste and has evolved a set of criteria or indicators to be applied to different castes in each State to determine its social and educational backwardness In the case of non-Hindus, the Commission has evolved a separate set of what it calls "rough and ready criteria" for iden-

tifying backwardness Having evolved these criteria, the Commission has prepared State-wise lists of Other Backward Classes (OBCs) comprising 3,743 communities, drawing information from a field survey conducted by it and also from personal knowledge gained through tours and other documents The Commission has estimated that they constitute 52 per cent of the population of the country

The Mandal Commission has made the following salient recommendations

(i) Reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is in proportion to their population, i e., 22 5 per cent But as there is a legal obligation to keep reservations under Articles 15 (4) and 16 (4) of the Constitution below 50 per cent, the Commission recommends a reservation of 27 per cent for Other Backward Classes This reservation should apply to all Government services as well as technical and professional institutions, both in the Centre and the States.

(ii) Special educational facilities designed at upgrading the cultural environment of the students should be created in a phased manner in selected areas containing high concentration of OBCs Special emphasis should be placed on vocational training Separate coaching facilities should be provided in technical and professional institutions to OBC students to enable them to catch up with students from open quota

(iii) Special programmes for upgrading the skills of village artisans should be prepared and subsidised loans from financial institutions granted to them for setting up small scale industries To promote the participation of OBCs in the industrial and business life of the country, a separate network of financial and technical institutions should be created by all State Governments

(iv) Under the existing scheme of production-relations, backward classes comprising mainly small land holders, tenants, agricultural labour, village artisans, etc , are heavily dependent on the rich peasantry for their sustenance In view of this OBCs continue to remain in mental and material bondage of the dominant castes and classes Unless these production-relations are radically altered through structural changes and progressive land reforms implemented rigorously all over the country, OBCs will never become truly independent In view of this, highest priority should be given to radical land reforms by all the States.

(v) At present no Central assistance is available to any State for implementing any welfare measures for OBCs Several State Governments expressed their helplessness in undertaking more purposeful development programmes for backward classes in view of lack of resources It is, therefore, recommended that welfare programmes specially designed for OBCs should be financed by the Central Government in the same manner and to the same extent as done in the case of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes

The report of the Mandal Commission along-with a Memorandum explaining action taken on the report was laid on the Tables of both the Houses of Parliament on 30 April 1982 The report has remained under intensive examination and discussion The Government of India has decided to elicit public opinion on the report Considering the anti-reservation agitation, especially in the State of Gujarat, it has been felt that a national consensus is necessary on the issue of reservation for Other Backward Classes.

POSITION IN THE STATES

The spectrum, size and intensity of caste, religious and political alignments and, consequntly, local policies towards the Other Backward Classes has always varied from State to State At one end of the spectrum,

Manipur, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tripura, West Bengal, Arunachal Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman and Diu, Lakshadweep and Mizoram, have not recognised or maintained any official list of Other Backward Classes Orissa and Delhi, which had at one time prepared their lists of Other Backward Classes on the basis of caste, withdrew the same and adopted economic criteria for determining backwardness

The Southern States of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh, which contain sizeable numbers of scheduled caste and other converts to Christianity, as well as groups on the periphery of Hindu society, have always followed a liberal policy towards these groups These States had appointed Commissioners of their own, and operate on caste-wise lists of Other Backward Classes A family income limit is also imposed Besides scholarships or exemption from fees in schools and colleges, seats are also reserved for these classes in technical institutions A substantial percentage of vacancies in all state services are also reserved for the Other Backward Classes[4] as indicated below

Andhra Pradesh	— 25 percent
Tamil Nadu	— 50 "
Karnataka	— 48 "
Kerala	— 40 "

In other States which have introduced reservations in public services for the Other Backward Classes, the percentages are as under-

Bihar	— 20 Percent
Gujarat	— 10 " (In Class III and Class IV jobs and services)
	— 5 " (In Class I and Class II jobs and services)
Jammu & Kashmir	— 42 "
Punjab	— 5 "
Uttar Pradesh	— 15 "
Haryana	— 10 "
Himachal Pradesh	— 5 "

Various State Governments are providing some of the facilities mentioned below for the promotion of education among the Other Backward Classes free education upto higher secondary level, exemption of examination and tuition fee, reservation of seats in educational institutions and holding of adult literacy classes, free supply of text books and clothes, relaxation in minimum qualifying marks at the time of admission, arranging study tours, award of scholarships and stipends, providing hostel facilities, running of coaching centres and special schools, establishment of mobile schools, and free training in workshops

The Mahars of Maharashtra have always been notified as a scheduled caste Under the influence of Dr B R Ambedkar, a sizeable section of this community and a few others adopted Buddhism and came to be known as neo-Buddhists Organised under the banner of the Republican Party, the neo-Buddhists have, over the years, secured educational and economic concessions and a reserved quota in the State services They are regarded as a special group among the Other Backward Classes It was in October 1971 that the Government of India extended the concession of post-matric scholarships meant for scheduled castes to neo-Buddhists formerly belonging to the scheduled castes In March 1977, the Central Government extended to neo-Buddhists further facilities under centrally sponsored schemes such as grant of overseas scholarships, admission to pre-examination training centres and girls hostels, and grant-in-aid to non-official organisations engaged in their welfare [5]

JUDICIAL RULINGS

By and large, courts in India have generally affirmed the power of the Central and State

Governments to legislate and discriminate in favour of backward classes, particularly by way of reserved quotas for jobs in the public services, and reserved seats in institutions of higher learning On the question of extent to which such reservations could be made for these classes, the Supreme Court of India made the following observations in 'Balaji Vs State of Mysore (1962)'[6] "A special provision like reservation of posts and appointments contemplated by Art 16(4), must be within reasonable limits The interests of weaker sections of society which are a first charge on the States and the Centre have to be adjusted with the interests of the community as a whole The adjustment of these competing claims is undoubtedly a difficult matter, but if under the guise of making a special provision, a State reserves practically all the seats available in all the colleges, that clearly would be subverting the object of Art 15(4) Speaking generally and in a broad way, a special provision should be less than 50 percent, how much less than 50 percent would depend upon the relevant prevailing circumstances in each case When the State makes a special provision for the advancement of the weaker sections of society specified in Art 15(4), it has to approach its task objectively and in a rational manner Undoubtedly, it has to take reasonable and even generous steps to help the advancement of weaker elements, the extent of the problem must be weighed, the requirements of the community at large must be borne in mind, and a formula must be evolved which would strike a reasonable balance between the several relevant considerations"

In another case of 'Devadasan Vs Union of India (1964)', the Supreme Court further clarified the issue in the following terms [7] "Where the object of a rule is to make reasonable allowance for the backwardness of members of a class by reserving certain proportion of appointments for them in the public services of the State, what the State would in fact be doing would be to provide the members of backward classes with an opportunity equal to that of the members of the more advanced classes in the matter of appointments to public services If the reservation is so excessive that it practically denies a reasonable opportunity for employment to members of other communities the position may well be different and it would be open then for a member of a more advanced class to complain that he has been denied equality by the State"

WELFARE SCHEMES

During the first three Plans, almost all the schemes implemented for the benefit of the Other Backward Classes were in the field of education, the expenditure figures are as follow [8]

Plan	*Expenditure in crores of Rs*
First Plan	1 62
Second Plan	5 02
Third Plan	6 00
Fourth Plan	5 96

Till the end of the Third Five Year Plan, an annual financial provision of Rs forty lakhs used to be made in the Central sector for post-matric (unversity level) scholarships awarded on a merit-cum-means basis From the Fourth Plan, the scheme has been transferred to the State sector For the Fifth Five Year Plan, the total financial outlay for all States was Rs 17 25 crores, the actual expenditure incurred till the end of March 1978 was only approximately Rs 9 6 crores [9] More than two-thirds of this expenditure has been on educational programmes, mostly for prematric scholarships and provision of hostel facilities Economic development schemes, on which the expenditure was a little over Rs 3 crores, included financial assistance in the form of loans and grants to artisans and industrial cooperatives, to agriculturists for irrigation wells and purchases of bullocks and implements

Besides such special assistance earmarked in the backward classes sector of the Central and State Plans; the Other Backward Classes have derived benefits from the special rural area programmes In the Fifth Plan, one of the major objectives was to raise substantially the per capita monthly consumption of the lowest 30 per cent of the rural population This implied a rise in the income of about 25 millions of the poorest rural households The main effort in this direction came from the following special programmes of rural development, mostly in the agricultural sector Minimum Needs Programme, Drought-prone Areas Programme, Small Farmers Development Agencies, Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers Projects, Food for Work Programme, Rural Employment Projects, Milk Production Programme, Rural Electrification Programme, Provision of House-sites for Landless Persons, and liquidation of bonded labour and rural debt

In Maharashtra, the "rural employment guarantee scheme" has improved the bargaining position and wage levels of agricultural labourers, most of whom belong to the backward classes In other States, the food for work programme provides similar relief, though not on a continuous or guaranteed basis

No plan allocations are now being made by the Central Government for the welfare of Other Backward Classes The programmes for their welfare are launched by the respective State Governments/Union Territory administrations but the quantum of funds provided by them for the purpose is every meagre For instance, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Jammu and Kashmir spent only 2 4 per cent, 0 27 per cent and 0 46 per cent respectively of their annual budget of recent year on schemes specifically prepared for the Other Backward Classes

In the Sixth Five Year Plan much greater emphasis has been laid on the improvement of conditions of the families which are below poverty line Apart from the bulk of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, a considerable section of the families below poverty line comes in the category of Other Backward Classes The implementation of the New Twenty Point Programme is expected to accelerate the pace of development of these groups

VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

There is no voluntary organisation operating at the national level, which caters exclusively to the Other Backward Classes Voluntary organisations existing at the State, local and caste level are financially assisted by State Governments

The Government of India were affording an annual grant to the Servants of India Society, Poona, which assists some other backward classes besides scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in Maharashtra [10] The Bharatiya Ghumantu Jan (Khana Badosh) Sevak Sangh, New Delhi, has also been receiving grants from Central Governmentfor the welfare of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes For operating maternity and child welfare services in some of backward areas of Uttar Pradesh (Tehri Garhwal and Jaunsar Bawar), the Indian Red Cross Society,[11] New Delhi, has also been receiving Central Government grants The Central Government also gave grants to the Ramakrishna Ashrama, Puri (Orissa) for the maintenance of a hostel where Other Backward Classes students were admitted besides those belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes [12]

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NOTES

1 Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs' letter to State Governments etc, No 15/5/61-SCT IV dated 14-8-1961, Para 4
2 *Ibid*, Para 8
3 Government of India, *Report of the Backward Classes Commission*, Vols I & II, 1980, and the Ministry of Home Affairs' Memorandum on action taken thereon
4 This information is culled from a summary furnished recently by the office of current Backward Classes Commission
5 Government of India, *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*, 1975-76 and 1976-1977 (Twenty-fourth Report) Part I Para I 48
6 AIR 1963 Supreme Court 649 (V 60 c 101), "M R Balaji and others v The State of Mysore and others"
7 AIR 1963 Supreme Court 179 (V 51 c 16) "T Devadasan V Union of India and another"
8 These facts and figures are extracted from an unpublished, undated cyclostyled note entitled "Review of the Welfare Schemes undertaken for Other Backward Classes during the fifth five year plan" Prepared in the Home Ministry, apparently late 1978 or early 1979
9 *Ibid*
10 *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, op cit* p 114
11 Annexure II to d o letter no 3431/79-BCC (S&R) dated 12-12-1979 from Joint Director, Backward Classes Commission
12 *Ibid*

WELFARE OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES

The term 'scheduled castes' appeared for the first time in the Government of India Act 1935 In April 1936, the British Government issued the Government of India (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1936, specifying certain castes, races and tribes as scheduled castes in the then provinces of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, Orissa, Punjab and United Provinces Prior to that, these castes were generally known as 'depressed classes' The depressed classes were systematically categorised in the 1931 Census The list of 'scheduled castes' issued in 1936 was in continuation of the earlier list of 'depressed classes'

After the Constitution came into force, the list of scheduled castes was notified under the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950, by the President in accordance with the Constitution

POPULATION

Under Article 341 of the Constitution certain backward castes/communities, suffering from untouchability and from social disabilities were declared as scheduled castes There are 15 Presidential orders specifying scheduled castes and scheduled tribes for various State and Union Territories Any amendment in the existing list of scheduled castes is to be made by a Parliamentary enactment

The scheduled caste population according to the 1981 Census (10, 47, 54, 623) constitutes 15 75 per cent of the total population of the country The major concentration of scheduled castes is in Uttar Pradesh (22 39 per cent) followed by West Bengal (11.46 per cent), Bihar (9 68 per cent), Tamil Nadu (8 48 per cent), Andhra Pradesh (7 6 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (7 02 per cent), Rajasthan (5 57 per cent), Karnataka (5 34 per cent) Punjab (4 31 per cent) Maharashtra (4 28 per cent), Orissa (3 69 per cent), Kerala (2 43 per cent), Haryana (2 35 per cent), Gujarat (2 33 per cent), Himachal Pradesh (1 01 per cent), Jammu and Kashmir (0 47 per cent), Tripura (0 30 per cent), Sikkim (0 02 per cent), and Manipur (0 02 per cent) In Nagaland, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and

Lakshadweep there are no scheduled castes and in Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Mizoram their number is very insignificant [1]

According to available figures total number of blocks in various States/Union Territories having 20-30 per cent scheduled castes population were as follows Andhra Pradesh (52), Assam (4), Bihar (105), Haryana (36), Himachal Pradesh (14), Karnataka (48), Madhyra Pradesh (86), Maharashtra (2), Orissa (52), Punjab (61), Rajasthan (52), Tamil Nadu (116), Tripura (1), Uttar Pradesh (361), West Bengal (68), Pondicherry (1), and Delhi (2) Blocks having 30-40 per cent scheduled caste concentration included Andhra Pradesh (3), Assam (1), Bihar (22), Haryana (5), Himachal Pradesh (9), Karnataka (7), Madhya Pradesh (9), Orissa (1), Punjab (25), Rajasthan (4), Tamil Nadu (39), Uttar Pradesh (84), West Bengal (47) and Delhi (2) Blocks having 40-50 per cent concentration included Assam (1), Bihar (3), Madhya Pradesh (1), Punjab (9), Rajasthan (1), Tamil Nadu (8), Uttar Pradesh (25) and West Bengal (15) Blocks having above 50% SC population—Blocks having above 50 per cent scheduled caste population were Bihar (3), Himachal Pradesh (1), Karnataka (1), Madhya Pradesh (1), Punjab (1), Tamil Nadu (2), Tripura (1), Uttar Pradesh (16) and West Bengal (9) [2]

PROBLEMS

While scheduled castes comprise about 15 per cent of the country's population, their proportion among the poverty groups is much larger About 52 per cent of all scheduled castes workers are agricultural labourers and 28 per cent are cultivators (mainly small and marginal farmers and share croppers) In the western part of the country, almost all weavers are from scheduled castes, and in the eastern part of the country almost all fishermen are from the scheduled castes 'Unclean' occupations like scavenging, flaying, tanning, etc, are almost entirely left to the scheduled castes In the urban areas, a large proportion of rickshaw pullers, cart pullers, construction labourers, *beedi* workers and other unorganised non-agricultural wage labourers, and civic sanitation workers belong to the scheduled castes They are amongst the poorest of those who live below the poverty line and a large majority of bonded labourers are also from scheduled castes [3]

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

The important Articles in the Constitution which are intended to protect and promote the interests of the scheduled castes are as follows

Article 15(4) says that nothing in this article or in clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes Article 16(4) states that nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State Under Article 17 'untouchability' is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden Article 46 states that the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker section of the people, and, in particular, of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation

Under Articles 330 and 332 seats are reserved in Parliament (Lok Sabha) and State Legislative Assemblies for the scheduled castes except in the tribal areas of Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Aruanachal Pradesh and Mizoram Article 335 states that claims of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes shall be taken into consideration consistently with maintenance of efficiency

of administration, in the making of appointment to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State

Under Article 338, a Special Officer (designated as Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) is to be appointed for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to investigate all matters relating to safeguards provided for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes under the constitution and report to the President upon the working of those safeguards Article 341 states that the President may in respect to any State or Union Territory, by public notification, specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purpose of this Constitution be deemed to be scheduled castes in relation to that State or Union Territory, as the case may be [4]

LITERACY AND EDUCATION

In 1931, the literacy rate of scheduled castes was only 1 9 per cent It increased to 10 27 per cent in 1961, 14 67 per cent in 1971 and 21 38 per cent in 1981 However, in the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, literacy rates are lower than all-India literacy rate for scheduled castes—Uttar Pradesh (14 96 per cent), Bihar (10 40 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (18 97 per cent), Rajasthan (14 04 per cent), Andhra Pradesh (17 65 per cent) The literacy rate among women was 6 44 per cent in 1971 and increased to 10 93 per cent by 1981 However, Bihar has the lowest literacy for females (2 51 per cent), followed by Rajasthan (2 69 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (3 90 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (6 87 per cent), Haryana (7 06 per cent) and Orissa (9 40 per cent) During 1981-82 it was estimated that there were over 3 14 lakhs scheduled caste boys and girls in higher secondary stage, 9 30 lakhs in high school classes, 24 53 lakhs in middle school classes, and 113 43 lakhs in primary classes In 1944-45 total number of scheduled caste students who were receiving post-matric scholarship was only 114 and the number increased to 6 25 lakhs by 1982-83 [5]

In the various five year plans efforts were made to raise the educational level of scheduled castes and facilities were provided under various schemes initiated by the Central Government, State Governments and non-official oraganisations Facilities that are being provided by State Governments include freeships at the pre-matric level, exemption from payment of tuition fees and other fees, provision of hostel facilities, free supply of books, stationery, uniforms, mid-day meals, etc The Central Government also operates a number of Centrally sponsored schemes like pre-matric scholarships for the children of parents engaged in unclean occupations like scavenging, flaying, tanning, etc , providing Girls Hostel facilities for scheduled caste students studying at various levels of education, and book banks for medical and engineering students Under "Coaching and allied Scheme", about 60 centres have been set up in different parts of the country to equip scheduled caste and scheduled tribe candidates to appear for various competitive examinations conducted by the Union Public Service Commission, State Public Service Commissions, Banking Service Commission, etc

The Ministry of Education have provided 15 per cent reservation for admission in all educational institutions and in addition relaxations of marks are also prescribed for admission purposes Scholarships and other incentives have also been provided by the University Grants Commision in universities and other institutions of higher learning The Ministry of Education and the University Grants Commission earmarked 15 per cent of the UGC's budget for educational development of the scheduled castes during the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85)

DEVELOPMENTAL EFFORTS

Prior to Independence, the welfare of the scheduled castes was not attended to in a planned manner and the steps taken were adhoc in nature After Independence, however, the problems of the scheduled castes have been reviewed periodically by various Commissions and Committees and steps have been taken from time to time to improve their social and economic conditions In addition to the appointment under Article 338 of the Constitution of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, in 1976, a Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was set up headed by a Chairman and having 4 members, to look after the interests of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes Another agency, "High Power Panel on Minorities, Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and other Weaker Sections" was set up in 1979 by the Government to ascertain if the benefits of various development policies of the Central and State Governments really reached the minorities, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other weaker sections of the society

PLAN ALLOCATION

Under successive five year plans upto 1979-80 about Rs 433 24 crores have been estimated to have been spent for the development of scheduled castes The table below indicates expenditure on scheduled castes since the First Five Year Plan

PLANS EXPENDITURE*

(*Rs in crores*)

First Plan	*Second Plan*	*Third Plan*	*1966-69*	*Fourth Plan*	*Fifth Plan 1974-78*	*1979-80*	*Sixth Plan*
30 00	79 00	99 14	68 49	141 00	226 00	186 34	240+ 600 (SCA)

*Sixth Five Year Plan—1980-85, Planning Commission p 442

It was assumed that interests of the Scheduled castes will be taken care of under the backward classes sector

For the economic development of scheduled castes, the strategy of Special Component Plan has been developed since the Fifth Plan This envisages identification of schemes under general sectors of development which could be of benefit to scheduled castes, quantification for the benefit of scheduled castes of funds from all divisible programmes in each sector and determination of specific targets as to the number of families which are to be benefited from these programmes

In the Sixth Plan, the main thrust in the economic development of scheduled castes has been to ensure that scheduled caste families directly derive benefits from the programmes, increase their income and are able to cross the poverty line The Special Component Plan takes into account the outlay made under different sectors and the Special Central Assistance as well as funds made available to Scheduled Castes Development Corporations During 1980-81, the SCP outlay was 547 84 crores, in

1981-82 it was 664 23 crores, in 1982-83 it was 675 76 crores, and in 1983-84 it was raised to 754 86 crores Special Central Assistance, for which an outlay of Rs 600 crores was provided in the Sixth Plan, has been released to States and Union Territories in accordance with pre-determined criteria Special Central Assistance amounted in 1980-81 to Rs 100 crores, in 1981-82 to Rs 110 crores, in 1982-83 to Rs 120 crores, and in 1983-84 to Rs 130 crores There are 18 Scheduled Castes Development Corporations which have been set up in different States and Union Territories to help scheduled castes beneficiaries in securing loans from banks and other financial institutions for taking up such schemes as would help increase their income These Corporations are being financed by the States and the Central Government in the ratio of 51 49 During 1978-79 to 1982-83, Rs 5257 82 lakhs have been released to these Corporations by the Ministry of Home Affairs (which is the Nodal Ministry) towards the share capital contribution Under Point 7(a) of the New 20-Point Programme, it has been stipulated that 50 per cent of scheduled caste families should be assisted economically substantially so as to enable them to cross the poverty line

PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Untouchability has been abolished under Article 17 of the Constitution, which states, "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden" In pursuance of the authority given to it under Article 35 of the Constitution, the Union Parliament enacted the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, which came into effect throughout the country from 8 May 1955 This Act was amended by the Untouchability (Offences) Amendment and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1976 The amended Act, Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955, came into force from 19 November 1976

The salient features of the amended Act are All untouchability offences cases will continue to be treated as cognizable and every offence, except where it is punishable with imprisonment for a minimum term exceeding three months, may be tried summarily Direct or indirect preaching of untouchability, or its justification on historical, philosophical, religious, or traditional grounds would be an offence under the Act Privately owned places of worship, along-with such land/or subsidiary shrines appurtenant to such privately owned places of worship, as is allowed by the owner to be used as places of public religious worship, come under the purview of the Act State Governments have been empowered to impose collective fines on the inhabitants of an area where such inhabitants are concerned in or abet the commission of untouchability offences In addition, persons convicted of untouchability offences would be debarred from contesting elections to the Central and State Legislatures

In pursuation of the provision made under section 15(A) of the Protection of Civil Rights Act, Central assistance is given to State Governments and Union Territory administrations for (a) legal aid to persons subjected to any disability arising out of the practice of untouchability to enable them to avail themselves of such rights, (b) appointment of officers for initiating or exercising supervision over prosecutions for the contravention of the provisions of the Act, (c) setting up of special courts for the trial of offences under this act, (d) setting up of committees at appropriate levels as the State Government may think fit, (e) periodic survey of the working of the provisions of the Act with a view to suggesting measures for better implementation, (f) identification of areas where persons are under any disability arising out of 'untouchability' and adoption of such measures as would ensure the removal of this disbility

Provision for legal aid to scheduled caste victims and protection of civil rights cases have been made by 19 States upto the year 1982-83.

Special cells/squads have been created by 17 States and special officers have been appointed by States for initiating and exercising supervision over prosecution for contravention of the provision of the PCR Act Seventeen States have set up special committees at various levels to make periodic reviews of the problems of 'untouchability' Comprehensive guidelines covering various measures such as prohibitory, preventive, punitive and rehabilitative measures have been issued by the Government of India recently [7]

EDUCATED UNEMPLOYED

The number of educated among scheduled castes had rapidly grown after independence in part on account of the fact that the government have provided various incentives both at pre-matric and post-matric levels of education However, employment opportunities available have not been adequate and large numbers of educated scheduled caste youths have remained unemployed and stagnating on the rolls of Employment Exchanges as would be evident from data provided in the above table

REPRESENTATION IN SERVICES

Inspite of the fact that adequate provisions have been made in the Constitution (Articles 16 and 335) and various concessions and relaxations have been provided in the services under Central Government State Government, Public Sector undertakings, etc, the overall per centage of the representation of scheduled castes in various services under the above mentioned categories has not been satisfactory [8] The position relating to the actual representation of scheduled castes in various categories of posts and services under Central Government, public undertakings, nationalised banks, etc, may be seen in the table on the next page

It would be seen from the table that actual representation of scheduled castes in senior positions is not adequate The reason ascribed for the poor representation is non-availability of sufficient numbers of qualified/skilled persons to man such positions

What is most essential is assessment of actual demand of the employers and availability of scheduled caste candidates in the open market, who can be considered against such vacancies In such cases where senior positions are filled by

(in thousands)

Year	*No of registrations*	*No of placements*	*Percentage of placements to registration*	*No of Live Registration at the end of the year*
1975	631 6	59 7	9 4	1011 6
1976	696 4	76 7	11 0	1137 0
1977	637 4	69 0	10 8	1281 9
1978	726 0	68 2	9 4	1749 0
1979	743 7	66 1	8 8	1661 1
1980	335 0	32 8	9 8	1723 8

Source Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes (1979-80) p 273

promotion only, there the junior officers should be provided with the required training facilities for acquiring necessary skills to become eligible for promotions

ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

Voluntary organisations played a pioneering role in the development of the scheduled caste communities The government realised this as far back as 1953 and started providing grants-in-aid to voluntary organisations under the backward classes sector for improvement of education and socio-economic conditions of scheduled castes Among well known organisations which have been receiving grants-in-aid from the Ministry of Home Affairs (the nodal Ministry) for the development of the scheduled castes are Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bharatiya Depressed Classes League, Ramakrishna Mission, Hind Sweepers Sevak Samaj, All India Women's Conference, Servants of India Society, Indian Red Cross Society, etc The expenditures incurred on the scheme 'Aid to Voluntary Agencies' under different five year plans were as follows —

1st Five Year Plan	22 65 lakhs
2nd Five Year Plan	87 99 lakhs
3rd Five Year Plan	1 75 crores
4th Five Year Plan	1 75 crores
5th Five Year Plan	1 82 crores
6th Five Year Plan	7 50 crores (tentative allocation)

Table showing percentage of scheduled caste employees in various categories of services as on 1.1.1982

	Central Govt Services (56 Ministries/Deptts)+	*Public Undertakings (177 Enterprises)@*	*Nationalised Banks (20) as on 1 1 1981£*
	Percentage	*Percentage*	*Percentage*
Group A	4 95	2 90	13 39*
Group B	8 54	5 11	11 25**
Group C	13 44	18 11	20 36***

Source
+Deptt of Personnel and Administrative Reforms Ministry of Home Affairs
@Bureau of Public Enterprises Ministry of Finance
£Department of Banking Banking Division Ministry of Finance
* Officers
** Clerks
*** Sub-staff

Voluntary organisations have rendered useful service in the field of eradication of untouchability offences and educational, social and moral development of scheduled caste communities The organisations are required to contribute 10 per cent of the total expenditure on continuing schemes and 20 per cent on new schemes

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NOTES

1 Government of India, *Selected Statistic on Scheduled Caste—Occasional Paper on Development of Scheduled Castes*, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi 1984, No 2, p (iii)

2 *Ibid*, pp 81-91

3 Government of India, *Report of the Working Group on the Development of Scheduled Castes (1980-85)*, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 1980, p 1

4 Government of India, *The Constitution of India*, Pocket edition, New Delhi, 1981, pp 7-136

5 *Op cit*, p (iv)

6 Ministry of Home Affairs, *Annual Report 1982-83* New Delhi, 1983, pp 46-47 *Statistics on Schedules*

7 *Ibid*, pp 48-49

8 Biswajit Sen, "Reservation for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes in Government Services and Posts", *Vanyajati* New Delhi, 25(No 2), 1977, pp 25-29

WELFARE OF THE SCHEDULED TRIBES

The term tribe is commonly used in social science literature, particularly in anthropology, to describe certain categories of pre-literate cultures Despite its wide currency, it has not been defined with scientific rigour and continues to be used to describe a wide range of forms of social organisation and levels of techno-economic development In the evolutionary perspective, it referred to a societal form intermediate between the band and the nation, in this sense it represented a territorially defined social group The *trivua,* to the Romans, were distinct and identifiable political units On the contrary, Morgan gave this appellation to societies that possessed social institutions but had no political organisation According to Maine, the law in the tribal societies was based on status rather than on contract In modern parlance a tribe is characterised by small-scale grouping that displays cultural continuity as well as unity Its members have a self-conscious image and recognise affinity with one another In current usage, it lacks precision and can cover several societies that are not recognised as tribal

In the Indian context the term has been used and is being used somewhat indiscriminately Several groups of the inhabitants of India before the advent of the Aryans were referred to as tribes, the Aryan invaders themselves were described as tribes by some In later historical writings the extant small republics were referred to as belonging to particular tribes Some writers have called even the Rajput and the Jat as tribes Still later the term was restricted to the autochthonous, the aboriginal, and the primitive groups While there are no precise indicators to mark out the tribes from other groups they are assumed to have some, if not all, of the following characteristics[1]

(i) Their roots in the soil date back to a very early period if they are not the original inhabitants, they are at least some of the oldest inhabitants of the land (ii) They live in the relative isolation of the hills and the forests (iii) Their sense of history is shallow for, among them, the remembered history of five to six generations tends to get merged in mythology (iv) They have a low level of techno-economic development (v) In terms of their cultural ethos—language, institutions, beliefs, and customs—they stand out from the other sections of the society (vi) If they are not egalitarian, they are at least non-hierarchic and undifferentiated

Even these are rough and ready indicators and are not helpful beyond a point in the identification of the tribes within the Indian population It would be safe to view a tribe "as an ethnic category defined by real or putative des-

cent and characterised by a corporate identity and a wide range of commonly shared traits of culture"[2]

There is no difficulty in identifying a 'scheduled tribe', however, for it is the outcome of a political/administrative act—inclusion of a group in a schedule for the purpose of constitutional safeguards and certain economic benefits as well as welfare measures earmarked for the category designated as the scheduled tribes Non-inclusion of a group in the schedule, even if it has a more autochthonous status and a more primitive social organisation and life styles, classes it with the rest of the Indian population and denies it the benefits extended to the scheduled tribes The 'schedule' itself presents several anomalies While a certain group may be scheduled in one State, it may not enjoy the same advantage in the contiguous territory of a neighbouring State The Gujjars, for example, are not scheduled in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, while they are in neighbouring Himachal Pradesh The Kinnaur and the Lahaul in Himachal Pradesh have a scheduled tribe status, but,until recently, not the Laddakhi in the State of Jammu and Kashmir Several groups that were never identified as tribal were bestowed this status by their inclusion in the schedule For example the Kinnaur and the Lahaul of Himachal Pradesh and the Jaunsari of Uttar Pradesh, a composite group of castes, now enjoy this status

The bulk of the population of scheduled tribes is in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Rajasthan, Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu

SITUATION BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

Before the attainment of national independence, the great debate on the future of Indian tribes centred on the bipolar concepts of isolation and assimilation The British Governemt broadly followed the model of Indirect Rule which formed the bedrock of its policy for colonies, dependencies, and protectorates in black Africa Under this policy the territories predominantly populated by the tribes were demarcated and brought under special provisions of the Constitution The idea was to protect the tribals from the unequal competition of their more aggressive neighbours and to allow them to lead their life according to its traditional pattern without undue disturbances from extraneous forces. Under the Government of India Act 1870 some territories were demarcated as "scheduled tracts" The Scheduled District Act of 1874 gave effect to what was contained in the Government of India Act of 1870 Between then and the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 a number of Acts were enforced from time to time The latter brought in the concept of "Backward Tracts" Most scheduled tracts and scheduled districts were redesignated as backward tracts Of course, some territories were withdrawn from the list and a few new ones were added to it The policy of giving special protection to the tribes was continued also in the Government of India Act of 1935, which created the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas It will be recalled that provisional autonomy was granted under this Act In whatever provinces ministries responsible to popularly elected representatives took charge of the administration the Governor was to function in his own discretion in the Excluded Areas, while in the case of Partially Excluded Areas he was to seek the advice of his ministries The State legislatures could not discuss and vote the expenditure to be incurred for the administration and welfare of the Excluded Areas, the budgetary provisions in respect of the Partially Excluded Areas, however, were subject to scrutiny and vote by the legislature Discus-

sion of any matter connected with the Excluded Areas needed the prior permission of the Governor

Nationalist opinion in the country viewed with suspicion the British policy of isolating the tribes from the mainstream of Indian society They feared that this was yet another subtle move in the game of divide and rule—one aimed at creating another self-conscious minority, making the problem of India's national integration and independence more intractable The situations in Africa and in India were not strictly comparable as Indian tribes formed a part of the Indian civilisational universe They had contributed elements to the mainstream civilisation and had also been influenced by it To isolate them arbitrarily at a given point of time could only mean halting the evolving process of cultural fusion A third question raised in this context was Isolation for what? In most areas it was difficult to hold in check all outside cultural influences and even certain forms of exploitation In practice what actually happened was that the tribes were isolated and then left to stagnate No significant measures of welfare were taken to improve the quality of their life One would have expected some imaginative plans to equip them for survival in a competitive world There is no evidence of this ever having been contemplated

Intellectual rationale for the policy of isolation was provided by Verrier Elwin, who recommended setting up of National Parks for the tribal people so that their contact with the outside world could be regulated and kept to the minimum[3] G S Ghurye took up the opposite position and argued against segregation of the tribal people[4] He described the tribals as backward Hindus or as imperfectly integrated classes of Hindu society Almost all tribal groups, according to him, had absorbed elements from the mainstream Hindu culture in varying degree, only a few groups had remained relatively untouched The future of these groups obviously lay in their assimilation into the wider society Their backwardness could not be fought by islolating them from the rest of the community

It has been mentioned earlier that the British approach to the tribes was held suspect by nationalist opinion in the country Anthropology also lost some credibility as it was lending at least partial support to this approach Anthropologists had been behind Indirect Rule in Africa and now with all his persuasive charm Elwin was recommending an analogous policy for India A popular and oft-repeated joke of the time was that the anthropologists wanted tribal areas to be turned into a veritable zoo where they could practise their blessed science undisturbed The general opinion favoured the gradual assimilation of the tribes into the wider society This could be done by sustained and sympathetic social work which gave attention to their economic needs, stopped expropriation of their agricultural lands, and held in firm check the extortionist activities of the money-lenders who reduced them to virtual serfdom A number of voluntary agencies, informed and inspired by the Gandhian ideology, undertook tribal welfare activities in different parts of India The most distinguished in this line was the late Shri A V Thakkar, fondly remembered as Thakkar Bapa He was no mindless reformer in a desperate hurry to change the tribal ways of life, he could foresee that in certain areas of life, for decades to come, the tribal people would need protection and that imaginative economic programmes would have to be worked out to ensure their cultural emancipation He had with him a band of selfless workers who rendered valuable service to the tribals There undeniably was a touch of puritanism in some of their activities, non-consumption of liquor and disapproval of communal singing and dancing

may be cited as examples However, this group did take to the tribal people the care and concern of the larger community for them In this connection mention may be made also of the work of Christian Missions mostly under foreign missionaries While the latter came to India with the object of saving the souls of the natives, their humanitarian work in the fields of education and health cannot be ignored The results of their activities did not follow a uniform pattern throughout India While in some areas the Christian and non-Christian tribals maintained their cultural affinities, the act of conversion created a great divide between them in certain other areas

DEVELOPMENTS AFTER INDEPENDENCE

After the attainment of national independence the policy towards the tribes underwent some significant modifications There was no question of continuing the old approach of isolation and benign neglect At the same time, in the name of assimilation they were not to be left to the vagaries of their exploitative and rapacious neighbours Nehru recognised and respected the cultural identity of the tribes and had great appreciation for the simple joys and poetry that permeated their life In the process of assimilation this identity was not to be obliterated nor was their traditional pattern of life to be destroyed But they were also not to be preserved as museum specimens The benefits of modern science and technology were to be extended to them gradually so that they could integrate into the mainstream of national life and enter the modern age The new policy was one of integration, it did not rule out protective measures if they were necessary to preserve tribal identities It was aimed at their finding a place of honour and dignity in the emerging national pattern

The post-independence philosophy of tribal development can be best summed up in the *Panchsheel,* five principles, initiated by Nehru (1958) in collaboration with Verrier Elwin

(1) People should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture

(2) Tribal rights to land and forests should be respected

(3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development Some technical personnel from outside would no doubt be needed, especially in the beginning But we should aviod introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory

(4) We should not overadminister these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions

(5) We should judge results, not by statistics or by the amount of money spent, but by the quality of human character that is evolved

It will be seen that Nehru demonstrated great regard for tribal life ways Tribal institutions had to be respected and every encouragement was to be given to the development of their indigenous arts and craf' No reforms were to be imposed on them On the other hand, their rights to land and forest had to be protected and they had to be saved from exploitation by outsiders The administrative pattern had to be kept as simple as possible and the tendency to induct a multiplicity of officers from outside to run a bewildering variety of projects had to be curbed The few officers who had inevitably to be brought in were to be sensitised to tribal self-image and cultural norms In the final analysis the success of developmental endeavours was to be judged by improvements in the quality of life they brought about

The Constitution prescribes certain fundamental rights and duties and lays down a number of Directive Principles of State Policy These are applicable to tribal and non-tribal elements of the Indian population alike Article 46 specially defines the safeguards to the tribes in respect of economic and educational interests Article 164 prescribes appointment of separate ministers to look after tribal interests in some States Provisions regarding administration of Scheduled Areas and tribal areas are incorporated in Article 244 and for grants from Union to certain States in Article 275 Articles 330, 332, 334 are devoted to reservation of seats for the scheduled tribes in the House of the People, in the Legislative Assemblies of States, and reservation of seats and special representation Their claims to services and posts are incorporated in Article 335 Provision of special officers for them is covered by Article 338, and Article 339 indicates the nature of control of the Centre over the Scheduled Areas as well as the welfare of the scheduled tribes Article 342 specifies the procedures of scheduling, for the purpose of special benefits, by the President after consultation with the Governor Several orders were issued from time to time under this Article making additions to the tribes under the schedule

A number of commissions, committees and working groups and study teams set up by the Government of India from time to time contributed to the evolution of the tribal development policy in some concrete aspects Many of these related to backward classes and weaker sections of the community and considered the tribes along with other disadvantaged sections of the population Important among them are the Backward Classes Commission (1953-55) headed by Kaka Kalelkar, the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes (1958-59) under the leadership of Renuka Ray, and the Study Group on the Welfare of the Weaker Sections of the Village Community (1960-61) under Jayaprakash Narayan Those specially concerned with the scheduled tribes were the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks (1959-60) under Verrier Elwin the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (1960-61) under the Chairmanship of U N Dhebar, and the Committee on Tribal Economy in Forest Areas (1965-67) under Hari Singh A Study Team on Tribal Development Programmes worked from 1966 to 1969 under P Shilu Ao From 1950 onwards the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has been submitting annual reports to the Parliament, these are also published On behalf of the Parliament the welfare activities of scheduled categories are overseen by the Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes

These commissions, committees, and study groups made inputs of varying worth in concretising the welfare and development programmes for the tribals and giving them a more pointed sense of direction There was no significant break from the basic philosophy initiated by Nehru The scheduled areas and districts continued to enjoy special protection The scheduled tribes were guaranteed representation in the State and Central legislature The policy of compensatory discrimination reserved for them seats in educational institutions along with financial support to a sizeable group of tribal students to receive elementary, secondary, and higher education There were reservations for them in public services, these were expanded to include quotas for promotion to higher levels In each successive five year plan more and more budgetary allocations were made for their welfare and development All this gives an impression that everything possible was being done to ensure their welfare and speedy development Unfortunately the outcome of the programmes left much to be desired

SUMMARY EVALUATION

The pre-Fifth Plan endeavours at planning for tribal development started with a wooly and amorphous conception of the tribes and their problems The planners had a stereotyped image of the tribes, viewing them as a monolithic and undifferentiated entity Such a view did not permit a realistic appraisal of tribal problems in different ecological settings and in different cultural contexts Numerically dominant tribes and small struggling groups were lumped together, the differences in their economy and habitat ignored Account was not taken of the levels of techno-economic development of different tribal groups Omnibus planning, with a generalised conception of tribal problems, led to misdirection of effort as specific problems of particular groups could not be given careful attention

The priorities in these plans reflected an elite bias They largely rested on the planners' and administrators' perception of tribal needs As a result many unwanted reforms were foisted on the tribal people and at the same time some of their most pressing felt needs were overlooked

Heavy and disproportionate expenditure was incurred on infrastructure If one were to work out the expenditure on salaries and allowances of the tribal development workers of different categories, on office buildings, on staff residences, and on jeeps and to compare it with expenditure on actual welfare and development of the tribes, he is likely to get some tantalising ratios Too little money went into projects that directly benefited the tribal people Roads and communications were not needed so much by the tribes as by the administration and the members of the wider community, they were all charged to tribal development funds There are many such examples Welfare services extended to tribal areas were generally of poor quality and they were indifferently managed

As a result of these endeavours only nominal benefits accrued to the tribal people The plans contributed minimally to meeting their basic needs The standards of nutrition did not show any visible improvement, nor was hygienic water supply assured for them During lean months, for food they had to depend upon inadequate forest resources In the summer, in some parts of the country, women had to walk for several miles to fetch water for domestic use Tribal needs by way of shelter and clothing are modest, but little effort was made to improve the quality of their dwellings and not many could claim the satisfaction of having a second set of clothes for change Worse of all, they could not find gainful employment round the year The traditional and the emerging economic system provided them work for only a part of the year and during lean months they had no institutional support In consequence, they fell prey to the rapacious moneylenders, indebtedness became endemic among large sections of the tribal people The problem was recognisaed, but the efforts made to find solutions to it only scratched the surface The programmes in the field of public health and medicine were woefully inadequate The kind of modern medicine that was taken to the tribal areas was not likely to inspire much confidence in its efficacy This was true also of education Not many *ashram* schools could attract and hold tribal children in sizeable numbers, many single teacher schools were set up, but in the remote tribal areas there was no way of ensuring regular presence of the teacher within the school premises on working days Truancy of the teachers, in some tribal schools, became a scandal There was not much direct intervention in the tribal modes of artistic expression and enjoyment, i e , they were never officially denied the freedom to sing and dance as they

liked They were all the time conscious, however, that among their non-tribal neighbours these activities did not enjoy social respectability and were looked upon as a symbol of primitiveness From time to time tribal groups were herded to the State capitals and also to the national capital to perform in the presence of visiting dignitaries, politically important persons, and those who considered themselves connoisseurs of art The organisers, according to their light, tried to cut out crudities from their performance There are instances when authentic folk forms were cast deliberately into a filmatic mould To meet the growing demand of tribal handicrafts and sculptures in wood and metal, in the urban areas nationally and internationally, the tribals were encouraged to mass produce shoddy objects often with motifs and patterns completely alien to their native genius This brought them a little extra money, but the authenticity and purity of their styles were sacrificed

It is sad to note that the process of development has resulted in substantial loss of tribal autonomy Proud tribals, who once ruled the forest, had to surrender their freedom by stages First came the forest officials and forest contractors Then came the excise officials and liquor vendors The police could never create a favourable image for itself in the tribal areas and generally symbolised extortion and abuse of authority Between them these groups were responsible for the loss of tribal self-respect and dignity When tribal development activities gained momentum limited curbs were put on their exploitative activities, but autonomy and dignity could not be restored to them in full measure They became increasingly dependent on doles and subsidies In vital decision making processes governing their own destinies they had very little say The small tribal elite could do well by itself but the weaker sections among the larger tribes and the weak tribes as a whole had to reconcile themselves to a subordinate status

THE NEW STRATEGY

In the Fifth Plan an appraisal of the achievements and failures of earlier efforts at tribal development was attempted, with a view to evolving a realistic and meaningful strategy to get at the issues and finding a solution to the intractable tribal problems In the course of this appraisal it was found that in several States funds available for tribal development were grossly under-utilised It was mistakenly assumed that tribal development had to be carried out only with the funds earmarked for this purpose in the national and State budgets That the tribal areas were entitled also to a share in the total national outlays for development was lost sight of Thus, the supplemental funds were mistakenly treated as the only funds available for tribal development Similarly, other financial institutions were not tapped to draw resources for development activities in the tribal areas The accent in the new strategy was on mobilising resources in a big way and ensuring that, besides funds earmarked for tribal development, the tribes get their proportionate share of general development funds for the country as a whole and that other financial institutions do not neglect the tribes and tribal areas With these enhanced allocations a more substantial effort could be made to redress tribal grievances and lay the foundation for their self-sustaining growth

This strategy adopted a differentiated approach to planning for the tribes and the tribal areas In other words, it did not proceed on the mistaken assumption that all tribes have approximately the same culture and that their problems also are broadly similar Tribes were systematically classified according to well-defined criteria and careful inventories of their problems were made Recognising the futility of an omnibus plan for all tribes, without going into the specificities of their problems and needs, differentiated planning techniques were evolved to meet the requirements of different

areas and of different groups within them There was to be a separate sub-plan for tribal areas and microplans for relatively vulnerable groups requiring special attention Complexities were inevitably introduced into the planning process, but this was necessary because the simplistic approach adopted earlier had failed to produce the desired results Plans under the new strategy were to be tailored to specific tribal needs

Need-based planning had to cut down many frills and to work consciously to eliminate the elite bias in determining priorities The economic content of these plans was to be strong because the planners rightly felt that other social welfare measures would collapse if the economic viability of the tribal groups was not enhanced These plans also rightly provided schemes for the lean months so that the tribals did not have to return to the money lenders A multi-faceted economic progamme was drawn up to ensure the optimum utilisation of their time and talent An attempt was to be made to decrease and ultimately eliminate their dependence on subsidies Measures of social welfare in essential fields such as public health and education were not ignored This effort was not to be a civilising mission in any sense Its twin aims were to fortify the economic foundations and to enlarge the mental horizons of the tribal people Initially a protective and supportive role was visualised, but the ultimate objective was to draw upon the innate capabilities of the people so that they could take charge of their own development

The strategy recognised that the administrative framework will have to be redesigned to achieve the objectives that were now clearly set forth A patchy administrative pattern, with nuclear links between the departments of tribal development and all other welfare and nation-building departments, led to many bureaucratic bunglings and waste of resources Development was visualised as a unified and integrated activity and for this purpose a single line administration was recommended Functionaries with imagination and initiative, resourcefulness and dynamism, and commitment as well as capacity to undergo hardships were to be specially trained for this work Transfer to tribal areas was no longer to be viewed as a punishment, instead it was to be seen as a speical assignment of considerable responsibility and respectability In view of the hardships involved certain compensatory facilities and incentives were contemplated Rules and regulations were to be simplified so that they do not curb initiative The entire approach was to be variable so that the targets could be achieved in the minimum possible time

For a task of such magnitude and complexity one could not depend only on the bureaucracy The role and responsibilities of the public services were to be gradually reduced so that an institutional framework devised for the purpose could take over The strategy, thus, involved a programme of institution building with representation of the tribal people in the decision-making processes at appropriate levels

To sharpen the effectiveness of the planning process and to apply correctives to it when necessary the new strategy provided for continuous monitoring, evaluation, and research and analyses For planning adequate benchmarks were to be provided A close and continuous watch was to be maintained on the developmental activity in the field Evaluation was to be aimed at discovering the intended and unintended consequences of plan implementation and at identifying bottlenecks and cultural blocks that come in their way Research and analyses were to supplement the evaluation effort and to inform the planning process

The Sixth Plan generally proposes to continue and extend the strategy of tribal development through sub-plans, integration with general development programmes, improvements in delivery of services, economic uplift, educational development, vocational training,

PROSPECTS

Let us not be under the illusion that a good plan necessarily produces good results There are several intervening variables between planning and implementation Without the requisite political will excellently drawn plans can be left to adorn office shelves Bureaucratic inertia often leads to their routinised implementation, sometimes they are reduced to ritualistic exercises Effete administration cannot be expected to carry out goal-oriented and time-bound programmes with dedication There still are notable reserves of commitment in our public services, but a sizeable section of them tends to adopt the line of least resistance It is unfortunate but true that mediocrity and routine often get away with the cherished rewards and public servants who cut the red tape and innovate, to attain the desired objectives, get penalised This stifles initiatives and experimentation The implementation of the new strategy requires tedious and hard work both at the stages of planning and implementation Absence of high motivation is responsible for feeble results If the objectives have to be attained within a stipulated period sustained political support to the programme will be needed and a re-energised bureaucratic machinery will have to be geared to action

Viewing the problems of tribal development in a larger perspective a series of vexing questions come to mind How much longer shall we continue to have the scheduled tribes and a policy of compensatory discrimination towards them? It is evident that vested interests in tribalness have developed and the question has assumed serious political overtones This marriage of developmental needs and politics is likely to throw up some bizarre results Given the uncertain idiom of the contemporary political culture it is difficult to visualise an end to contemporary discrimination in the foreseeable future One may even predict a struggle on the part of some more non-scheduled groups to obtain a tribal status Scheduling is an administrative act based on political policy Ethnic, cultural, and sociological criteria do not necessarily enter into the decisions regarding scheduling The entire population in the Lakshadweep Islands has been scheduled and now belongs to the tribal category The Kinnaura of Himachal Pradesh, as mentioned earlier, are also now a scheduled tribe This new identity incorporates even the Brahman and Rajput castes The ranks of the scheduled tribes are thus likely to swell by the inclusion of more such honorary tribals This trend is not motivated by a sudden surge of the consciousness of tribal roots, additional economic benefits make the new identity desirable Who benefits most from the policy of compensatory discrimination? The answer to this question would be revealing, though politically disturbing It is likely that the prized rewards are being cornered by a limited segment of only a few tribes The more advantaged families of some of the more advantaged tribal groups get a disproportionate share of educational and job reservation benefits This advantaged segment it has been observed, gets alienated from the mass of the tribal people and continues to maintain a nominal tribal identity only for the sake of benefits accruing from it It has also been noticed that a section of the emerging tribal elite does not even hesitate to exploit the weaker sections of the tribals The disadvantaged tribal groups continue to remain disadvantaged, their situation possibly worsens It is unlikely that political factors would permit withdrawal of benefits from economically developed tribal segments for no plitical party is likely to touch a vocal and assertive minority that largely constitutes the elite of the tribes An economic criterion will have to be introduced, however, prescribing different scales of benefits for tribal groups at different levels of development It is not possible to de-politicise the development process, but institutions will have to be built to take over the responsibility of this programme ultimately This institutional framework should

be so designed that the tribal masses are not left completely to the whim and caprice of their own elites which quickly forge links with major non-tribal figures in the political arena

Some aspects of the policy of compensatory discrimination have already aroused strong feelings and mass protests The policy itself has benefited only a small section of tribal India The Sixth Plan proposes to continue and extend the strategy adopted in the preceding plan its imaginative and resolute implementation alone can lift the tribes from their present mire and in a few decades render the reservations redundant

S C DUBE

NOTES

1 S C Dube, "Introduction", *Tribal Heritage of India*, Vikas, New Delhi, 1977, p 2
2 *Ibid*, p 4
3 Verrier Elwin, *The Baiga*, John Murray, London, 1939
4 G S Ghurye, *The Scheduled Tribes*, Popular, Bombay, 1963, p 52

WELFARE SERVICES FOR THE AGED

Aging is generally associated with fatigue and decline in functional capacity of the organs of the body due to physiological transformation No sign of aging is by itself regarded as a disease even though all of them in their totality form the syndrome called old age

It is ironical that people yearn to live long but have to face hardships on attaining a longer span of life The status of aged varies in different societies and cultures according to Hasan (1974)[1] For most persons in the middle salaried class aging may mean forced retirement For the poor and the working class aging may mean a state of dependence and abject poverty The vast majority of aged are not able to or permitted to work Loss of work and earning results in an increasing number of aged becoming not only economically dependent, but this process also brings about psychological and personality changes in the aged which affect their social status and role The subject has received some attention in India in recent years as is evidenced from a few publications dealing with one or more aspects of aging There is now greater recognition of the need for social security measures for the aged in the country in the light of the demographic, social and cultural changes that are taking place in contemporary Indian society

Old age is usually regarded as synonymous with pensionable age or age at retirement In consonance with the concurrent practice of retirement at the age of 58 from government service, a person could be regarded as aged from the age of 58 onwards In fact, there is a controversy as to whether the persons who are 60 or over should be regarded as aged or only those who have reached the age of 65 Most of the State Governments have stipulated the age of sixty-five and above for eligibility as a beneficiary under the old age pension scheme for the destitute old (non-contributory) But it is to be acknowledged that due to poverty and other factors the standard of health of the people in India is poor as compared to the affluent Western countries As a result, the process of aging sets in early in our country notwithstanding some improvements in health standards during recent years This has created a rather paradoxical situation Though the introduction of modern health technology and medicine has increased the span of the life, it has also contributed to a higher proportion of aged or retired

persons in the composition of the population having little income of their own, who have to depend on others for their livelihood

The traditional norms and values of Indian society laid stress on showing respect and providing care for the aged and elderly persons As a consequence, the aged members of the family were normally taken care of in the family itself Those who had no family were looked after by the community or caste organisations, through institutions like the *sadavarta, dharamshala, math* and the village council or the Panchayat These have been catering to the needs of the aged and the infirm destitutes in a traditional way In certain parts of Arunachal Pradesh, for instance, the elderly and the aged if they so desire, are even today provided for as 'perpetual' guests in the *Kebang*—the village council—by the community

The Hindu joint family, which was the unit of social organisation, itself provided an element of social security as well as status to the aged The reciprocal obligations of the parents to support the child in infancy and of the son to support the parents in old age resulted in 'social insurance' through the cohesion of the traditional family comprising two or more generations "In the past, old age was associated with virtues, knowledge and wisdom Referring to a youngman as an 'elder' was considered to be a great mark of honour The joint family of India had often been referred to illustrate the status of the aged in rural agrarian societies with the aged 'partiarch' as the executive head of the household "[2] As compared to the Western countries, the aged persons in India, as far as possible, were not left to fend for themselves by their relations However, as discussed in the subsequent account, recent changes in the social values, social structure and economy, coupled with the demographic transition, have created problems for the aged who are now under a severe strain

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

In India poverty, unemployment, underemployment and inflation have created a situation in which traditional social institutions are no longer able to discharge their duties towards the elderly and the aged Religious trusts and charitable institutions, like *sadavarta, dharamshala,* etc , have not only failed to enlarge the scope of their welfare activities for the aged but have also failed to maintain their past activities for want of financial support from the public, besides change in their outlook

Families now find it difficult to meet their obligations to the aged The demographic changes in family structure due to urbanisation and industrialisation have resulted in changes in other aspects of family life, like sentiments, behaviour patterns, and attitudes According to Williams, "Economy of the industrialised and urbanised society is in many ways incompatible with stable family structure "[3] The mobility resulting from industrialisation and urbanisation has triggered off changes in the socio-economic spheres which have developed stresses and strains in the family and the aged no longer occupy the same position as in the past The generation gap is widening Changes that are overtaking social institutions are also affecting family relationships The attitude of youngsters is now becoming more individualistic and the unquestioned regard for authority and respect to the elders is much less in evidence One of the findings of a study by Soodan in Lucknow city is that more heads of the households are from younger age groups and two-thirds of the aged live in households where the head of the household is the son[4] Those aged who are not regarded as head of the household are rarely consulted by the family members Widowers are not looked after properly during their illness According to one-half of the aged respondents, their absence from the family would not disrupt the family functioning

Economic plight and inflation have enhanced

the difficulties of old persons as a large number of families do not have the means to meet the physical needs of their members and, understandably, the old and the infirm in particular are adversely affected Some of them even leave their families to fend for themselves in the community owing to frustration due to neglect and hardships faced by them

Even in Indian villages which are somewhat remote from the cities the family life and social values have been undergoing significant changes which are not favourable to the aged As early as in the mid-fifties, Dube had highlighted the gap between the ideal norms and actual practices in intra-family relations in Shamirpet village in Andhra Pradesh[5] Though 'respect for age' was recognised as one of the four basic ideals by all the communities in the village in the building of the structure of the family, in actual practice this was observed to a certain extent by higher castes These ideals were 'diluted' considerably in respect of communities of intermediate social levels, and among those of lower social levels even traces of these ideals were not visible Respect was shown to the aged in rituals only In day-to-day life such consideration was rarely noticed Disruption of joint families was so frequent at the lower level that the ideal of family solidarity had practically lost its meaning A case study of 120 households revealed that 78 per cent of the sons in the village had established separate households within five years of their marriage The parents dominated the family till their middle age When they approached old age they gradually receded to the background The control of the household as well as village affairs had passed on to middle-aged persons This was despite the relatively better position in which the aged were placed in the rural setting as compared to the urban, as highlighted by such studies as the one by Marulasiddaiah[6] in Dharwar district of Karnataka

It can be safely surmised that changes in kinship and family organisation in conjunction with urbanisation and industrialisation have been more to the disadvantages of the aged It would seem that industrialisation and urbanisation have impinged upon the inbuilt mechanism of the Indian joint family system to provide social security to its members In urban areas, the general economic inadequacy of the nuclear family has made it difficult to discharge its obligations in matters of providing social security to its members, especially the aged This is also supported by recent studies on the subject For instance, according to Bhatia[7] the main forces of change affecting the aged are community development and industrialisation which have reduced the status of the aged individual as adviser and spokesman of the village and guide of the family

DEMOGRAPHIC DIMENSIONS

The distribution of population by age groups varies in different countries and often at different periods in the same country owing to demographic transition or change in the level of the vital rates of population The higher the expectancy of life at birth accompanied by low birth rates and death rates, the higher will be the proportion of the aged in a population The higher expectancy of life is closely related to improvements in health and educational standards achieved by a country India has a much lower proportion of population in 60+age group (in 1971 it was 5 97 per cent and in 1981 it was 6 9 per cent) as compared to developed countries where the persons aged 60+ form nearly 12 to 18 per cent of the total population These countries have low birth rates and death rates accompanied by high expectancy of life

However, the number of the aged as well as their proportion to the total population have shown a steady increase in India over the decades owing to the twin factors of decrease in the birth and death rates and increase in the life expectancy at birth due to improvements in the

general health and nutritional standards of the population[8] For the 1901-1911 period, the birth rate was estimated at 49 2 It went down to 39 9 by 1941-50 and further decreased to 37 1 during the 1971-80 decade On the other hand, the death rate declined more significantly from 42 6 in 1901-1911 to 27 4 in 1941-51 and to 19 0 in 1961-70 decade The life expectancy at birth for the decade 1941-50 was estimated at 32 1 and for 1951-60 at 41 3 For the base year 1966 (1961-70) it was estimated at 46 4 for males and 44 6 for females The projected values of expectation of life at birth shows the following trends [9]

Sex	1971-76	1976-81	1981-86	1986-91
Males	50 12	52 62	55 12	57 62
Females	48 79	51 55	54 31	57 07

The expectancy of life at birth has been increasing on an average by 0 50 per year [10] The sample registration scheme data[11] released by the Registrar General, also more or less support the above data on expectation of life at birth for 1976 Besides, census data undisputedly reflect significant changes in distribution of age-groups over a period of time If a somewhat liberal definition of the aged, viz , persons of the age of 55 and above, is considered, according to the 1971 census, these numbered 45 5 million forming 8 3 per cent of the total population of the country and thereby registered an increase of 10 9 million or 31 8 per cent during 1961-71 decade[12] If a more conservative and less controversial age of 60 is accepted as the cut off point for the aged, such persons, as per the 1961 census, numbered approximately 24 7 million or 5 6 per cent of the total population of the country During the 1961-71 decennial period their number had gone up to 32 7 million or nearly 6 per cent of the total population Even if a stiffer test of aging is applied and only persons of 65+ are considered as aged they too form a substantial number These numbered about 13 5 million in 1961 and 18 3 million in 1971 The following table shows the demographic transition resulting in higher proportion of aged persons over the past decades [13]

Year	Total Population (in million)	Population of aged (60+age) (in million)
1901	238 4	12 1
1941	318 7	18 0
1951	361 1	19 6
1961	439 2	24 7
1971	547 9	32 7

The above table shows that there was a steep increase in the total population as well as in the population of the aged over the decades particularly after 1941 The population of the aged increased from 12 1 million in 1901 to 32 7 million in 1971 However, the percentage of increase was higher in the case of aged persons It is significant that the percentage growth of aged 60+, which used to be lower than that of the general population, first registered a steady increase and then a sharp upswing in the recent decades as illustrated in the following table [14]

Decade	Percentage growth of total population	Percentage growth of aged population (60+)
1921-31	11 0	5 2
1941-51	13 3	8 9
1951-61	21 5	26 0
1961-71	24 8	32.4
Projections		
1971-81	22.82	31 60
1981-91	18 89	38 02
1991-2001	17 55	38 98

According to this table, the percentage of the population growth of the aged which used to be 5 2 against 11 0 (more than double) for the population as a whole during the 1921-31 decade registered a sharp increase during 1961-71 decade—32 4 per cent against 24 8 per cent for the general population The turning point came after the independence of the country The percentage of growth among the aged went up from 8 9 per cent in the 1941-51 decade to 26 0 per cent in the 1951-61 decade On the other hand, the percentage of growth of total population which was 13 3 per cent (nearly 5 per cent higher than that of the aged population) in the 1941-51 decade showed a moderate increase during the 1951-61 decade

If the expectancy of life shows the same upward trend recorded in the recent decades in conjunction with reduction in the birth rates and death rates, the proportion of aged persons is expected to register a significant increase by the turn of the century According to the present projections the percentage growth of total population of the country is expected to be 22 8 in 1971-81, 18 9 per cent in 1981-1991 and 17 6 per cent during the 1991-2001 decade The corresponding figures for persons aged 60+ are 31 6, 38 0 and 39 0, respectively Thus, the percentage growth of the aged population is expected to be more than double than that of the total population in the 1991-2001 decade In other words, the population of persons aged 60+ is expected to register a substantial increase and form a much more significant proportion of the total population than hitherto recorded This expected increase in the population of the aged would in turn contribute to a still higher dependency ratio of the non-productive group of adult population, which is required to be looked after by the relatively younger working population This has implications for the economy of the country as well as for social policy in relation to social security for the aged

In retrospect, it is seen that the age structure of the population due to demographic transition has magnified the problem of the aged in the numerical sense by substantially adding to their numbers, whereas the recent socio-economic changes have further aggravated their problem

DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

Though the problems of the aged can be looked at in different ways, basically these can be grouped into four major areas as follows (1) economic, (2) familial, (3) health and medical care, and (4) housing

Psychological or emotional problems and social problems are the derivatives of familial problems The key to the problems of the aged and their solution lies in the above areas

It is obvious that in a poor country like India the major problem of the aged is economic A survey of the aged conducted in Madras city by the Madras School of Social Work (1972)[15] showed that 68 per cent of old persons reported poverty as their main problem as they found it difficult to make both ends meet About 25 per cent reported that they were financially well-to-do, while the remaining just managed to eke out their livelihood

The familial problems are mainly concerned with neglect and poor up-keep and in its wake give rise to emotional and psychological problems associated with sickness The feeling of dependency on others during sickness causes emotional disturbance, besides adverse emotional reaction while lying ill Another type of emotional disturbance is rooted in loneliness and physical isolation mostly among those who have outlived their relations, or are estranged from them, and live alone But unlike some Western countries, this problem is not so acute in India The study on aged persons in Madras revealed that only 2 per cent suffered from bouts of loneliness These were mostly widows/widowers living either alone or with a son or a daughter[16]

Health and medical care is a major problem for the aged The study of about 2,000 aged conducted in Delhi by the Delhi School of Social Work (1974)[17] indicated that about 57 per cent aged had impaired vision, besides the following other main medical and health problems (1) poor dental health, (2) insomnia, (3) impaired hearing/deafness, (4) giddiness/hypertension, (5) forgetfulness/nervous disorders, and (6) lack of free movements of limbs

The housing conditions of most of the aged and the infirm are generally far from satisfactory The problem is particularly acute among those who live alone They are obliged to share accommodation with others As a matter of fact, this problem is also associated with the economic problem

As the degree of activeness or infirmity is an important consideration for examining the problems of the old, they can also be categorised on the basis of their mobility status (1) bedridden, (2) house-bound, (3) ambulator; (4) capable of going out with difficulty; and (5) capable of going out without difficutly

The problems of the aged can also be classified on the basis of community care (1) those who are able to live in their own homes or with relatives, (2) those requiring residential accommodation including care but not medical or nursing care, and (3) the sick and infirm

NON-INSTITUTIONAL SERVICES

Old persons in affluent countries are mostly assured of a fairly decent living owing to the comprehensive social security measures which are available Compared to what has been done for the aged in the Western countries, the efforts made in India are not even a drop in the ocean This is mainly attributed to financial constraints There is no legislation requiring payment of pension or financial assistance to the aged The Central Government have no programme for payment of old age pension to the general population nor do they give any grant to the State Governments for the purpose Progressively more and more State Governments and Union Territory administrations are introducing the scheme of financial cash assistance to the aged or destitutes By April 1982, it was in existence in 20 States and 7 Union Territories While some States paid attention to this important aspect of social security quite early (in the late 50s or early 60s), others could take up this scheme only recently The eligibility criteria for old age pension vary in different States and Union Territories The amount of pension usually ranges from Rs 30 to Rs 60 per month Most States have prescribed the age 65+ for eligibility Some States have relaxed this in the case of widows and the disabled Some States allow an additional amount for dependents A minimum period of residence in the State is also prescribed Most States are now moving in the direction of giving Rs 60 per month as pension as recommended by the Seventh Finance Commission The coverage of beneficiaries has been progressively increasing and in 1980-81 it is estimated that about 2 8 million persons were receiving old age pension

INSTITUTIONAL SERVICES

The only other noteworthy scheme undertaken for the welfare of the aged relates to the institutional service of homes for the aged, organise by State Governments or by the voluntary organisations Despite the loss of status and often facing harsh treatment from their relations, the aged prefer to stay with their family But in extreme cases in the face of humiliation and degradation, particularly at the hands of the daughter-in-law or the son, there are instances of a widower foresaking the son's home in favour of a public institution for the aged Besides, there are some old persons who are practically alone in the world because they

remained bachelors or were widowed early and do not have any near relations, like a son or a daughter, with whom they could reside or share the home For them the only solace is the old age home run by a voluntary organisation or a State Government Homes for the aged run by State Governments do not require any contribution from the inmates owing to the precondition of their practically having no income Generally, they are reported to be poorly run [18] For certain categories of old destitutes it is inevitable to have such homes for want of care from relations or total absence of near relations Since such homes are few in number, some destitutes and aged infirms, who have no regular means of livelihood, take to begging and often find their way into beggars' homes wherever begging has been abolished under the anti-beggary Act Voluntary organisations have been pioneers in providing institutional services for the aged But at present there are only a few such organisations which provide home care and treatment service for the aged Some voluntary organisations receive contributions from the inmates according to their family income status Homes run by voluntary organisations generally receive grant-in-aid either direct from the State Government or from the Central Social Welfare Board

There is obviously enough scope for improvement in the quality and coverage of the scheme of the old age pension Some writers have actually made a few suggestions in this regard Agarwal and Goel[19] have suggested that the Employees' Provident Fund Scheme should be converted into an old age pension insurance scheme or into an invalidity and survivors pension scheme, Idgunji[20] has also suggested this measure with some minor variation Rastogi[21] has urged the need for administrative reforms in regard to the implementation of the scheme by associating technical personnel having interest in social welfare, rather than entrusting this work to revenue officials

Considering the needs of the aged, it is imperative to take supportive action for mitigation of their sufferings particularly by increasing the scope of old age pension, which is required to be given not only to those who have no income and who have no relatives having direct responsibility for their care, but also to those as well who have relatives whose financial resources are limited What is needed more than institutional facilities today are measures which would help in strengthening the family through supportive action so that most of the aged are taken care of within the family itself Lack of financial resources has been felt to be a major hurdle Quite modest proposals which have been made in the past years have been given up on this ground However, keeping in view the present demographic and social trends in the country, there does not seem to be any escape from the need for introducing a uniform social security scheme of pension, or financial assistance, to provide succour to the aged This is an imperative need if a realistic and integrated view of development is taken, specially involving family welfare It is true that significant financial resources will be required to cover all the eligible aged and infirm persons But it has to be appreciated that in a developing country investment in social security, particularly in relation to familial welfare, is also an investment in other aspects of family welfare In view of the high population growth in the country, considerable resources are being devoted to population control and family planning But family planning cannot be considered in isolation Studies on family planning have fully demonstrated that because of economic compulsions in India one of the reasons for a large family is the desire of the parents to have sons who are duty bound to support and look after them in the old age According to a study conducted in India, half of the Indian women aged 55-59 were without their husbands and many of the old women were supported by their sons[22] Even a young woman is aware of the need to have children to care for

her in the later years, if only from the pitiable example of those older women who are without living children and so were bereft of firm security in life[23] The men also feel the same strong desire for children as do their women folk[24] When asked to limit the family size, an oft repeated argument is "But who will look after me in my old age?" This has acted as a strong disincentive for limiting the size of the family, particularly in the absence of social security measures for aged The most effective social and economic security is sought and found in the son However, now that the family planning programme has been accepted as an integrated family welfare programme, an investment in old age pension and other measures of social security for the old should be considered not merely as a socially desired social security measure but as an incentive for limiting the family size as well

OTHER WELFARE SERVICES

Welfare activities in respect of the aged in India are virtually confined to the old age pension scheme and homes for the aged There is, however, scope for organising a number of other welfare services, such as medical care service, recreation and leisure activities, home visiting services, assistance in carrying out household chores, and marketing and counselling service for families caring for old persons Such measures can be organised with community effort by soliciting voluntary support for which some financial help can be provided by the government The success of these measures largely rests on special efforts of voluntary organisations in tapping manpower resources particularly of the medical profession and students and enlisting the contribution of the community as discussed below

(i) Medical Care Service Geriatrics is one of the major activities for the welfare of the aged in industrialised countries But hardly any effort has been made in this direction in India However, with the cooperation of the Indian Council of Medical Research and hospitals and a measure of state support, it should be possible to mobilise a voluntary medical and health care service by enlisting the help of doctors, nurses and para-medical volunteers who can periodically attend to the aged in their neighbourhood

(ii) Provisions for Recreation and Leisure Activities It is apparent that aged persons have a lot of leisure time with hardly any decent recreational activity Their main leisure activities are going for morning and evening stroll, listening to religious discourses, visiting places of worship and playing cards, etc Even these activities are confined to those who are not infirm and live with families and do not have to worry much about the basic necessities However, because of the transitional period through which Indian society is passing traditional modes of leisure activities are disappearing Unlike in the U K , Canada, etc at present there is hardly any worthwhile planned effort for organising recreational activities among the aged in this country It would be rewarding to organise recreational day-centres where provision for in-door games like cards, as well as light reading material such as newspapers and magazines can be made The *panchayat ghar* or the community hall can be the centre of such activities The services of some comparatively active old persons could also be channelled into services that are badly needed in our community Their rich experience and spare time could be made use of for some constructive activities that would also give them satisfaction These measures will also go a long way in removing the sense of loneliness of aged persons

(iii) Voluntary Home Visiting Service In developed countries, voluntary home visiting services have been organised which help in solving the problems of loneliness and reducing the strains and tensions of aged and infirm persons Volunteers from the student community and

others making such regular friendly visits of informal nature can also take up tasks such as the following (a) The home visit service may provide for assisting the aged and infirm persons living alone in carrying out some important household chores, preparing tea, making bed and helping in dressing those whose limbs do not function properly Volunteers under the scheme may also read interesting items of news from newspapers to those who have impaired eye sight and to others for generating some interest and reducing their boredom They may also make purchases of essential goods, particularly for the ambulators and the housebound They may write letters on their behalf to their relations and others if required (b) Counselling service can be provided to families having aged persons posing problems This will particularly help in tackling the psychological problems of the aged by guiding the other family members on how to deal with their problems For organising the home visiting service a few voluntary organisations and the schools of social work could take lead in mobilising and channelling the student community in universities and colleges In fact, many students register themselves for voluntary social service under the National Social Service Scheme and during vacations participate in voluntary construction or developmental work They could be organised to regularly devote some of their leisure hours for making friendly visits to old and infirm persons in their neighbourhood As Schools of Social Work are generally seized of the problems of the aged, they could be involved in schemes for mobilising the student community and organising home visits in collaboration with voluntary organisations

CONCLUSION

It is evident that due to socio-economic changes in the wake of urbanisation and increase in the proportion of the aged in the population, the problem of the aged has become formidable With the impact of industrialisation on society, the traditional means of earning a livelihood and mutual-aid institutions are rapidly dying out The ultimate responsibility for supporting the aged is gradually shifting from the family to the State Studies on the aged have highlighted their main problems and emphasized the need for the State to provide a number of social services for them both directly and indirectly This poses a challenge to policy makers, administrators and social workers, particularly because so far no comprehensive services have been developed for the aged, ostensibly on account of paucity of resources However, it is now apparent that effective social security measures are necessarily to be extended to the aged by strengthening the institution of family as the unit of social welfare through such measures as increasing the scope of the old age pension schemes, etc Besides, there is need for setting up a larger number of old age homes with adequate amenities for those who have no close relations to look after them These measures are all the more necessary as the welfare of the aged has a bearing on family welfare as a whole and particularly on population control

NARENDRA GOPAL NAG

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WELFARE SERVICES FOR DEFENCE PERSONNEL

A high degree of morale is necessary amongst the defence forces which will ensure complete dedication that is so essential for assuring victory In order to motivate defence forces, it is essential that composite welfare services are provided to all defence personnel

This article covers social welfare schemes and projects undertaken by the three Services for their serving personnel It does not cover welfare services for ex-servicemen and civilian ranks in the defence services

COMMON WELFARE PROJECTS

Some of the social welfare projects common to the three Services are given below:

Insurance A war invariably leaves behind widows and orphans The insurance schemes provide financial assistance and lump-sum terminal benefits at retirement The self-help schemes are financed out of contributions and are a sound investment policy

Housing Most State Governments give priority to allotment of land and plots to Servicemen Servicemen serving in far-flung areas on land and sea are normally unaware of these concessions To meet this long felt need, the three Services have started Welfare Housing Associations

Benevolent Schemes Financial assistance is provided to needy defence personnel or their dependents in the case of disabilities and financial distress, educational assistance is provided out of the nominal contributions made by all ranks

Social Service by Service Wives Service wives of the three Services are members of registered societies which aim at assisting by way of rehabilitation, welfare and philanthropy They raise funds through charity events, collections, donations and subscriptions

Welfare services being provided by the Services are covered under the following heads (a) Welfare Projects in the Army, (b) Welfare Projects in the Navy, (c) Welfare Projects in the Air Force, and (d) Canteen Services for the Armed Forces

WELFARE PROJECTS IN THE ARMY

Army Welfare Housing Organisation An Army Welfare Housing Organisation has been established at Army Headqaurters registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860 Its aim is to provide houses to serving personnel and ex-Servicemen who need a house at the place of their own choice by the time they retire Approximately 50 per cent of the cost of the house is provided as loans from the organisation In quite a large number of towns, the land has been purchased or acquired

Separated Family Accommodation The Army has made a provision of separated family accommodation in respect of officers and *jawans* who are posted to field areas Families are well looked after by the Army authorities

Army Group Insurance Scheme The Army Group Insurance Scheme was introduced from January 1976 Initially, the premium rates and the insurance cover for different categories of personnel were as under

Category	Monthly premium (in Rs)	Minimum sum assured on death (in Rs)
(a) Officer	30	30,000
(b) JCO (Junior Commissioned Officer)	15	15,000
(c) OR (Other Ranks)	10	10,000

The above rates were revised from January 1978 as Rs 60,000 against the monthly premium of Rs 60 in respect of Officers and Rs 25,000 against the monthly premium of Rs 25 in respect of JCOs/ORs The insurance cover has now been increased to Rs 1,00,000 for Officers and Rs 50,000 for JCO's/OR's by increasing the premium to Rs 100 and Rs 50 per month respectively

Army Officers' Benevolent Fund This fund provides financial assistance to subscribers who sustain permanent or partial disability which renders them incapable of earning an adequate living, subscribers who are in acute financial distress, and to deserving widows, widowers, dependents or other children as well as other eligible dependents of deceased subscribers Immediately on the death of a subscriber member either during service or at any time subsequent to his retirement, an initial grant of Rs 2,000 is made Thereafter, Rs 500 is remitted to his Next of Kin (NOK) for a fixed period and after six months a lump-sum grant is made

Army Amenity Funds These are formed as a result of *ad hoc* allocations from the National Defence Fund and are used for supply of books to troops, meeting expenses of concert parties engaged for entertainment of troops in forward areas, and for purchase of projectors and generators for the troops deployed in forward areas

Army Wives Welfare Association The Army Wives Welfare Association was formed during the 1965 conflict It is a registered charitable, autonomous body, duly recognised by the government working in direct consultation with the Adjutant General's Branch at Army Headquarters

The objectives of the Association include (a) Army families' welfare, (b) Other Ranks' welfare (c) Military Hospital patients' welfare, (d) Ex-servicemen's welfare, (e) Officers and their families' welfare

Although the Army Wives Welfare Association came into existence after the 1965 conflict, it was not able to achieve much due to paucity of funds All out efforts were made to collect funds by organising film premiers, etc It was in 1971-72 that the Association took a big leap forward The Association then not only became economically self-sufficient for promoting its activities but also donated substantial amounts to the Air Force (Rs 10 lakhs), the Navy (Rs 5 lakhs), the BSF (Rs 10 lakhs), Army Hospitals (Rs 1 lakh) and the Army Public School (about Rs 8 lakhs) From April 1975 to June 1981, the Association has helped 2,423 widows with financial assistance

Presently, the following monetary grants are given to widows/dependents of ex-servicemen in distress

Officers	— Rs 2 000
JCOs	— Rs 1 200
NCOs (Non Commissioned Officers)	— Rs 1 000
Other Ranks	— Rs 800

In 1976, the Association instituted a scheme for awarding 250 scholarships for the education of children of Army personnel who die while in service Children who have attained the age of 10 years and are below 20 years are eligible for the scholarship

Vocational Training In 1979-80, the Association established 22 Mahila Shiksha Kendras (AWWA) for giving vocational training to the families of serving/ex-Servicemen to enable them to find suitable employment and rehabilitation in post-retirement life

Ladies Institute The Association proposes to construct a Ladies Institute at Dhaula Kuan, New Delhi, comprising living accommodation for 100 ladies to provide a secure, hygienic and self-contained temporary accommodation to those in need and also to run vocational training courses to help them find employment

Paraplegic Homes The wars with China and Pakistan have left behind quite a few paraplegics The need was therefore felt to have some permanent accommodation where these paraplegics could be provided board and lodging and treated further For such paraplegics, two paraplegic homes—Kirkee and Mohali—have been established under the control of the Army The capital cost of the homes is met from the National Defence Fund while recurring expenditure for running the homes is met from the Central Welfare Funds

Holiday Homes For the recreation of Officers/JCOs/ORs and their families, holiday homes at hill and other stations have been established at subsidised rates At present holiday homes exist at Mount Abu, Calcutta, Simla, Ranikhet, Nainital, Darjeeling, Shillong, Mussoorie and Srinagar It is also proposed to open a holiday home at Delhi for all ranks who have to visit this place for the education of their children, settling insurance and pension claims, resettlement and other problems

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S FUNDS

A number of Welfare Funds are maintained under the aegis of the Adjutant General's Branch The primary aim of these funds is to render financial assistance to Officers, Junior Commissioned Officers, Other Ranks (serving or retired), their widows and the next of kin

Each Fund is governed by its own set of rules which are so framed as to alleviate distress amongst army personnel, widows/next of kin or their dependents and to render help towards their maintenance and subsistance Financial assistance is granted based on the degree of distress in each case The objectives of these funds are broadly given in the succeeding paragraphs

Adjutant General's Welfare Fund (Ex-servicemen) This fund is meant to render help towards alleviation of economic distress amongst needy ex-service officers, junior commissioned officers, other ranks and their dependents The amount of grant given to them is determined by the degree of distress as assessed, based on the income and liabilities of the individual For ex-junior commissioned officers and other ranks and their dependents grants are made from funds placed at the disposal of Regimental Centres

Adjutant General's Welfare Fund (Servicemen) The object of this fund is to finance welfare projects of a collective nature in the Army costing more than Rs 5 lakhs Allotments are made to Institutes such as the Army Headqaurters Sports Control Board Financial assistance is also given to servicemen, their families and dependents

Adjutant General's Welfare Fund (Education) This fund is utilised to promote educational facilities among army personnel mainly to finance, wholly or partially, scholarship schemes sponsored by Army Headqaurters and to further improve the existing educational facilities.

Adjutant General's Accommodation Relief Fund This fund provides monetary assistance to subsidise house rent paid for private accommodation by widows of deceased officers who die while in service and reside in government allotted accommodation Such assistance is available for a period ranging from six months to one year depending on the merits of each case, upto a monetary ceiling of Rs 300 p m

COAS Fund for Athletes The Chief of the Army Staff has constituted this fund to give monetary incentive to athletes who participate in national and international sports events

Army Relief Fund The objective of the fund is to render immediate financial assistance to the next of kin of all personnel of the Army, Assam Rifles and Border Roads Organisations, killed or missing or invalided out of service during operations Personnel who die as a result of adverse climatic or terrain conditions or in Motor Transport (MT) accidents or natural calamities in forward areas are also eligible for a one time grant at the rate of Rs 1,000 for officers, Rs 300 for junior commissioned officers and Rs 200 for other ranks

Education of Children An Army Weflare Education Society is functioning with the aim of imparting quality education to the children of Army personnel at reasonable cost Army High Schools have been established at several stations

Contributory Education Fund An Army Officers's Contributory Education Fund with the object of awarding scholarships to children of officers is functioning Every serving officer has to contribute to this fund and scholarships are paid as under

(a) A common rate of scholarship @ Rs 25 per month for eligible children is applicable Payment of scholarship is restricted to two children at a time in the age-group of 9-18 years

(b) Physically handicapped and mentally retarded children are paid for a period of 15 years from 5 to 20 years

Education Scholarship Scheme for Army Personnel (ESSA) To give benefits and create incentive among promising children of all ranks of the Army, a comprehensive education scholarship scheme was introduced with effect from 1 January 1978 Five thousand scholarships are awarded each year under this scheme

Family Health and Welfare The welfare and health of the families of all ranks of the army is important Units have their own family welfare centres which look after the health and well-being of families of all ranks These family welfare centres have sewing and knitting machines, weaving and other tools by which the families develop skills In addition, facilities have been provided for womens' literacy These centres employ trained nursing officers and lady doctors to give minor treatment to women and children In addition, the adjacent Military Hospitals and Medical Inspection (MI) Rooms keep rendering medical assistance to these centres Senior Army Officers' wives visit these centres

Nursery Education Nursery education is organised at unit and formation levels under the supervision of formation headquarters Suitably trained teachers are employed to impart education to children

WELFARE PROJECTS IN THE NAVY

Naval Headquarters have been trying to increase amenities to serving naval personnel and looking after their welfare and that of their families when they are no longer alive The following are the main instruments for achieving the above objects (a) Indian Naval Benevolent Association, (b) Naval Group Insurance Fund, (c) Indian Navy Amenities Fund, and (d) Naval Officers' Contributory Education Fund

The above institutions are basically a culmination of the idea of self-help through mutual cooperation The funds are raised mainly through contributions by naval officers and sailors A brief account of the activities of these organisations is given below

Indian Naval Benevolent Association The Association was founded in 1943 Its main object is to render financial assistance to serving and ex-service naval personnel and their families in case of distress All serving naval personnel contribute to its funds Financial assistance is rendered in the following forms (a) Interest free loans are advanced to serving naval personnel to enable them to meet unforeseeable financial expenditure such as repair of damage to houses, marriage of their daughters/sisters, and medical treatment of members of their families when medical aid from Service hospitals is not readily available (b) Sewing and knitting machines are given to ex-service personnel and their families to enable them to earn their livelihood (c) Hearing aids, surgical appliances and artificial limbs are provided free of cost to Naval personnel and their families (d) Pocket allowance is given to tuberculosis patients during hospitalisation after their invalidment to enable them to meet their day to day requirements (e) A rehabilitation grant is given to personnel invalided out on account of tuberculosis/paraplegia/leprosy, etc Ten beds in the Government T B sanatorium, Tambram are reserved for ex-sailors including their families and families of serving sailors Expenditure on account of hospital stoppages as well as diet charges is reimbursed to the hospital from the funds of the Association (f) Lump sum grant and monthly grant are paid to the next of kin of naval personnel who die in service as per schedule drawn up for the purpose

During 1971 a scholarship scheme for post-higher secondary education of serving sailors and of those officers and sailors who die in Service was introduced Under the scheme a

maximum of 60 scholarships a year can be granted to deserving children of naval personnel. From the academic year 1980-81 the scope of the scheme has been enlarged to cover meritorious children of serving officers

It has been decided during May 1981, to institute a scheme for award of 12 merit scholarships a year to children of ex-officers and ex-sailors

Naval Group Insurance Scheme The rate of contribution and the insurance cover available under the scheme is indicated hereunder·

	Contribution Rs per month	Sum assured payable on death Rs
(i) Officers	100	1,00,000
(ii) Sailors	45	50,000

The scheme also provides insurance cover against disability at the rate of 50 per cent of the sum assured payable on death for 100 per cent disability The amount is reduced *pro rata* depending on the percentage of disability assessed by medical authorities, subject to the proviso that insurance cover will not be available for a disability assessed at less than 40 per cent

Retirement benefits are available under the scheme as per schedule prescribed for the purpose

Indian Naval Amenities Fund All serving naval personnel are members of a welfare fund, to which they subscribe at prescribed rates The fund is utilised for the following purposes (a) provision of amenities to service personnel of the navy and their families, (b) promoting sports in the service, (c) rendering financial assistance to set up new canteens and to improve the existing facilities, (d) reimbursement of irrecoverable money from sailors who die whilst on leave, (e) such other purposes as may be incidental to the above objects or as decided by the Board of Administrators from time to time No financial assistance is granted to individuals from this fund

Naval Officer's Contributory Education Fund In 1959, a contributory education fund scheme for officers of the Defence Services was instituted on an inter-Service basis In this scheme each officer has to make a compulsory monthly subscription of Rs 5 Initially, the government gave a matching contribution but the same was discontinued in 1969 The fund is administered by Naval Headquarters Each officer makes the contribution as stated above and his children not exceeding two in number are given scholarships on completion of 10 years of age till the date of completing 17 years of age at prescribed rates

In the case of officers who die in service or are invalided out of the service and also those who subscribe for 24 years or more and retire or die after retirement, their eligible children continue to have the fund benefit without subscribing further

Family Clinics in the Navy In the Navy, family clinics have been set up in all major naval stations These centres provide comprehensive health care—promotive, preventive, curative and also rehabilitative—to families of naval personnel Special facilities exist for provision of financial aid to handicapped children in the form of grants for purchase of surgical appliances and scholarships for handicapped children attending special schools

WELFARE PROJECTS IN THE AIR FORCE

Being a comparatively smaller force, the Air Force has most of the welfare measures used by the other Services but in some cases such as 'housing' it has joined hands with the Navy

Group Insurance Scheme The Group Insu-

rance Scheme was revised and introduced after approval of the government, effective from 1 November 1978 The revised scheme introduced a new concept of disability insurance at 50 per cent of life cover as disability benefit for invalidment from service on medical ground with 100 per cent disability The disability benefit for reduced percentage upto 40 per cent disability is payable by proportionate reduction The Board of Trustees approved an increase of 10 per cent in the life cover provided to all members Over 700 bereaved families and over 200 disabled and invalided Warrant Officers and Airmen have been helped till June 1981 After experience of two years, it was observed that the extra premium charged from officers of flying branch for covering aviation risk amounted to more than the death claims payable for deaths due to flying accidents Accordingly, the flying extra premium rates were lowered from 1 November 1977 With effect from 1 November 1981, the scheme has been extended to airmen undergoing *ab initio* training and under-trainee commissioned officers

An ex-gratia fund has been created to meet payments to cases of invalidment/deaths which do not strictly come within the purview of the existing rules From January 1981 a system of paying survival benefit claims through units/stations in the case of airmen availing leave pending retirement and forwarding cheques at their home address so as to reach them on due date, has been introduced

With the introduction of the revised scheme a sizeable amount is being paid as death benefit With a view of ensuring utilisation of this amount in augmenting the regular income of the family, advice is rendered to the family members about the most beneficial investment available to them

Proposal for introduction of post-retirement insurance cover is under study for retiring Air Force personnel for a period of ten years after retirement or attaining the age of 65 years, whichever is earlier Increase in the amount of the existing insurance cover is also being contemplated

With the life insurance cover and the disability insurance cover being provided by the Air Force Group Insurance Scheme a long felt need for looking after the family of the deceased personnel, disabled personnel invalided out of service and also the requirement of funds for resettlement after retirement has been met to a great extent The promptness of payment makes it still more effective

The IAF Benevolent Association The Association was formed in November 1940 The main source of income is subscriptions from its members, i e officers, airmen and Non-Combatants (Enrolled), (NCs (E) Initially, financial assistance was rendered to the families of Air Force personnel who died whilst in service In 1962 proper norms of assistance were formulated for the following categories (a) death grants for death in service, (b) Air Force patients in hospitals, (c) illness of self and families, (d) re-imbursement of medical expenses, (e) rehabilitation grant to widows, (f) loans to serving Air Force personnel, and (g) delay in grant of pension/unemployment.

In 1965, the Subroto Memorial Scholarship Scheme was introduced to award scholarships to the children of deceased, discharged and serving Air Force personnel for college professional courses after the higher secondary stage The quantum of scholarship is Rs 1,000 per annum and duration is five years or completion of the course whichever is earlier

The Family Assistance Scheme for Officers was introduced in May 1966 Under the scheme an officer contributes Rs 10 p m from his pay and he/his family is paid the following benefits under this scheme

On retirement	—His total contribution is refunded

In case of death in service	—Rs 300 p m for 10 years (initially the quantum was Rs 150 per month)
In case of death within 10 years of retirement	—Rs 150 per month for 5 years (initially the quantum was Rs 100 per month)

The Family Assistance Scheme (Airmen) was introduced in September 1967 Under the scheme, an airman contributes Rs 3 per annum from his pay and he/his family is paid the following benefits under the scheme

On retirement/discharge from service	—Total contribution is refunded
In case of death in service	—Rs 200 per month for 10 years (initially the quantum was Rs 100 per month
In case of death within 10 years of retirement	—Rs 100 per month for 5 years (initially the quantum was Rs 50 per month)

In 1974, the IAF Benevolent Association and the HAL Scholarship Schemes were introduced to award scholarships to the children of deceased/disabled and retired airmen for school education from Class VI to Class XII The quantum of scholarship is Rs 600 per annum and duration is 3 years or completion of school education whichever is earlier

In 1970 the quantum of assistance was not only increased for the categories mentioned earlier, the following categories were also added to the existing norms (a) rehabilitation grant to medically boarded out airmen, (b) grant for daughter's marriage for officers and airmen who died in service, (c) grant for families of missing officers/airmen, (d) rehabilitation grant to superannuated airmen and airmen who retire after 24 years service, (e) children's education assistance to superannuated airmen and airmen who retire after 24 years service

In 1973, the Indian Air Force Benevolent Association acquired a number of flats in various State capitals for assisting widows of Air Force personnel to live by paying very nominal rent

In 1976 the IAFBA Merit Scholarship Scheme was introduced to award scholarships to children of serving Air Force personnel after the 10th board examination The quantum of the scholarship is Rs 600 per annum and its duration two years

With effect from 1 October 1980 the norms of assistance have been increased further under the same categories and a few new schemes have been introduced

IAF Central Welfare Fund The IAF Central Welfare Fund renders assistance to Air Force messes, institutes and canteens, both existing and newly formed, by giving grants and loans for the purchase of essential items It also assists in educational, sports, and maternity and child welfare centre activities at units and formations The sources of income are annual subscriptions from Air Force messes and institutes and yearly allocations from Flag Day and other Funds

Air Force Wives Welfare Association The AWWA came into being in 1971 with the object of helping young widows and their children to rehabilitate themselves The Association now provides welfare assistance to the families of all serving/retired personnel of the Indian Air Force The spheres of welfare activity of Air Force Wives Welfare Association include educational assistance, vocational training, financial assistance, employment, housing and general welfare of the families The Air Force Wives Welfare Association extends help to other philanthropic causes

The objects of the Air Force Wives Welfare Association are (a) to promote the welfare of the families of officers and airmen of the IAF, whether serving, retired or deceased, (d) to take steps to ensure the welfare of all patients in Air Force hospitals and other hospitals, (c) to support any other association having similar objects, and (d) to raise funds by subscriptions,

donations, collections, fetes, etc for any objects consistent with the objectives of the Association

The Air Force Wives Welfare Association works at three levels, viz , Central Headquarters in Delhi, Regional Headquarters at Commands/Group level and local units at Station/Unit level The President of the Central organisation is the first lady of the Indian Air Force (wife of the Chief of the Air Staff) Regional Units at Command Headquarters are headed by the wife of the seniormost officer (wife of the Air Officer Commanding in Chief (AOC-in-C), the local units are looked after by the wife of the local Station Commander

The Air Force Naval Housing Board The Air Force Naval Housing Board is a central organisation which has been set up to look after the housing requirements of Air Force and Naval personnel The main purpose of the Board is to negotiate with the State Governments and urban development authorities for the acquisition of suitable land and to set up composite housing colonies Initially, the Board has decided to set up these colonies at 17 different places throughout the country However, because of the paucity of funds and also other attendant administrative problems involved in such large scale ventures, the Board has, to start with, decided to concentrate its activity on six to seven stations in the northern, eastern, southern and western regions To enable the members to have adequate funds to finance their dwelling units, the Board has arranged loan facility for them with some nationalised banks The Board is also actively pursuing with the Ministry of Works and Housing for getting government house building loans extended to the members of the Board in the same manner as applicable to those who have joined the DDA scheme

Family Health and Welfare in the Air Force Comprehensive health care for the welfare of the families of defence personnel includes preventive, promotive and curative medical care The service personnel and their families including dependent parents are entitled to free medical and dental treatment at Service hospital/station sick quarters/MI Rooms and maternity and child welfare centres/family welfare centres The functions of the above mentioned establishments are complementary to each other and ensure complete health care programme for the families This includes (a) ante natal and post natal care of the families, (b) outpatient and in-patient medical treatment including deliveries, (c) infant and child care including mother craft and well baby clinics, (d) protective inoculations and vaccinations, (e) family welfare advice including family planning; (f) instructions on diet and nutrition, (g) school health programme, (h) health education, and (j) domiciliary visits by staff in connection with comprehensive health care, health education and family planning work

Service Hospitals Expert medical care for treatment of medical and surgical cases by qualified specialists is available for the service families Cases requiring specialised treatment at special treatment centres are authorised transfer from one service hospital to another To supplement items provided from service sources, patients comfort funds in the hospitals receive substantial contributions from the IAF Central Welfare Funds The Indian Red Cross also provides certain items of amenity and in larger service hospitals Red Cross Social Workers are posted to look after the welfare of patients

CANTEEN SERVICES

The Canteen Stores Department (CSD) is a non-profit organisation charged with the responsibility of providing canteen services to the Armed Forces The CSD is a regular government department under the Ministry of Defence It caters to the requirements of consu-

mer goods and items of daily necessity, including consumer durables to the service personnel and their families. The Charter of the CSD is as under (a) provide consumer goods to troops, wherever they are, at a price cheaper than the prevailing market rates, as far as and where possible, (b) ensure that the level of consumer demand satisfaction is maintained at the maximum, (c) generate reasonable profitability to sustain the organisation, permit growth and provide additional facilities for the troops and their families, (d) formulate and execute development programme to improve and maintain organisational effectiveness The CSD is organised into 29 bulk distribution depots, located in relation to and in conformity with the concentration of the units and formations of the Armed Forces These bulk issue depots, in turn, service the demands of approximately 3,500 formations headquarters and unit registered canteens of the Armed Forces, Para Military Forces, Border Road Organisations and other defence installations The CSD has approximately 2,200 items on its list which are procured from over 500 reputed manufacturers The pricing policy is laid down by the Board of Control, Canteen Services In fixing the wholesale price for various commodities, the CSD ensures that only the minimum margin, so as to cover the organisational expenses and handling charges including the average transportation charges, on all India distribution basis, are added to the procurement price

All unit canteens generate reasonable trade surplus, even after meeting their organisational expenses, on account of the differential allowed between the wholesale and the retail rates fixed by the CSD The premises for operating the unit run canteens are also allowed on a nominal rental of Rs 1 50 per month within the limit of permissible floor area, as a regimental institute

In addition to the above trade surplus so generated, all unit registered canteens receive a quantitative trade discount, equivalent to 3 per cent of their gross annual purchases from the CSD directly. These are available to the unit and formation commanders of the registered unit canteens for: (a) supporting welfare activities within their spheres of command; (b) strengthening the organisation of unit canteens In the course of the trading activity of the department at the end of each year some of the surplus fund is re-distributed to the three Service Headquarters by the Board of Control, Canteen Services, so as to enable them to support welfare activites centrally for their personnel In addition, these funds are also utilised for augmenting the medical facilities for families of service personnel, establishing central welfare centres in various military stations, equipping children's parks in residential areas and improvement of residential facilities in various stations A substantial sum of grant-in-aid is afforded to the Services Sports Control Board to promote sports in the Services The Board of Control also provides a substantial grant-in-aid to the Indian Red Cross Society for welfare purposes Grants-in-aid are also afforded to the Artificial Limb Centre at Pune and other Military Hospitals for after treatment care Contributions are made to central/organisational Tuberculosis and Cancer funds Only the minimum requirement of the Department, needed to strengthen the organisation and augment its capital outlay, is retained by the Department under the orders of the Board of Control The balance of trade surplus is distributed every year, to support large scale welfare programmes of the Armed Forces and other social welfare schemes Thus, the Canteen Services aim at promoting social welfare within the Armed Forces

COLONEL PRITHVI NATH

WELFARE SERVICES FOR THE POLICE FORCE

A policeman lives and performs his duties under greater stress than the members of any other occupation Besides the arduous and strenuous nature of duties which he is expected to perform all the time, he is exposed to different types of risks and hazards which are unique to his occupation In addition to the physical strain, the job causes tremendous physical and mental stress The odd hours of duty and the frequent changes in his place of posting draw him away from his home and disrupt his family life He is also required to come out with quick and right decisions and take appropriate action in different types of difficult situations which he encounters in his daily work He has to work under a number of restrictions and constraints It is, therefore, imperative that if the policeman is to function on the right lines, he should be happy and contented and this calls for well organised welfare measures which will promote his morale to the desired level of satisfaction

Welfare services for the police can be broadly divided into two categories In the first category would fall those services which should be regarded as part of the conditions of service of the police personnel, like pensionary benefits, housing, medical facilities, educational facilities, leave, etc The second category would cover measures like welfare centres, aid to children of police personnel for pursuing higher studies, financial relief to police families in distress situations, recreation and entertainment amenities, etc Since the first category of welfare measures relate to conditions of service of police personnel, it is important that these should be funded by the government The organisation and funding of the second types of welfare services would depend primarily on the initiative and leadership of the Force, supplemented by adequate government response, both in terms of encouragement as well as financial contributions Before analysing the subject further it would be useful to have a look at some of the services and facilities of both types currently available to police personnel in the country

PENSIONARY BENEFITS AND PECUNIARY ASSISTANCE

So far as the ordinary pensionary benefits are concerned, which are admissible on normal superannuation or voluntary or compulsory retirement, no distinction is made between police personnel and other government servants either by the Central Government or the State Governments It is in respect of the grant of extraordinary pensionary benefits that some special provisions for police personnel exist in the rules in a few States Under such schemes, the family of a deceased man is entitled to get pension at a rate equivalent to the total emoluments (Pay + DA) which the person concerned was drawing at the time of his death For instance, under the Uttar Pradesh Police (Extraordinary Pension) Rules, 1961, a widow of a deceased police official is entitled to a pension amount equivalent to the emoluments drawn by the deceased official at the time of his death payable till the date on which he would have retired on superannuation Therefore, the pension to the heir will be equal to that amount which the deceased police official would have drawn in accordance with the ordinary pension rules, had he not died These Rules, however, are applicable only to non-gazetted police officials who are "killed in encounters with the dacoits or armed criminals or with foreign hostiles " Policemen killed in other circumstances are covered under the normal pension Rules Families of deceased police personnel get similar benefits in Rajasthan under the Rajasthan Service Rules and in Madhya Pradesh under the Madhya Pradesh (Police Personnel) Extraordinary Family Pension Rules, 1965 In

Rajasthan, the special pensionary benefits are awarded to police personnel upto the rank of Superintendent of Police (other than IPS officers) who die as a result of encounters with dacoits and enemy action The Madhya Pradesh Rules, on the other hand, are applicable to police personnel below the rank of Deputy Superintendent of Police who die as a result of encounters with dacoits or hostiles or in equally hazardous circumstances

State Governments which have framed separate Extraordinary Pension Rules for police personnel, besides awarding pension at this rate, also grant to the bereaved family gratuity equivalent to eight months' emoluments Like pension, this rate of gratuity is also applicable only in those cases where death occurs under circumstances mentioned above Other police personnel or those dying in other circumstances are covered by rules applicable to all government servants

The majority of States have not framed separate rules regarding the grant of extraordinary pensionary benefits to police personnel The rules, however, have been framed more or less on the lines on which the Central Government has framed rules for its employees

Ex-gratia payment out of government funds is also made to families of deceased police personnel Some State Governments have issued specific instructions about the grant of ex-gratia compensation to families of police personnel killed while on duty The maximum amount given as ex-gratia compensation in some States is Rs 15,000

Almost all police forces have departmental funds from which financial assistance is provided to families of the deceased police personnel The scale at which assistance is provided differs from State to State The Border Security Force provides the most attractive benefits to its employees in so far as assistance from departmental welfare funds is concerned In case of death due to action by enemy, hostiles, armed smugglers, dacoits, criminals, rioters and other miscreants, the bereaved family receives lump-sum grants of Rs 2,500 in the shape of a Fixed Deposit Receipt for 61 months out of Border Security Force Benevolent Fund, Rs 5,000 in cash out of Border Security Force Contributory Benevolent Fund, alongwith a monthly assistance of Rs 150 for a period of 10 years Assistance is also provided in cases of 'accidental deaths' Death while on duty on account of being swept away by avalanches, exposure, drowning, lightning and also on account of injuries received as a result of mine-blast not attributable to enemy action, unexpected fall, etc entitle the bereaved family to a lump-sum grant of Rs 2,500 in the shape of a Fixed Deposit Receipt for a period of 61 months out of Border Security Force Benevolent Fund, Rs 5,000 in cash out of Border Security Force Contributory Benevolent Fund, and Rs 100 per month for a period of 10 years

Another novel scheme which has been adopted by the Border Security Force is the Recurring Deposit Scheme Under this scheme, members of the Border Security Force contribute voluntarily every month Rs 10 or above in multiples of ten The contribution is deducted at source from the salary bill which is computerised The depositors are paid interest at the rate of 10 per cent to be worked out on a monthly basis A person contributing Rs 30 a month can collect over Rs 1 lakh after 35 years It also enables the depositors to be insured against death and grievous injury due to accident under the Accident Insurance Scheme at no extra cost In case of death, the family of the deceased gets a sum of Rs 5,000 to Rs 17,000, depending on the monthly amount of recurring deposit The scheme thus represents the most important single small savings effort of its kind It enables members of the force and their families to build up their savings profitably through small contributions and provides the government with sav-

ings of the order of Rs 1 5 crores every year

It may also be worth mentioning here the Group Insurance Schemes which are aimed at providing low cost life insurance protection to a group of employees Under such schemes, a large number of employees in organised groups are provided social security benefits Insurance cover provided under such schemes to an individual is generally restricted to Rs 10,000 only A scheme of this kind has been recently introduced by the Central Government for all its employees, including policemen in the central police organisations Similarly, some State Governments have introduced such schemes under different names which are meant for all government servants, including policemen All those who are insured under such schemes are paid the amount of insurance cover in the event of death while in service or the accumulated value of the monthly contributions on normal or premature retirement These schemes are extremely important from the social security point of view and deserve to be adopted by police forces in all States/Union Territories

A few important points regarding the grant of pensionary benefits and pecuniary assistance to families of deceased police personnel need to be stressed here Firstly, it is necessary that separate rules for providing extraordinary pensionary benefits to families of policemen killed in line of duty should be framed by those States, where no distinction is made at prsent between policemen and other government servants Policemen, as already mentioned, face a higher degree of professional hazard and peril as compared to other government servants and it is only appropriate that they are treated on a separate footing from others In fact, it is necessary not only in respect of pensionary as well as other forms of benefits like ex-gratia grants The scale of assistance provided to policemen dying in similar circumstances in the line of duty should, as far as possible, be uniform in all police forces Secondly, besides introducing an element of uniformity, it is also extremely essential to ensure that assistance is rendered to bereaved families in time Procedures for grant of penion or extraordinary pension should be simplified and streamlined and it should be ensured that the cases are handled expeditiously and humanely and not in the usual bureaucratic style marked by routine and red tapism

PROVISION OF LIVING ACCOMMODATION

Provision of living accommodation is one of the important welfare measures for police personnel Absence of family quarters for policemen affects adversely not only their morale and discipline, but also their efficiency, as those living away from their places of duty cannot be collected in an emergency and no effective control and supervision can be exercised on their work Providing family accommodation for policemen, is, therefore, in the nature of a 'categorical imperative'

The acute shortage of family accommodation for police personnel and the need to improve the position in different police forces has been highlighted by various Police Commissions/Committees appointed by State Governments from time to time The problem, however, still remains fairly acute and the percentage of satisfaction against requirements of residential accommodation for police personnel is still rather low It also differs from State to State, as is seen from the Table 'A' below .

Realising the importance of police housing for police personnel, the Government of India had introduced a scheme in 1956 and 1957 to provide loan assistance to States for the construction of houses for non-gazetted police personnel Under this scheme, the Government of India has given considerable financial assistance to the States, some of which have also contributed large amounts from their own budgetary resources for the construction of houses It was,

TABLE—A

Residential accommodation for police personnel

	States	*Non-gazetted police strength*	*Number provided housing upto 1978*	*Percentage of col 3 to col 2*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Andhra Pradesh	45,584	14,908	32 7
2	Assam	29,187	8,382	28 7
3	Bihar	55,163	23,345	42 3
4	Gujarat	43,044	31,730	73 7
5	Haryana	16,075	7,148	44 5
6	Himachal Pradesh	7,292	2,669	36 6
7	Jammu and Kashmir	13,373	554	4 1
8	Karnataka	34,247	17,796	32 0
9	Kerala	21,719	9,414	43 3
10	Madhya Pradesh	57,294	31,755	55 4
11	Maharashtra	82,570	43,507	52 7
12	Manipur	6,330	683	10 8
13	Meghalaya	4,592	1,115	24 3
14	Nagaland	8,387	2,069	24 7
15	Orissa	26,026	15,367	59 0
16	Punjab	27,137	13,831	51 0
17	Rajasthan	40,770	22,895	56 2
18	Sikkim	1,048	99	9 4
19	Tamil Nadu	41,388	17,637	42 6
20	Tripura	5,640	1,790	31 7
21	Uttar Pradesh	106,540	70,268	66 0
22	West Beganl	66,474	16,734	25 2
		739,889	353,696	47 8

however, only in 1973-74 that this was made a plan scheme Till then it was functioning as a non-plan scheme, which affected adversely the problem of meeting the requirements of family accommodation for police personnel in different States

Some States like Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Bihar have formed Police Housing Corporations for attracting institutional finance Initially, some of these Corporations succeeded in getting loans from organisations like the L I C, HUDCO, etc to meet their financial requirements Such assistance, has, however, not always been forthcoming on a regular basis The Seventh Finance Commission accepted the need for increasing

financial assistance to State Governments where the percentage of satisfaction is far below the national average It would be extremely helpful to set up a suitable machinery for monitoring the progress made in achieving targets and ensuring that funds are utilised in a proper and planned manner The need for the government to set up Police Housing Corporations in all those States where they do not exist at present can hardly be over-emphasised

MEDICAL FACILITIES

At present, medical care to police personnel is provided either by police hospitals or dispensaries or by government hospitals Though some steps have been taken by State Governments to improve the standard of medical care available to police personnel, the existing medical facilities are still far from adequate in many States It is important to ensure that each district headquarter must have a small police hospital equipped with adquate resources, both in terms of medical staff and medicines District police hospitals should also be provided with a mobile ambulance-cum-medicine van which can go round the Lines. Police Stations and Outposts and do not only periodical regular medical check-up of all the men but also provide on-the-spot treatment wherever required At places which have concentrations of police families and where the incidence of tuberculosis and other diseases is high amongst police personnel, it is important that special wards or beds should be reserved in government hospitals and other specialised treatment centres Free medical cover should be provided not only to each serving member of the police force and his family but also to retired police personnel and their families

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Because of long and irregular hours of work, frequent changes in the place of posting and other reasons, it becomes extremely difficult for police personnel to ensure that their children are given good and uninterrupted education In a number of cases, children of police personnel are not able to get satisfactory and continuous education due to lack of educational facilities In a sample pilot study of the economic profile of some families of Constables carried out in Maharashtra for the National Police Commission by the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, it was found that the children of 66 per cent of the selected sample had dropped out of their schools between the 6th and 10th standards

Lack of adequate educational facilities for the children of policemen has been commented upon by various State Police Commissions also Provision of free education upto High School standard, a lump-sum grant for purchase of books, waiving of fees in government schools, provision of scholarships for college education and hostel accommodation at every district headquarters, are some of the important special educational facilities recommended for the children of policemen by some of the State Police Commissions

Very little, however, has been done in this regard so far by State Governments Some State police forces have built up funds to give scholarships to meritorious children of police personnel, but the assistance which they are able to provide is usually meagre because of lack of resources It is only in some Central police organisations, particularly the Border Security Force, that a lot of good work has been done in establishing and organising educational facilities for the benefit of the children of their employees In the Border Security Force, a separate fund known as the Border Security Force Educational Fund has been established This fund has been built up (i) by contributions of Re 1 to Rs 3 received on a pro-rata basis from the serving members of the Border Secur-

ity Force, (ii) by the sale proceeds of scrap worth approximately Rs 20 lakhs every year, and (iii) grants-in-aid from the Central Government Out of this Fund, 7 educational and 2 vocational institutions are run to impart training to the children of Border Security Force personnel Arrangements have also been made to set up free primary schools upto Standard V in all Border Security Force colonies This Fund also provides financial assistance to the children of serving as well as deceased Border Security Force personnel for studying in residential schools or other institutions This example of the Border Security Force needs to be followed by other police forces also There is an urgent need to create a Police Education Fund in each State, with the ultimate objective of establishing at least one Police School in each district headquarters for the education of children of police personnel upto higher secondary stage. This school should also have hostel accommodation for children of police personnel posted outside the district headquarters Children with a record of meritorious performance should be encouraged and assisted to pursue higher studies

SPECIAL ENTITLEMENT FOR LEAVE

Generally, policemen are entitled to the same leave facilities which are available to other government servants. It is only in one or two States that the constabulary have been entitled to additional casual leave to compensate for the work that they do on Sundays and other gazetted holidays. The problem , however, is not only of entitlement but also of ensuring that leave is granted to policemen, when required by them Compensatory leave in the form of extra casual leave should be given to policemen in all States There should also be adequate leave reserve in the strength of non-gazetted police personnel to enable the personnel to proceed on leave whenever they want to avail of leave The constabulary should also be allowed to have off-days every week on par with other government personnel

POLICE WELFARE FUND

The importance of establishing a Welfare Fund in every police force can hardly be overemphasised This Fund is required to look after several items of welfare of policemen and their families which cannot ordinarily be met from government funds alone At the Centre, the Border Security Force has shown considerable initiative and imagination in establishing a Welfare Fund on a fairly large scale A number of welfare schemes in the Border Security Force are being financed out of this Fund which has been built up by realising monthly subscriptions from all the members of the force on a graded scale, grants received from Central Government and income realised from various activities of field units The efforts made by the Border Security Force need to be emulated by all the State police forces Though the government has to give a lump-sum as well as recurring grant every year, it has to be realised that the corpus for such a Fund has to be built up by codntributions from the police personnel themselves The Fund must be managed and administered by committees consisting of representatives of all ranks in the Force and satisfactory arrangements must be made for auditing the Fund from time to time

FAMILY WELFARE-CUM-WORK CENTRES

Family welfare-cum-work centres have been established by a number of police forces, both at the Centre as well as in the States These centres have been set up mainly with a view to augmenting the income of lower ranks by providing productive employment to members of their families, particularly the womenfolk These centres undertake activities like stitching of uni-

forms, knitting, manufacture of handicrafts, etc Though such centres have been set up at a number of places, there is considerable scope for expansion of activities and for the spread of such centres to cover more families In fact, there should be a centre in every district headquarters and as far as possible in every Armed Police Battalion Necessary arrangements should be made to ensure that the wages paid for the work done at these centres are fair and at par with the prevailing market rates

CANTEENS AND COOPERATIVE STORES

The facility of providing canteens and cooperative stores for the benefit of its employees is one of the important welfare measures To a limited extent this facility has been provided for police personnel both at the Centre as well as in several States The canteens provide refreshments and cooperative stores enable police personnel to meet their requirements of household goods at reasonable and competitive rates This facility, however, needs to be extended to cover more areas and larger numbers of police families It is also for consideration if the goods sold by these canteens and stores could be exempted from sales tax and excise duties to enable police personnel to obtain them at reasonable rates These canteens and stores should as far as possible be manned by educated persons from police families and retired police personnel

WELFARE OFFICERS

Some Central Police Organisations and States have appointed police welfare officers for the execution of various welfare schemes for police personnel and their families Though these posts have been created in some police departments and quiet useful work has been done by welfare officers at some places, it has generally been noticed that the approach towards this type of work lacks the required degree of initiative and drive Monitoring of various welfare schemes and designing new imaginative schemes would require full-time and continuous attention from an imaginative and dynamic officer at a senior level in every State This needs to be provided In the final analysis, however, it is the initiative and genuine interest shown not only by the welfare officer but by the leadership at all levels within the organisation that can really bring about the right type of climate for the welfare of police personnel and their families

REDRESSAL OF GRIEVANCES

The problems of the police in this country have not always received adequate and sympathetic attention Accumulations of genuine grievances leading to resentment amongst the lower ranks gave rise to police agitations at differents places in the country It is necessary that a suitable machinery is set up which will be responsible for projecting the problems of the police force to the government and also for monitoring the progress of cases requiring the attention and sanction of the government In this context, the Staff Council concept can be usefully employed to bridge the gap between the police forces and the governments The apex body of such Councils must be presided over by the Home Minister concerned

The brief assessment of the various welfare schemes in the police force, their inadequacies and the areas requiring greater attention given above indicates that, though some measures have been taken by almost all the police forces in the country for the welfare of policemen, there has been uneven, unplanned and inadequate growth of welfare services for the police This has been due to the scarcity of resources and lack of recognition of the important role which policemen play under exceptionally difficult circumstances This, in turn, has resulted in unwillingness to treat policemen on a slightly

different footing from other government personnel in respect of provision of welfare services, etc

Merely improving the service conditions and providing higher pecuniary benefits to police personnel would not be enough The concept of welfare must be understood and accepted in broader terms—as an integral part of the managerial and motivational philosophy of the police

K.F. RUSTAMJI

WELFARE SERVICES FOR RAILWAYS EMPLOYEES

Indian Railways serve more than 7,000 railway stations, carrying daily over 6 lakh tonnes of goods traffic and more than 10 million passengers This task is performed by a staff strength of 17 lakh employees, of which over 15 2 lakhs are regular employees and the balance casual labourers Indian Railways are one of the largest employers in the country The wage bill of the regular employees alone amounts to about Rs 1,036 crores In addition, the railways spend about Rs 70 01 crores in providing a wide range of amenities such as, subsidised housing, medical, educational facilities and other welfare activities The Indian Railway system occupies a key position in stimulating the growth and diversification of the country's economy

With such a large work force, welfare of its employees becomes an important part of the activities of the organisation Staff welfare measures are designed for the betterment of working conditions and for better utilisation of leisure Welfare work on the railways helps in improving the relations between the administration and its employees. Welfare schemes create a community of interest between the two, with the ultimate aim of improving industrial relations They can be classified into two groups (i) those required by statutes, and (ii) those pertaining to social welfare The welfare measures which are covered under statutory rules and labour laws are obligatory, but social welfare covers programmes of welfare which have as their basis voluntary participation of the railwaymen and the administration These programmes are normally managed on the principles of community development and play a constructive role in the efficient working of the railways By these measures, not only certain benefits are available to staff but they also help them to become better citizens of the country.

INDIAN RAILWAYS AND WELFARE

The railways have a separate welfare organisation within the overall framework of the Personnel Branch This organisation is responsible for implementing the mandatory welfare requirement and for following up the various directives and schemes that are introduced by the administration in this field. Apart from the Factories Act, 1948, as modified up to June 1965, which lays down the basic minimum requirements in respect of washing facilities, facilities for sitting, first-aid attention, canteens, shelters, lunch rooms, etc , railways seek to provide inducements which motivate labour to produce more Such motivation comes in the shape of incentives, fresh appointments, loans for house building activities, medi-care, etc The management is also responsive to the grievances of the employees

Welfare measures for railway employees have grown a great deal since the railways started running in 1853 With the meagre provision of recreational facilities and schooling for their

children and a set-up to cater to the requirements of the large number of expatriates, these welfare measures have increased to provide to the majority of the staff various benefits under schemes introduced from time to time These are enumerated below

Travel Concession This is in consonance with international practice on railways and other transport undertakings, airlines, shipping companies, roadways, etc Travel concessions to railway employees have formed almost a part of their service conditions and as such they have become a matter of right There has been progressive curtailment in these privileges in the case of gazetted officers and an upward revision for non-gazetted staff These concessions assist the employee in maintaining his living conditions at a time when the general conditions have become difficult and there is a clamour for improvement in the service conditions everywhere

Staff Grievances The machinery for redressal of grievances in the railways is welfare oriented Representations made by employees are scrutinised in detail Normally, the subject matter of the representation lies within the powers of General Managers and most of the representations are settled at the zonal level However, quite a few of them are also received by the Railway Board and the Railway Minister Such representations are examined in the Ministry after obtaining the remarks of the railways and after examining them in the light of rules and instructions, suitable action is taken and orders issued where necessary

Sports and Cultural Activities Railways pay special attention to sports and cultural activities Regular competitions are organised in the field of fine arts, athletics, etc

Education Provision of educational facilities is the primary responsibility of the Ministry of Education/State Governments. Railways have, however, set up schools as a welfare measure at places where such facilities are not sufficient or are non-existent Whenever a need is felt for provision of additional schooling facilities, these are established and assistance is rendered in the form of grants-in-aid for construction of buildings for schools, for extension of existing school buildings, etc For the use of the schools, railway land or railway buildings are leased at nominal rent There were 758 educational institutions under the management of railways at the end of 1980 They are mostly primary, middle and high/higher secondary schools There is also one degree college and three intermediate colleges There is also a provision of subsidised hostels These have been set up in major linguistic areas to cater to the needs of the staff who are posted outside their linguistic area and who have to send their children from the headquarters for the purpose of education These hostels provide boarding and lodging at subsidised rates At present the railways run 15 subsidised hostels This facility is available to railway employees drawing pay upto Rs 579 per month The recoveries are made on a graded scale Railway employees are also eligible to draw hostel subsidy at the rate of Rs 60 p m per child subject to the condition that the employees are forced to keep their child in a hostel of a residential school because of their transfer Reimbursement of tuition fees is made in the case of employees whose pay does not exceed Rs 1,200 per month in respect of children studying upto higher secondary stage leading to a three year degree course Technical scholarships are also available to railway employees which are reimbursed from the Staff Benefit Fund Approximately 1,100 such scholarships are made available every year. The railways also take keen interest in the setting up of Central Schools which function under the control of Kendriya Vidayalaya Sangathan of the Minis-

try of Education Six such schools were functioning at the end of 1981 Children of railway employees whose basic pay is upto Rs 440 per month studying in primary school are supplied uniforms free of charge

Staff Benefit Fund A Staff Benefit Fund has been created for the welfare of railway employees and their children The per capita grant creditable to the fund has been gradually enhanced from Rs 4 50 per yeat to Rs 9.00 per year Assistance is given from this Fund for the education of staff and their children as stated above This Fund is also utilised for the provision of recreation and amusement facilities and for giving relief in distress The total contribution to this Fund over various years has been shown in the Table 'A'.

Canteens· Another activity adopted by the railways is the provision of cheap and wholesome food, on no profit and no loss basis near the place of work These canteens have also been provided in establishments where no such canteens are statutorily required Apart from 85 canteens required to be established under various statutes, there are 239 non-statutory canteens as on 31 March 1981. These canteens serve refreshments and some of them serve full meals to the staff. The railways provide accommodation, furniture, electricity, crockery, cutlery and other equipment for the canteens; in addition, they bear charges for electricity and water used by these canteens

Holiday Homes· At selected hill stations and sea-side resorts, holiday homes have been set up to provide accommodation at reasonable comfort and at cheap rates so that employees can spend their holidays at these places Camps are also organised every year. These camps are subsidised from the Staff Benefit Fund and batches of employees are taken to places of historic or other importance and interests in the country. Approximately, 5,000 employees avail of these facilities every year. Twenty-five holiday homes were functioning at various places at the end of 1980

TABLE—A
Staff Benefit Fund

Year	For Staff Benefit Fund	For sports	Recreation facilities Gazetted officers/ Supervisors (in rupees)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1971-72	53,68,756	6,71,000	
1972-73	54,27,172	6,78,000	
1973-74	54,59,260	6,82,000	
1974-75	55,64,172	6,96,000	
1975-76	99,40,636	9,45,000	
1976-77	99,66,460	14,30,000	14,22,000
1977-78	1,00,48,535	14,37,000	14,35,000
1978-79	1,01,42,601	14,46,000	14,49,000
1979-80	1,03,17,223	14,46,000	14,74,000
1080-81	1,05,46,599	15,15,000	15,07,000
1981-82	1,06,92,304	15,27,000	15,22,000

Clubs and Institutes In staff colonies, institutes, reading rooms and recreational clubs have been provided There are 897 Institutes, reading rooms and recreational clubs which were functioning on the railways at the end of 1980 Some of them have their own cine projectors for showing Hindi and English Films, swimming pools, and facilities for playing tennis, badminton and other indoor games

Cooperatives It has been the endeavour of the railways to encourage the development and orderly growth of the cooperative movement These cooperatives include consumer cooperatives, credit and thrift societies and house building societies

Consumer cooperatives deal with the purchase and supply of consumer articles of day-to-day requirements of members There were 442 consumer cooperatives formed by the railway employees upto March 1980 Some of these consumer cooperatives are also running fair price shops in railway colonies

Cooperative societies are given facilities like matching share capital upto Rs 2,500 per society, working capital loan at a nominal interest upto Rs 10,000, subsidy for administrative and establishment expenses for the first three years, accommodation at concessional rates, and grant of special casual leave to staff who attend the managing committee meetings of these cooperatives

Credit and thrift societies foster habit of thrift and help staff to meet their financial needs through mutual effort At the end of March 1980, 27 such credit and thrift societies and banks were functioning on the railways

The aim of house building societies is to obtain plots for the construction of houses through cooperative efforts

Medicare Medical facilities provided for railway employees have grown steady At the end of 1980, health care facilities to the railway staff were provided through 55,000 medical and para-medical personnel, manning 101 hospitals and 564 health units The Medical Department not only provides help in preventing diseases but also takes care of public health needs including sanitation, prevention of communicable diseases, school health services, etc The Table 'B' describes the year to year progress in the provision of health and medicare facilities to railway employees

Advances During natural calamities like floods, cyclones, etc, and during festivals, advances are sanctioned to staff whose salary is

TABLE—B Medical Facilities to Railway Employees

Year	No of hospitals	No of health units	No of beds	Expenditure on medical and health services (Rs in crores)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1950-51	71	345	2435	2.69
1955-56	80	454	3426	2.88
1960-61	77	489	5944	7 21
1965-66	90	563	8355	12 48
1970-71	97	555	10430	18 82
1975-76	98	563	10507	35 65
1976-77	99	564	10510	36 19
1977-78	101	560	10697	36 51
1978-79	101	560	10770	39 00
1979-80	101	564	10851	44 02

upto Rs 600 per month. These advances (ceiling is Rs 500 in case of natural calamities and Rs 200 in case of festivals) are sanctioned free of interest and are recovered in monthly instalments Advances are also available to the staff for purchase of table fans, motor cars, scooters, cycles, etc , but these carry interest

Advances for the treatment of an employee and his family members as indoor patients in case of cancer, etc. are also sanctioned when his pay does not exceet Rs 750 per month In the case of death of an employee while in service, the family of a non-gazetted employee is granted relief in the form of an advance upto three months' pay of the deceased employee These advances are adjusted against arrears of employees's salaries, etc and are given on request

Vocational Training Centres· To enable women members of railwaymen's families to learn handicrafts like weaving, tailoring, food processing and knitting, and different other vocational trades in their off-time, handicrafts and vocational training centres have been set up ,and the expenditure on these centres is met from the Staff Benefit Fund Accommodation is provided for such centres by the railways

Railway Minister's Relief and Welfare Fund. In addition to the above facilities, a Fund has been established, financed by voluntary donations from railwaymen, donations from other individuals, institutions and organisations, proceeds from charity shows, etc , for providing relief to railwaymen and their families in distress arising out of natural calamities, prolonged illness and sudden deaths.

Other Activities Railways form an important part of the scouting and girl guide activity in the country and they have been featuring in important jamboories organised by the central bodies of these organisations Kitchen gardens, poultry farming and bee-keeping are also encouraged as a wefare activity

On the Zonal Railways as well as at the Ministry level, an organisation run by the wives of railway staff also exists to look after activities like training of women, providing women with additional sources of income by establishing handicrafts centres where stitching of uniforms is under-taken, arranging classes for literacy amongst the families, and relief to needy families in hours of distress

AJAY JOHRI

WELFARE OF DESERTED, SEPARATED AND DIVORCED WOMEN

There is a basic difference between deserted, separated and divorced women While desertion and separation occur during the subsistence of marriage, divorce brings about a termination of the matrimonial relationship.

Deserted women are those who are deserted by their spouses against their wishes and without reasonable cause, whereas separated women are those who may separate from their spouses voluntarily and live separately for a variety of reasons such as mental and/or physical incompatability, family differences or simply because they do not wish to sacrifice their identity and individuality at the alter of matrimony and/or other similar reasons In this category it may also be necessary to include women who are living separately from their husbands under a decree for judicial separation Divorced women are those who have legally separated either under a decree of divorce or under the

customary law as in the case of certain Hindus or by *talak* being given as in the case of Muslim women

It is not an easy task, however, writing about deserted, separated and/or divorced women because no statistical data are maintained in regard to them by any recognised authority In the case of divorced women it may be possible to find out with some effort information from courts where their divorce petitions are filed The facts and figures pertaining to Muslim divorces or divorces under the customary laws of Hindus would be extremely difficult to compile Therefore, anything written about deserted, separated and/or divorced women would necessarily be information based on general impressions and not with reference to specific cases

PROBLEMS

The problems of all the three categories, however, tend to be similar The most basic and the foremost problem that these women face is the problem of social insecurity and loneliness Indian society has not yet accepted the deserted, separated and divorced women as social equals This is partly the reason why divorce petitions are contested so bitterly by women even when they are fully convinced that there is no chance of reconciliation because the status of a wife tends to give social security and a feeling of acceptance by society at large This statement, however, has reference to only those women who are earning members themselves and have no economic problems The problems of economically dependent women are very different Invariably they suffer hardship and privation because no maintenance is paid by the husband unless they take action in a court of law and press their claims for maintenance Many a time they have to take recourse to proceedings under the Criminal Procedure Code which are the simplest and the easiest but in these proceedings the maximum maintenance that can be granted is Rs 500 per month If a separated or deserted woman as explained above wishes to have maintenance from a civil court she has necessarily to take action under the provisions of the various enactments in this behalf and institute proceedings such as proceedings for judicial separation/divorce or restitution of conjugal rights and it is by way of an interim application in these proceedings that maintenance can be claimed There is yet another method of claiming maintenance for Hindu women and that is under the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act of 1956 which also enjoins upon the in-laws and/or husband to maintain the wife during the subsistence of the marriage This course, however, tends to be lengthy and expensive as the proceedings have to be brought by way of a civil suit and more often than not the prospect of paying heavy court fees makes it impossible for women to take recourse under this Act Much of the hardship can be relieved if in every maintenance application the opposing spouse is asked to deposit the arrears before being permitted to contest the application In such cases the court fee payable should either be exempted or made nominal

It may be necessary at this stage to analyse the legal distinction between the three expressions—desertion, separation and divorce Desertion as already stated above is the wilful abandonment of a spouse against his/her wishes without reasonable cause Judicial separation and divorce are consequences that follow when such matrimonial offences are alleged and adjudicated and determined as having been committed Under the Hindu Marriage Act as enacted in 1955 desertion/cruelty were, in the first instance, only grounds for judicial separation and not for divorce The amendment of 1976 to the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 has rectified this anamoly and made desertion-/cruelty grounds for divorce The Special Marriage Act, 1954, the Indian Divorce Act, 1869,

and the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, 1936, have always recognised desertion as a ground for divorce

BREAKDOWN OF MARRIAGE

It is necessary to record a special note in regard to women living separately from their husbands Such women are obviously those who are victims of the stringent laws of divorce They are women who, but for the stringency of the law, would have obtained a divorce and gained their freedom There are women who are living separately for nearly 20 years It would be in the interests of such women that an additional ground of divorce be added recognising that the marriage has broken down irretrievably and granting relief Even the provision relating to divorce by mutual consent cannot come to their rescue because such a consent might be withheld by the other spouse In that event they are left without any remedy and are forced to live a life of frustration and loneliness The Law Commission has already accepted this suggestion

INDIAN DIVORCE ACT

A third category of women of whom special mention should be made are those women who fall within the purview of the Indian Divorce Act, 1869. Divorce is well-nigh impossible for these women because every ground available under the Act except sodomy and bestiality is coupled with the matrimonial offence of adultery It is suggested that in the interest of uniformity of laws the Indian Divorce Act may be brought in line with the other enactments on the subject and such women may be accorded the same remedies which are available to all the other women in the country

MUSLIM WOMEN

Muslim women also need a special mention because there is no provision for maintenance covering Muslims A lump sum of money (called *mehar)* is contracted for at the time of marriage which becomes payable immediately on *talak* being given In the event it is not paid which is what happens invariably, the woman has to sue in a civil court in the same manner as she would sue for recovery of a money claim Needless to say that it is very cumbersome, and most women cannot afford the luxury of this litigation Muslim women also do not have the corresponding right of *talak* which a Muslim male has It is suggested that both Muslim males and females should be governed by law and the prerogative right of the Muslim male of seeking *talak* ought to be abolished by enactment of a similar law

PARSI WOMEN

The Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, 1869, has likewise to be simplified At the moment a divorce decree is given by the Parsi Anjuman consisting of 10 Parsis This is obviously not possible in small towns where there may not be 10 Parsis available It is suggested that Parsi law should also be brought in conformity with the laws governing other communities.

A co-related problem of such women is the custody of children Since the husband is recognised as the legal guardian of the children, invariably deserted, separated and divorced women have to face a life of loneliness without their children The mother who bears the child for nine months ought to be recognised as a guardian alongwith the father under the law

WELFARE MEASURES

At present there are no organised welfare measures provided for such women at the

government level Only a few voluntary agencies have undertaken employment programmes Provision should be made by law for reservation in grovernment jobs and jobs in state-owned undertakings/corporations/companies under the enabling provisions of the Constitution Article 15(3) of the Constitution of India provides that the State can make beneficient provisions for the advancement of women and under this clause a small reservation can be made for needy, weak and vulnerable women Such an action will be in consonance with the Constitution and will not violate any of the provisions of the Constitution

SUGGESTION

Immediate steps should be taken for the enactment of a unified and simplified family code keeping in mind the suggestions made in the foregoing paragraphs and all women brought under a common civil code

SHYAMLA PAPPU

WELFARE OF DENOTIFIED TRIBES

The early years of the nineteenth century witnessed unprecedented insecurity in northern India owing to the criminal activities of *thugs* and dacoits It led the then Government of India to undertake special measures to suppress such organised criminal acts Consequently, in 1839, a Thagi and Dacoity Department was created to handle this task The special operations of the Department, conducted through specially appointed Superintendents for the purpose, brought to fore that certain tribes in Northern India, like the Meenas, were primarily responsible for organised crimes and offences against property To keep a check over the activities of these tribes, the first Criminal Tribes Act was passed in 1871

Earlier, under Regulation XXII of 1793, Magistrates were empowered with summary powers to punish specified tribes which were committing systematic crimes, vagrants and suspected persons With the adoption of the Indian Penal Code in 1860 and the Criminal Procedure Code in 1861, however, the above summary powers were withdrawn

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT, 1871

It was mandatory, according to this Act, before declaring a gang, a tribe or a class of persons as criminal, to report to the Governor General in Council giving adequate reasons for declaring it as such It was also stipulated that satisfactory arrangements be made for settling those criminals who did not lead a settled life The report was also to state the arrangements made for enabling the tribe to earn its living when it was settled in any fixed place of residence [1] There was, however, no provision in the Act to separate the children of criminal tribes from their parents, although its necessity was emphasised during the debate on the Bill in the Council Although the provisions of this Act were helpful in controlling the criminal tribes who were settled, other predatory tribes could not be tackled in view of the stipulation that necessary arrangements should be made to the satisfaction of the government for settling them in some specified place

The Government of the North-Western Provinces appointed a Police Committee consequent on the serious crimes committed by the

Sansi tribe coming to light while implementing the Act. On the basis of the recommendations of this Committee, the Government of India decided to amend the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1897

Inter-alia, the amending Act provided for minimum penalty on second and third convictions of members of criminal tribes for specified officers [1] The local governments were also empowered to separate children between the ages 4 and 18 from the criminal tribes and place them in specially established reformatory 'settlements'.

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT, 1911

The Indian Police Commission appointed by the Government of India in 1902-03 brought to the notice of the Government some of the defects in the 1871 Act which stood in the way of its wider application It recommended that a special clause be inserted in the Criminal Tribes Act to authorise simple registration of notified criminal gangs and the taking of the finger impressions of the adult male members [2] In view of the recommendations of the Indian Police Commission, a Bill, to replace the Act of 1871, was introduced in the Council It was felt that the criminal tribes could not be clubbed together for the purposes of containing their criminal activities as they fell into three main categories, viz those who were originally criminal but had settled down to honest occupations with the exception of a few members, those who had settled abodes but continued to do crimes; and those wandering tribes who committed crimes when opportunities arose

Under the new Criminal Tribes Act, 1911, local governments were given wide powers to declare a tribe to be a criminal tribe without requiring its settlement or provision for means of living The members of the tribe could be registered and their finger impressions taken for observation and supervision, after due notification Even the more criminally minded members could be restricted to any specified area or interned in special settlements made for them Under this act, the minimum age of children to be separated from their parents was raised to 6 years.

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1923

The Criminal Tribes Act was a Central Act but could be adopted by local governments by framing suitable rules to suit local conditions. In its operation, however, local governments encountered a number of problems This led to the convening of a conference in 1919 to evaluate the experience gained by the operation of the Act The Indian Jails Committee of 1919 was also asked, *inter alia*, to examine the functioning of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1911 Based on the recommendations of the Indian Jails Committee and the said conference, the Criminal Tribes (Amendment) Act, 1923 was passed The amended Act empowered local governments to settle criminal tribes either in its own territory or in another province with its consent, prescribing an enquiry before any criminal tribe was interned in a settlement or transferred from the British Indian provinces to the Indian States. As regards the policy to be followed in the operation of the Act, the Government of India made it clear that the Provinces would not be interfered with but the administration of the Act should be carried out in such a way as to ensure effective prevention of crime, proper treatment of the tribes in the matter of wages, housing, etc , and their reclamation

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT, 1924

By 1924, a number of Indian States had also

enacted legislation to deal with the criminal tribes in accordance with the provisions of the legislation in the Provinces Important amendments were also effected in the Criminal Tribes Act, particularly the Amendment Act, 1923 These developments prompted the consolidation of the entire legislation relating to criminal tribes and, accordingly, the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924 was passed

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1947

As a result of the implementation of various legal measures and the greater awareness among the members of the criminal tribes, they gradually got themselves educated and started settling down in lawful occupations This attitudinal change among the criminal tribes received considerable sympathy from the government and the people at large, particularly social workers and an atmosphere of goodwill was generated in respect of the need to dispense with some provisions of the Act Accordingly, a private members' Bill was admitted in 1946 which sought to amend section 23 of the Act providing for minimum enhanced punishments for those convicted for a second or third offence It was also felt that a whole tribe should not be dubbed as criminal The Criminal Tribes (Amendment) Act 1947 was thus passed which abolished the minimum punishment prescribed for the second and third convictions

CRIMINAL TRIBES AND NOTIFIED TRIBES

The Central Act of 1924 was also applicable to the Provinces with suitable modifications Accordingly, the Governments of Madras and Bombay made certain amendments to the application of the Act at different periods The Criminal Tribes (Amendment) Act, 1943, of Madras was the first amending Act to liberalise the provisions of the Act, including naming the 'Criminal Tribes' as 'notified tribes' Provisions were also made for relaxation of punishment, placing the accused in settlements and removal of children from parents to certified schools, etc Some States opted to use the Habitual Offenders Act in place of the Criminal Tribes Act

REPEAL OF CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT

Attainment of independence brought in a favourble change in the outlook of governments vis-a-vis the deplorable conditions of the so-called criminal tribes and it was felt that the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act were inconsistent with the dignity of free India As a first step, the Government of India, therefore, appointed in September 1949 a Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr Ananthasayanam Ayyangar to enquire into the working of the Act and to offer recommendations for its modification or repeal

On the basis of the recommendations of the Ayyangar Committee, which were of socio-legal in nature, the Criminal Tribes Act 1924 was abrogated in 1952 and replaced by the Habitual Offenders' Act, which took cognizance of only those individuals who habitually indulged in crime This brought about a fundamental change in the basic approach in as much as responsibility for crime was transferred from a whole community to the individual offenders

With the abrogation of the Criminal Tribes Act, the groups which were previously notified under the Act came to be termed as *Vimukta Jatis* or ex-criminal tribes The Backward Classes Commission appointed by the Government in 1953 also considered the question of the status of the ex-criminal tribes and their welfare needs It recommended that such communities should neither be called 'criminal' nor 'ex-criminal' tribes thereby attaching any stigma to their name It also suggested that they should

simply be termed as 'denotified communities' Similar suggestions were also received from some social workers [3] As a result of these suggestions and with a view to removing the stigma of criminality attached to these tribes, they are now officially referred to as 'Denotified Tribes'

CAUSES OF CRIMINAL HABITS

The origin of criminality in the criminal tribes could be attributed to their economic conditions and also their social structure This view was shared by the Ayyangar Committee when it stated that "the main cause of the origin of criminality in the Criminal Tribes was economic, while social and political changes in the country also played an important part" [4]

In the absence of regular means of livelihood, these tribes resort to various odd jobs and occupations, typical among them are hunting, collection and selling of forest produce and medicinal herbs, entertainment through exhibition of dances of bears and monkeys, snake charming, acrobatic feats, street jugglery, etc In some cases their women folk are also made to perform dances Even in such of those tribes as own some land or are settled in colonies, the income is meagre partly due to lack of irrigation facilities or poor quality of land and partly due to a certain apathy or disinclination towards settled occupations

In some cases the socio-economic and political changes in the country too have affected the avocations of the criminal tribes For instance, when forest reclamation work in the Andhra region of the Madras Presidency was started in 1887 the rights of the Chenchu tribe were very much curtailed, with the result they became a menace to pilgrims, travellers and villagers in their neighbourhood, although they had no tradition of criminality before Similarly, with the Banjara (Lambadi) tribe, whose traditional occupation was transport service with the help of pack bullocks, introduction of railways and other fast moving carriers made them settle in different places among strangers who considered them as criminals

The techniques employed and the types of offences committed by the various tribes varied from place to place and from tribe to tribe In some communities the womenfolk used to sing and dance and were of easy virtue and they were often used in securing information required for committing crimes Training in theft and robbery was given to children before they actually started on their career The tribal organisation encouraged loyalty and cooperation among the members of the tribe Anecdotes of daring deeds performed by notorious robbers and dacoits were recounted for the inspiration of the youth of the tribe Certain occurences and signs were paraded as denoting approval by gods and goddesses of their conduct A member who committed a crime under hazardous circumstances was lionised Boys had to prove their skill in the commission of crime before they could expect to make a mark in the society.

Although there is evidence to show that descendents of criminal tribes used to follow the occupation of crimes in the same way as a carpenter's son is socialised to take up the profession of carpentry, there is no evidence to prove that criminality has anything to do with heredity or race In fact the evironmental factor plays a prominent role in moulding the behaviour

HABITAT AND POPULATION

Criminal tribes were concentrated in the present Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka They were not present in appreciable number in the States of Assam and Jammu and Kashmir in the North and Kerala in the South

Population statistics for denotified tribes are

not available since they are not separately counted during the census The Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee estimated their population as about 35 lakhs The Special Working Group on Cooperation for Backward Classes estimated their number and distribution in different States to be 35 13 lakhs as below

States	Population of Denotified Tribes (in Lakh)
Uttar Pradesh	16 70
Bombay (including Maharashtra and Gujarat)	6 30
Madras (including Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh)	5 90
Mysore (Karnataka)	2.10
Punjab (including Haryana)	0 80
Madhya Pradesh	0 80
Orissa	0 70
Areas of former Hyderabad State	0 70
Rajasthan	0 70
West Bengal	0 26
Bihar	0 13
Delhi	0 04
Total	35 13

At present, according to one estimate, they number about 60 lakhs [5]

States are empowered to notify communities considered as 'Denotified Tribes' in their respective States The list of communities varies from State to State Some of the communities listed as 'Denotified Communities' are also included in the list of Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes in the respective States based on criteria followed for the purpose The number of Denotified Communities in different States is given below

States	No of Communities
Andhra Pradesh	65
Bihar	10
Gujarat	34
Haryana	6
Himachal Pradesh	1
Madhya Pradesh	41
Orissa	8
Karnataka	106
West Bengal	6
Maharashtra	35
Rajasthan	26
Uttar Pradesh	36
Tamil Nadu	66

EARLY WELFARE MEASURES

Besides welfare measures introduced in accordance with the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act, welfare and reformative activities were also implemented, although to a limited extent by various States The "settlement treatment" given to the criminal tribes made them amenable to discipline, and welfare activities carried out in the settlements and even outside the settlements improved their social and economic status to some extent

Under the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act, various State Governments/Provinces established colonies meant for members of criminal tribes [6] Punjab had 9 such colonies, Rajasthan 17 and Bhopal 5, while Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Hyderabad and Delhi had one each Besides, Uttar Pradesh had 4 settlements and Punjab, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh had one settlement each set up under Section 16 of the Act

In these colonies and settlements certain facilities for agriculture, cottage industries and other avocations were made available In most of them, facilities for education were also made available both for children and adults In some colonies there were facilities for vocational education, recreation and games Some of the child-

ren were enrolled in Reformatory Schools in some States While the colonies were under the surveillance of the police department, the settlements were managed directly by the government, but welfare measures were operated either by the government or through voluntary organisations

In some States like Bengal, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madras, Bombay, Delhi, Bihar and Orissa, reformative work was well organised and, therefore, there was perceptible change in the conditions of the settlers In Bengal, for example they were placed in industrial settlements. Punjab provided lands for cultivation, made available agricultural inputs and organised cooperative credit societies, besides provision for education of children and adult literacy classes In Uttar Pradesh, there was provision for free education, facilities for higher education, organisation of 'reform panchayats' for eradication of evil habits, employment facilities in small scale industries, irrigated agriculture and tailoring, and facilities for recreation and games in settlements Special officers were also appointed to look after the welfare measures for the settlers and for reclamation colonies

Welfare schemes in Delhi included compulsory education for children, establishment of an adult education centre, cleanliness drive in the colony, establishment of a cooperative thrift and credit society and a cooperative store Attempts were also made to find suitable occupations for the inmates In Bihar too, lands were allotted for cultivation, besides organising a cooperative credit society

In Madras, higher elementary schools (separate for boys and girls in some settlements) were established with provision for free education, mid-day meals, books and clothing In Bombay, attendance in day schools was compuslory for all children, while night school attendance was compulsory for males in the settlements The school children were provided with all facilities free of cost More vulnerable children (orphans, children of irreclaimable parents, etc) were separated and placed in children's homes. Punjab too had facilities for reformatory schools where children of criminal tribes were sent Besides the British Indian Provinces, some of the princely States also had provision in their Criminal Tribes Acts for welfare measures like colonisation, education, etc

LATER WELFARE MEASURES

The problem of rehabilitating the 'denotified tribes' and weaning them away from criminal associations is a complex one In addition to the criminal tendencies, they were educationally and economically backward, especially as they were communities with nomadic habits After the abrogation of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1924, in 1952 the Government was keen to undertake such schemes as would accelerate the process of integration of the denotified tribes into the mainstream of society. However, for want of preparation, only a small beginning could be made in the First Five Year Plan. An expenditure of Rs 102 lakh was incurred on training towards a settled way of life for nomadic and semi-nomadic communities One of the schemes implemented during the First Plan was opening of *Ashram* type schools to provide, besides free education, boarding and lodging arrangements for the children so as to keep them away from the bad influence of the older generations Members of the denotified tribes were also entitled to get post-matric sucholarships

During the Second Five Year Plan period, welfare schemes for denotified tribes were undertaken partly under the Centrally sponsored programmes and partly under the State sector A provision of Rs. 202 lakhs was made under the State sector and of Rs. 110 lakhs on Centrally sponsored programmes. During the Third Plan period, in view of the urgency of

early rehabilitation of these tribes, all the schemes were implemented under the Centrally sponsored programmes Economic development and social progress of these communities were, therefore, given emphasis, for which Rs 419 lakhs was made available In the Fourth Plan period all these schemes were continued with an allocation of Rs 439 lakhs

The pattern of implementation of schemes was again changed in the Fifth Plan period when all the welfare schemes for the denotified tribes were transferred to the State plans sector Accordingly, the States were also advised to include the developmental programmes for these communities in the general sectors of their plans Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal included programmes for these communities under the backward classes sector of the State plans with an outlay of about Rs 600 lakhs

In the Sixth Five Year Plan these schemes are being continued The programmes undertaken for the welfare of the denotified tribes can be grouped into three broad heads educational, economic development and other schemes

From the expenditure incurred on the welfare of denotified, nomadic and semi-nomadic communities during the Fifth Five Year Plan, it would appear that educational programmes got paramount importance, having utilised three-fourths of the total budget They included granting of scholarships and stipends to eligible students, grant of tuition and examination fees, provision of mid-day meals and establishment of *Ashram* schools, residential schools and hostels For the economic development of these communities schemes like rehabilitation/colonisation, assistance for agriculture development, animal husbandry, poultry farming, cottage industries and organisation of cooperative societies were undertaken Other miscellaneous schemes included setting up of community welfare centres, *Balwadis, Sanskar Kendras,* digging of drinking water wells, etc

The schemes implemented by different States have varied The Government of Andhra Pradesh, for example, has provided housing facilities, scholarships and open schols and hostels, for which non-plan provisions have been utilised Very few educational and economic schemes have been taken up for these communities in Bihar outside Old Champaran and Dharbhanga districts where non-plan provisions have been drawn upon Schemes like financial assistance for small trades and cottage industries, assistance for development of agriculture, imparting of training to artisans, assistance for purchase of milch cattle, and educational programmes are among the welfare schemes undertaken by the State of Gujarat The denotified tribes of Haryana are being helped both in the field of education and economic development They are being given land for agriculture and also for housing Subsidies are also provided for the purchase of pigs, buffaloes, goats, etc Recently the State Government has set up a committee to make an indepth study of the problems of the denotified communities and to suggest measures for their socio-economic development. No specific scheme has been drawn up by the Himachal Pradesh Government The State Government, however, proposes to start a few schemes for the educational and economic development For education, *Ashram* Schools and ordinary schools have been established by the Maharashtra Government Development of agriculture, colonisation and digging of irrigation wells are some of the economic activities undertaken for them To ensure employment, training facilities are provided, and subsidy for procuring milch cattle is granted by the State Government Among the economic activities undertaken by the Government of Orissa are establishment of rehabilitation colonies, allotment of agricultural land, assist-

ance for agriculture, irrigation facilities, assistance for goat rearing, piggery and setting up of small scale industries The State Government of Rajasthan undertakes both education and economic programmes for the denotified tribes Important among the educational programmes are award of scholarships to prematric students, and incentives to students at the elementary stage Economic schemes include housing grants and training in crafts In the field of education, Uttar Pradesh provides pre-matric and post-matric scholarships and assistance for technical education Agricultural development and encouragement of cottage industries are also undertaken for the economic upliftment of these communities Rehabilitation programmes are implemented by providing houses and agricultural land

THE PERSPECTIVES

Scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes enjoy certain specific Constitutional safeguards to protect their interests and advance welfare No such specific guarantee is enjoined in the Constitution for denotified tribes They are, however, covered under the general provision of Article 46 which stipulates promotion of educational and economic interests of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other weaker sections Thus, after the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act, which stipulated settlement and welfare of these tribes, there is practically no statutory provision for their upliftment As such, not much has been done for the promotion and the welfare of denotified tribes except under schemes mentioned earlier

For the activities which have been undertaken for the welfare of denotified groups, much of the credit goes to voluntary organisations for the welfare of the denotified groups Some of the notable individuals who worked for the welfare of these communities included Thakkar Bapa in the north and Raghaviah in the south Their efforts in repealing the Criminal Tribes Act were a major contribution The efforts of voluntary organisations should be continued in rehabilitating these groups and integrating them in the mainstream of Indian society

The problems of denotified tribes are varied and complex They differ from place to place and group to group, depending upon their habitational ecology, traditions and cultural ethos These problems require to be identified before solutions are found for them and, therefore, this calls for a comprehensive survey supported by competent people who have an understanding of their problems

The basic question is the rehabilitation of the denotified tribes in avocations suited to their genius and to wean them away from their criminal tendencies, particularly the children Composite and well integrated plans to provide land and other wherewithal for agriculture, housing, agro-based cottage industries, education, etc would go a long way in this regard This should be supplemented by provision of loans on easy terms, as in the case of scheduled castes and tribes, scholarships, stipends and hostel facilities in adequate measure, and reservations in services A mechanism for the flow of adequate funds from general sector programmes should also be evolved to supplement the special efforts

Last, but not the least important, is the role of voluntary organisations in the rehabilitation and welfare of the denotified tribes Government's efforts should be complemented by the voluntary organisations for which adequate incentives in the form of financial assistance and other encouragement need to be extended

A M KURUP

NOTES

Government of India, *Report of the Criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee* (1949-50), p 4

2 *The Report of the Police Commission*, 1902-03, p 5
3 P C Biswas, *Foreword to the Ex-criminal Tribes of Delhi*, University of Delhi, 1960
4 *Report of the Criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee, op cit*, p 102
5 Ministry of Home Affairs, *Notes prepared for official purposes*
6 These colonies were set up for criminal tribes members restricted under Section 10 and 11 or for persons released from settlements under Section 10 of the Act

WELFARE OF THE VISUALLY HANDICAPPED

Estimates of the size of the visually handicapped population tend to be influenced by the definition adopted The *Report on Blindness in India* submitted in 1944 suggested that a person who cannot count the fingers of an outstretched hand at a yard's distance should be considered blind On this basis, the number of blind persons in undivided India was reckoned at 20 lakh

Since then, the definition has been considerably widened According to the current definition, a person who cannot see at 20 feet what a normal person can see at 200 feet is classified as blind On the basis of this definition, the Indian Council for Medical Research estimates that India has no fewer than 90 lakh people who are blind

At the instance of the Ministry of Social Welfare, the National Sample Survey Organisation had completed a survey in 1981 It was estimated then that 11 9 lakh men and 17 1 lakh women in the rural areas and 2 5 lakh men and 3 2 lakh women in the urban areas suffer from visual disabilities In this survey a person was treated to be visually disabled if that person did not have light perception, both eyes taken together or had light perception but could not correctly count fingers of a hand from a distance of 3 metres in good day light It was a much more practical definition of blindness and was placed at a level where even in rural areas a person would find himself handicapped

Census figures have been proverbially undependable in this regard The tentative figures of 1981 suggest that India has no more than 5 lakh blind people This estimate appears far too low even when compared with the experience of other countries where the incidence of blindness is believed to be lower Thus, while the officially accepted estimate is 90 lakh, there is considerable doubt about the validity of this estimate

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SERVICES

The first school for the blind was set up in Amritsar in 1887 The first attempt to devise a common Braille code for Indian languages was made in 1902—a little over 50 years after the acceptance of Braille as the universal medium of reading and writing for the blind in Europe and the United Stats Only three or four schools for the blind were set up in different parts of the country by the end of the nineteenth century By 1944, India had just 32 schools In 1982 the number was well over 200

Concern for the education of blind children continued to dominate the scene until the 1950's It is only by the mid-century that education for blind children began to be looked upon as a means towards rehabilitation The original feeling that education ought to be given to the blind just as a means of enlightenment began to be replaced by more practical considerations and some modifications in the pattern of education and training imparted to the blind began to be advocated and sometimes carried out

Thus, two distinct phases in the development

of services for the blind in India could be clearly delineated The period between 1887 and 1947 was marked by slowly growing number of schools but with very little attention to the quality of education imparted to blind children The post-independence period saw much more rapid expansion of schools and some diversification of educational and training programmes

BRAILLE DEVELOPMENT

Since education received foremost attention in both the phases of development, the evolution of a common Braille code for all Indian languages claimed the highest attention The first such attempt was made in 1902 by Rev J Knowles and Mr L Garthwaite, two British missionaries Though the code was circulated for opinion, it did not receive wide acceptance

As schools began to spread across the country, each of them had to devise its own code to meet the educational needs of blind children Initially, there were as many as seven different codes This was a source of considerable confusion, as the codes were based on different principles In 1922, the Central Advisory Board of Education expressed itself in favour of a uniform Braille code and recommended the establishment of a Braille printing plant, but there was little progress over the next two decades

In 1941, the Central Advisory Board of Education recommended the appointment of a committee to draw up a uniform Indian Braille code The committee was appointed the following year under the chairmanship of Sir John Sargent, the then Educational Commissioner to the Government of India The Committee drew up a code which received the approval of the Board in 1946 But earlier, Shri H D Chhatrapati had been advocating that the Indian Braille used in the Victoria Memorial School for the Blind should be accepted as uniform Braille code for Indian languages Sir Clutha Mackenzie, the then Officer on Special Duty (Blindness), evolved a standard Indian Braille based on principles very similar to those of the Indian Braille of Shri Chhatrapati He made a strong plea that uniformity with English and other European languages should be the primary focus of a common Braille code for Indian languages

There were two schools of advocates at the expert level A group led by Shri P M Advani, Principal, School for the Blind, Karachi, advocated the retention of the 7-line symmetrical arrangement of the Braille system On the other hand, another group led by Sri Clutha Mackenzie and supported by eminent blind persons like Shri R M Alpaiwala, urged with equal force that to the extent possible common sounds in Indian and European languages should be represented by the same or similar Braille symbols

In April 1949, the Ministry of Education requested Director-General, UNESCO to consider evolving some basic principles for the world usage of Braille UNESCO agreed to accept this assignment and appointed Sir Clutha Mackenzie as Officer on Special Duty to undertake this task

The first conference on Braille Uniformity was held in Paris in March 1950 From India it was attended by the author of this article, Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, and Shri P M Advani Despite considerable Indian opposition, the conference was overwhelmingly in favour of phonetic uniformity between various linguistic groups of the world and the principle of using the same or similar symbol for the same or similar sound This conference was followed by several regional conferences

The first regional conference for Asia was held at Beirut in 1951 The basic principles of Bharati Braille were anunciated at this conference Subsequently a code was drawn up for India jointly by Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and the author of this article The code was

presented to the Indian expert committee presided over by Shri Humayun Kabir in 1951 The committee accepted the code with minor modifications and recommended its acceptance by all schools for the blind in India

Then came the demand for contractions and abbreviations, a common code for Hindustani and Karnataka music and a common notation for mathematics and science In 1954, UNESCO had convened a conference in Paris to consider a common Braille music notation Unfortunately, owing to sharp disagreements only a common Braille music notation for western music could be agreed upon at this meeting No serious effort was made to bring about some measure of uniformity between various eastern systems of music

Over the next 25 years or so a number of individuals in India devised their own systems of music as well as contractions and abbreviations In 1973, the Government of India appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Shri R P Naik, the then Hindi Adviser to the Government of India, and with the author as its Secretary, to devise a system of Hindi Braille contractions and abbreviations as well as to enunciate general principles for the formulation of contractions and abbreviations for various Indian languages The work of the committee continued for several years It received a special fillip when the National Institute for the Visually Handicapped was established in July 1979

In 1981, the Institute convened a workshop at which was presented a draft system of contractions and abbreviations for Hindi The workshop, which was attended by about 19 representatives from 8 different States, approved the system with minor modifications The Institute has since conducted courses to train teachers in the use of this system It also initiated the production of some textbooks

Very similar is the history of efforts to evolve a common Braille music notation Almost every musician devised his own system As a result, material written by one student was of no practical value to another

In 1981, the National Institute for the Visually Handicapped convened a workshop at Ahmedabad which was attended by 35 experts from various States At this workshop a common system was approved However, a number of details remain to be finalised

The Institute has finalised a book setting forth the various symbols as well as rules for use for Hindustani music A total fusion of the Vishnu Digambar and Bhatkande systems has not been possible However, it has been indicated how the needs of both the systems could be effectively met

Some problems concerning Karnataka music continued to delay the production of the second part of the book It is hoped that these would be resolved in the near future The issue of a common Braille science and mathematics notation is far more complex A number of codes are currently being used in different parts of the world Principal among them are the Nemeth Code used in the United States and the very comprehensive notation prepared by the Soviet Union This is in addition to the French and German versions

In 1951, UNESCO had set up a World Braille Council to oversee the development of various aspects of Braille reading and writing in different parts of the world Even the Council did not succeed in bringing about a measure of world uniformity in mathematics and science A committee of the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind is making a serious endeavour to achieve this purpose

A couple of years ago, the National Association for the Blind appointed a committee to develop a mathematics and science notation for this country However, the committee felt that it would not be advisable to saddle the world with

one more notation. The work of the Committee of the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind when finalised will help in deciding whether the code developed by them fully met the needs of the Indian students and scientists

On account of growing emphasis being placed on the teaching of science and mathematics, the early accomplishment of this task is of crucial importance It is hoped that the next few years will ensure that a comprehensive and effective code for writing mathematics and science is available to students in this country

DEVELOPMENT OF SERVICES

It was not until the second world war that development of services for the blind began to receive serious attention In 1942 Sir Clutha Machenzie was appointed as Officer on Special Duty (Blindness) in the Directorate-General of Health Services A joint committee of the Central Advisory Boards of Education and Health was set up in the same year to suggest measures both for the prevention of blindness and the welfare of the blind A year later, came St Dunstan's Hostel for the Indian War-blinded in Dehradun Its main purpose was to train blinded soldiers, sailors and airmen in some rural occupations

The joint committee submitted its report in 1944 That year could be regarded as a landmark in the history of the development of services for the blind Among other things, the report recommended the appointment of an adviser on blindness both in the Ministries of Education and Health While the Ministry of Education accepted this recommendation, the Ministry of Health did not One of the consequences of this was that while some feeble attempts at promoting the education and rehabilitation of the blind began in 1947, organised measures to prevent blindness did not begin until much later

A major recommendation of the committee was the establishment of an Indian Council on Blindness to deal with problems of both rehabilitation and prevention But unfortunately, the Council never came into being though some States like those of Maharashtra and Gujarat did set up State Councils on Blindness.

The report envisaged the establishment of a National Centre under the auspices of the Indian Council on Blindness By December 1949, the training of blinded ex-servicemen at the St Dunstan's Training Centre in Dehradun had been virtually completed Accordingly, the Ministry of Education took over the Centre with effect from 1 January 1950 and renamed it as Training Centre for the Adult Blind The *Report on Blindness in India* and earlier conferences had envisaged the establishment of a Braille printing plant as a first step However, the establishment of the Central Braille Press at Dehradun was not far in coming With machines imported from the United States it was set up a few months later in two rooms housing two stereotypes imported from the American Printing House for the Blind Shri Kalidas Bhattacharya, the first Manager of the press, was also trained at the American Printing House for the Blind Various units of the Centre at Dehradun were added in the following years The Women's Wing came in 1957, followed by a Model School for Blind Children in 1959 The sheltered workshop and workshop for making Braille appliances were both initiated in 1961, the National Library for the Blind was set up in 1964 A school for partially sighted children was established in 1969 In December 1967, the Centre at Dehradun was renamed as the National Centre for the Blind The primary object of the Centre was to provide comprehensive rehabilitation services under the same roof Subsequently, in 1979, the Centre was integrated into the National Institute for the Visually Handicapped The Institute had three basic objectives (i) to undertake and sponsor research; (ii) to undertake the training of personnel, and (iii) to

provide certain national level services, including the production of Braille literature and Braille appliances

The Institute is still in the initial phases of development However, it has undertaken certain research projects in diverse fields including the application of technology to rehabilitation It has also undertaken several training courses for resource teachers as well as other categories of teachers The Institute has begun to undertake the production of Braille books for various States in order to stimulate the growth of integrated education The production of appliances has been substantially expanded

The establishment of the National Institute for the Visually Handicapped just marks the beginning of a new phase A great deal remains to be done

In the post-1947 period, in addition to developments mentioned above, a number of other schemes have been initiated by the Central Government There has been growing concern for the employment of the blind A small employment office was set up by the Ministry of Education at Madras in 1954 In 1959, the first special employment exchange for the physically handicapped was established at Bombay, followed by a similar exchange in Delhi in 1961 By March 1982, 18 special employment exchanges had been set up The main purpose of these exchanges is to register and assist in the employment of blind, deaf and orthopaedically handicapped persons An attempt is made to put qualified disabled persons in touch with prospective employers

While the exchanges have achieved a degree of success insofar as the orthopaedically handicapped are concerned, their achievement in terms of placement of the blind and the deaf has been poor In the late 1970s, however, the government tried to remedy the situation by offering financial assistance to various voluntary agencies for appointing placement officers This programme has met with moderate success, though the placement of blind and deaf persons through voluntary agencies is also riddled with numerous administrative problems

In the late 1960s another programme initiated was the setting up of vocational rehabilitation centres This programme was initiated by the Ministry of Labour & Employment The main purpose of these centres was to carry out an assessment of the aptitude and capabilities of disabled persons By 1981-82, 13 vocational rehabilitation centres had been set up In the Sixth Plan period some of them are being invested with the additional responsibility of offering skill training They are also expected to undertake some rural extension work. They have been authorised to submit candidates to employers against vacancies notified to the National Employment Service

In 1977, Parliament approved the proposal to reserve one per cent vacancies for the blind in groups 'C' and 'D' posts in the Central Government as well as in comparable posts in central public sector undertakings Earlier, some States had already taken similar measures Reservation of vacancies by the Central Government evoked a quick and favourable response and more States took similar action The Government of Gujarat is the only State which has by now taken legislative action to reserve half per cent vacancies for the disabled, including the blind, in all sectors of the economy But reservation of vacancies did not immediately meet with success It was necessary to set up an effective monitoring machinery to follow up the implementation This machinery has now been set up in the Ministry of Social Welfare

There was considerable dissatisfaction among the blind over the reservation of vacancies only in groups 'C' and 'D' posts In 1981, the Ministry of Labour and Employment carried out a survey to determine what posts could be

reserved for the disabled in groups 'A' and 'B' posts The report suggested only a small number of gazetted posts that could be filled by the blind Yet, following the recommendations of this report, a number of blind persons have secured responsible positions

In July 1980, the Ministry of Social Welfare appointed a working group to recommend legislative measures to promote the rehabilitation of the blind The working group submitted a preliminary report in June 1981, followed by a final report in December 1981 It has submitted to the government its report in three parts, consisting of (a) some suggestions to form the basis of the national policy resolution on education, (b) a draft piece of legislation covering rehabilitation, social security and other matters connected with the education and welfare of the disabled, and (c) a review of existing legislation to bring out if there were any discriminatory measures in existence

Happily, no discriminatory measures were discovered The suggested draft piece of legislation lays considerable emphasis on reservation of vacancies for the blind and other disabled persons in the public and private sectors It also lays over-riding emphasis on providing facilities for integrated education

As a follow up measure in 1985, the Ministry of Social & Women's Welfare has set up a Committee to examine the need for legislation other than relating to the reservation of jobs, to promote economic rehabilitation and social integration of the disabled in the community.

For the past twenty years or so, integrated education has been uppermost in the minds of administrators of services for the blind The first attempt at integrating blind children was made with the initiation of a programme of post-school scholarships in 1952 The scholarships were obtainable only in ordinary schools and colleges The scheme was liberalised both in 1955 and 1961. The scheme which was earlier operated by the Central Government is now managed by various State Governments, though it continues to be a Central scheme and the funds are provided by the Government of India Under the scheme, blind students who obtain a minimum of 40 per cent marks in the aggregate at the last annual examination can be considered for a scholarship In addition to a basic rate of scholarship, they also receive a reader's allowance which varies according to the stage of education

Since the Third Plan period some feeble attempts were made at promoting integrated education But unfortunately, the response has not been very encouraging A much more intensive effort is being made in the Sixth Plan period The object is to bring to ordinary schools as many disabled children as possible Both the resource room and itinerant teacher programme are being advocated Indeed, considerable flexibility is allowed Programmes of partial integration are also envisaged

But once again, the response has not been very encouraging Probably not more than three to four thousand handicapped children of all categories are in formal programmes of integrated education in various parts of the country Madhya Pradesh has been laying particular emphasis on the integration of blind children They have had a number of resource teachers for the blind trained at the National Institute for the Visually Handicapped.

SOME CENTRAL PROGRAMMES

Some of the notable measures taken by the Government of India for the promotion of the welfare of the blind are listed below

(1) In 1981 a major step taken by the Government of India was to start a scheme to assist blind and other disabled perons in the purchase and fitting of special equipment needed for their education or rehabilitation In earlier years,

assistance was only available to organisations It was for the first time in 1981 that the Government initiated a programme of direct assistance to individuals

The scheme is very broad-based It provides no list of equipment to be given The object is to offer any equipment likely to be of special assistance to a blind person either in his education or employment

The Central Government provides assistance to the tune of Rs 1,500 The balance, if any, is to be paid by the recipient The full sum of Rs 1,500 can be provided to a person whose income is below Rs 750 per month The quantum of assistance would be halved if the recipient's or his parents' income is between Rs 751 and Rs 1,500 per month

The scheme is operated by various employment agencies For the blind, the major implementing agency is the National Institute for the Visually Handicapped, Dehradun

(2) Recently the Government have also announced a special rebate in income-tax for employers appointing the minimum prescribed percentage of disabled persons This is in addition to an income-tax rebate allowed to blind and other seriously disabled persons in personal income-tax.

(3) The Government have announced exemption from central excise on Braille paper, provided purchases are made through the National Institute for the Visually Handicapped Braille writers have also been exempted from central excise

(4) India took a significant step forward in the application of modern technology to rehabilitation when in 1976, at the instance of the Union Ministry of Social Welfare, H M T. under took the production of Braille wrist watches India is one of the few Asian countries manufacturing Braille watches

(5) The National Institute for the Visually Handicapped provides Braille books to blind individuals as well as institutions for the blind at highly subsidised prices One-third of the cost of materials used is charged Braille appliances are sold at the cost of materials used

(6) Since, 1967, India has had Braille printing presses other than the one at Dehradun Most of the equipment for these presses was provided by UNICEF The Government of India give grants to several presses Most of these presses also provide Braille literature at highly subsidised prices Today India has six Braille printing presses

TEACHER TRAINING

In 1963 the Union Ministry of Education initiated an *ad hoc* course for the training of teachers of the blind in New Delhi A scheme was developed for the establishment of regional centres for this purpose By 1970, four regional centres were set up at Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras All the centres are financed by the Government of India They have a uniform syllabus, common theory examinations are organised A diploma is offered at the end of the one-year course The centres function under the National Institute for the Visually Handicapped There are plans for upgrading levels of training.

AWARDS

In 1970, the Government of india initiated a scheme to give awards to the most efficient handicapped employees as well as to the most outstanding employers of the handicapped Every handicapped awardee was given a cash award of Rs 500 and a citation The amount has since been raised to Rs 1,000

The Government have now initiated another award Under this scheme, an outstanding voluntary worker for the disabled can be

awarded a sum of Rs 20,000 A voluntary organisation adjudged suitable could be given a cash award of Rs 1,00,000

Several voluntary agencies have also initiated awards Since 1973, the National Association for the Blind gives regularly R M. Alpaiwala Memorial Awards both to professionals and to voluntary workers Similarly, the National Society for Equal Opportunities for the Handicapped gives away N D Dewan Memorial Awards to volunteers and professionals every year

VOLUNTARY ACTION

Voluntary organisations have been pioneers in work for the blind in India as almost everywhere else It is only largely during the post-independence period that Government action has expanded

In the initial phases, voluntary work took the shape of setting up schools and training centres After 1947, however, organisations of and for the blind began to be set up The first major agency that came into being was the National Association for the Blind which arose out of an All-India Conference on Work for the Blind held in Bombay in 1950 Then came the National Association of Instructors of the Blind set up in 1966 This is a professional organisation of instructors and one of its aims is to improve professional standards.

The first attempt towards the establishment of a self-help movement for the blind began with the establishment of the National Federation of the Blind in Delhi in 1970 The establishment of this organisation did spark off a great deal of interest in organisations of the blind A new trend was set in with the establishment of All India Confederation of the Blind in 1979 This is a confederation of various organisations of and for the blind It provides a common platform for the expression of views, development of services and promotion of public and community opinion in favour of the education and rehabilitation of the blind

The establishment of the National Society for Equal Opportunities for the Handicapped at Bombay also marked a new trend in that it tried to bring about integration in the approach to the problems of the disabled, including the blind This trend has in some cases been exemplified in some combined workshops for the disabled set up in different parts of the country

TECHNOLOGICAL AIDS

Much of the progress made by the blind throughout the world in the last two hundred years has been due to the application of technology towards education and rehabilitation. As early as 1829, it was Louis Braille who developed a system of embossed reading and writing and this was one of the earliest examples of how technology could greatly widen the horizons for the blind In the following century and a half, many other innovations have been made Today, there are very few occupations which blind persons cannot practise with the use of technology Therefore, it is of the greatest importance that adequate attention should be paid in the coming years to developing new aids and appliances for the blind Progress in the past half-a-century or so has been made in the following main directions

(1) The Tape Recorder The tape-recorder has greatly facilitated the education of the visually handicapped. Development of compressed and accelerated speech has made it possible for blind students to read almost as rapidly as sighted persons, minimising the disadvantage of reading in Braille which is much slower

Recent applications of electronics have brought about many more spectacular developments For instance, Braillex, a piece of equipment developed in the Federal Republic of

Germany, makes it possible for a whole encyclopaedia to be recorded on cassettes and all that a blind student has to do is to write in Braille the word he wishes to refer to and the material is read out to him after an interval of hardly 2 or 3 seconds

(2) Print Conversion Devices For a long time search has been on for devices that could convert the printed word into tactile or auditory symbols The simplest device is known as optacon When moved over a printed page, the letters rise up in vibro-tactile form, making it possible for a blind person to read However, the speeds that can be achieved are small As a result, this device has limited potential Yet, some recent modifications make it possible for blind persons to become computer programmers with the help of this device Many variations have now come on the market The most spectacular example is the Kurzweil machine When a book is fed into the machine it reads it out in a synthetic voice

On the same principle, a typewriter has been developed which can read out what a blind person has typed, making it possible for him to check his own writing Indeed, innumerable other variations have come on the market

(3) Mobility One of the most serious limitations of blindness is the difficulty of orienting in space and getting about Since orientation is the mental process, no devices have yet been developed to help overcome this fairly serious problems However, a number of devices are available in the market which make it possible for a blind person to detect obstacles in his course Some of the devices pour out high frequency pips in the user's ears to warn him of approaching objects However, since this has been found to have a number of disadvantages, recent devices are using various kinds of vibrations to inform the user of the approach of an obstacle

(4) Low-vision Aids A much larger number than before of visually handicapped persons retain a very useful degree of vision The boundries of this vision can be greatly extended by low-vision aids Currently, it is possible to magnify print even 30 times, making it possible for a person having a small amount of vision to read print However, one of the great disadvantages of magnification is that it results in a restricted field of vision As a result, reading with very high magnification may be extremely inconvenient Another approach that is being adopted is to use close-circuit TV and overhead projectors These magnify the whole page, avoiding the problem of restricted field of vision

(5) Miscellaneous Devices Electronics has thrown open a very wide range of appliances for the visually handicapped A striking example is the speaking calculator It is now possible for a blind person to cope with any statistical problem with the help of the speaking calculator and the drawing kit

For a long time, making diagrams and tables was believed to be beyond the capability of blind persons This is no longer so With the help of simple drawing kit it is possible for a blind person to cope effectively with any problem in mathematics or to draw a functional diagram

But these sophisticated devices do not totally replace the simpler Braille writer, the walking stick, the Braille watch and other similar equipment Indeed, the simpler pieces of equipment are the ones that are used by the great majority of blind people here and elsewhere

India has already begun to produce several simple appliances A Braille writer is produced by a private concern Braille watches are being produced in the public sector

What is needed is sustained and enlightened research to determine the needs of blind people and to undertake a production programme to meet them The Indian Institute of Technology, New Delhi, is already engaged in the task of

making such an assessment Once such an assessment is made, it may be possible for a Government or non-Government agency to take up a realistic programme for the production and subsidised distribution of aids that would make education easier and employment in new fields feasible for the visually handicapped

CONCLUSIONS

The problem of blindness in India is very different from the problem in the developed countries In most economically advanced countries, blindness is accompanied by several other severe disabilities In our country, however, on account of the ravages of smallpox, malnutrition, untreated infections and other causes, we have a very large number of blind persons without other disabilities

There is reason to suspect tha .ose children whose loss of vision is due to vitamin 'A' deficiency may have a degree of mental deficiency But this needs to be confirmed by empirical studies

In the last 30 years, the Government of India have taken a number of measurs to promote the education of the visually handicapped Unfortunately, measures to promote their employment were rather slow in coming As a result, a very substantial number of blind persons have acquired high academic qualifications These persons have been experiencing considerable frustration because of their inability to secure positions consistent with their abilities, interests and qualifications

However, with the progress of efforts to identify occupations that could be practised by various categories of handicapped persons, some advancement has been made towards offering better employment opportunities to the visually handicapped

However, though very vocal, the educated section of the blind is relatively small The great majority of blind people in the country live in rural areas almost totally deprived of modern services of education or training

In 1981, India had about 250 schools and other establishments for the blind Some 15 to 20 thousand children and adults receive training in these institutions The great majority of them do not have the ability or the resources to go in for higher education The number of workshops in the country is inadequate A small number of blind persons is placed in open employment in various establishments Unfortunately, many school leavers have even today to go back to rural areas where they continue to live a somewhat dependent existence

In India, the traditional approach of segregating the blind in isolated institutions continues to be dominant Efforts at integration have met with very limited success

Negative attitudes towards blindness are widely prevalent However, a discernible change has taken place after the International Year of Disabled Persons

The efforts made so far have only touched the fringes of the problem To illustrate, not more than 5 per cent of our visually handicapped children receive education A much smaller fraction of our blind adults achieve economic independence The absence of social security subjects them to the indignity of a dependent existence

Two factors are mainly responsible for the present situation In the first place, separate institutions which are largely urban based, are expensive and are, therefore, open to a very limited number of blind people Integration is, thus, the only answer Future progress will depend to a large extent on the degree to which integration becomes accepted

Though more than 80 per cent of our blind people live in rural areas, practically no rural

services exist There is urgent need to devote larger resources to the development of services for the blind in the rural areas

LAL ADVANI

WELFARE AND RESETTLEMENT OF EX-SERVICEMEN

Since compulsory early retirement is made to keep the Armed Forces young and active, resettlement of ex-servicemen is a national responsibility

Service personnel in the Armed Forces have a short span of career as compared to their counterparts in civil services This is more so in case of other ranks who form the bulk of service personnel A soldier recruited at the age of 17-18 is allowed to put in 15 to 17 years of service He is made to leave the Armed Forced around the age of 35 and perforce such an ex-serviceman has to start his career in civil life all over again Non-Commissioned Officers may continue to a maximum age of 38 years Junior Commissioned Officers of the Army retire according to tenure and the rank in the age group of 40-48 Most of the officers of the rank of Lt Col or equivalent and below leave service between 50 and 52 years of age The bulk of our retired or released service personnel at the time of release are physically and mentally fit They are well-disciplined and possess qualities of drive and leadership

DEFINITION OF EX-SERVICEMAN

An ex-serviceman is a person who has served in any rank, whether as a combatant or as non-combatant, in the Armed Forces of the Union of India, including the Armed Forces of former Indian States, but excluding the Assam Rifles, Defence Security Corps, General Reserve Engineering Force, Lok Sahayak Sena and Territorial Army, for a continuous period of not less than six months after attestation and has been released, otherwise than by way of dismissal or discharge on account of misconduct or inefficiency or has been transferred to the reserve pending such release or has to serve for not more than six months for completing the period of service requisite for becoming entitled to be released or transferred to the reserve

DIMENSIONS

Since no census of ex-servicemen population in the country has yet been conducted, accurate information on the subject is not available In fact, the planning of resettlement has been handicapped in the absence of reliable statistics A beginning has been made with the setting up of a Directorate of Statistics and Records at the Directorate General of Resettlement This has resulted in collection of data from secondary sources, which is being utilised as an aid in framing policy on resettlement of ex-servicemen

According to a rough estimate, the ex-servicemen population in India as on December 1973 was about 22 38 lakhs Table 'A' gives state-wise break-up separately of the estimated population of ex-servicemen and families of serving/deceased personnel computed by the Directorate of Statistics, Director General of Resettlement The major concentration of ex-servicemen is in the States of U P, Punjab, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Haryana and Rajasthan About 60,000 Service personnel, including 600 officers retired or released from the three Services, are added to ex-servicemen population every year

TABLE—A

Statewise estimated number of ex-servicemen and families of serving/deceased personnel in 1973

State/Union Territory	Estimated number of ex-servicemen In hundreds				No of ex-servicemen and families of serving/deceased personnel
	Highly skilled	Skilled	Semi skilled	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Andhra Pradesh	52	368	484	904	1,277
Assam	19	86	257	362	539
Bihar	45	294	610	949	1,437
Gujarat	8	11	49	68	110
Haryana	88	441	1,058	1,587	2,464
Himachal Pradesh	16	281	248	545	954
Jammu and Kashmir	5	85	330	420	646
Karnataka	50	343	228	621	904
Kerala	145	435	362	942	1,550
Madhya Pradesh	12	130	449	591	1,150
Maharashtra	86	687	1,287	2,060	2,896
Manipur	—	1	49	50	79
Meghalaya	—	—	—	—	12
Nagaland	—	—	4	4	56
Orissa	7	47	117	171	212
Punjab	251	1,257	2,262	3,770	5,551
Rajasthan	20	197	800	1,017	1,274
Tamil Nadu	140	992	.861	1,993	2,798
Tripura	—	10	34	44	60
Uttar Pradesh	267	1,518	3,716	5,501	7,891
West Bengal	61	217	276	554	856
Chandigarh	—	—	—	—	3
Delhi	30	58	84	172	256
Goa	2	10	40	52	64
Pondicherry	—		—	—	1
TOTAL	1,304	7,468	13,605	22,377	33,040

The estimated number of service personnel to be released from the three Services during the eight years 1979-86 has been indicated in Table 'B' The largest number of personnel retiring from the Services during the period 1979-86 belongs to Uttar Pradesh followed by Punjab, Haryana, Maharashatra, Kerala and Rajasthan Table 'C' indicates the number of war widows and number of disabled persons in respect of 1962, 1965 and 1971 conflicts

Resettlement of ex-servicemen has yet another aspect It is felt that any delay in resettling them will only cause dissatisfaction and frustration amongst them It is, therefore of utmost importance to assist these personnel to suitably resettle themselves in productive and constructive work Resettlement assistance is also necessary for developing a high level of morale in the Services and to attract right types of personnel to the Armed Forces

TABLE—B

Expected number of releases from Armed Forces during the period 1979-86

Year	ARMY			NAVY			AIR FORCE		
	Officers	JCOs	Total	Officers	Sailors	Total	Officers	Airmen	Total
1979	446	33,969	34,415	N A	2,680	2 726	221	7 350	7 571
1980	546	74,864	75,410	N A	2 202	2,240	264	4 562	4 826
1981	504	69,991	70,495	N A	2 528	2 528	225	3 514	3 739
1982	573	55,337	55,910	N A	2,968	2,968	226	4 120	4 346
1983	709	83,266	83 975	N A	3,025	3,025	218	3 571	3,789
1984	926	59,481	60,407	N A	2,822	2,822	235	3 727	3,962
1985	1,091	55,553	56,644	N A	1,912	1 912	248	3 046	3,294
1986	1,262	84,714	85,976	N A	1,664	1,664	253	3 502	3 755

NECESSITY OF RESETTLEMENT ASSISTANCE

The release or retirement of such a large number of service personnel at a relatively early age is effected in pursuance of a policy of keeping our Armed Forces young and active Since early retirements are made because of compulsions of service, it is necessary to assist these personnel for smoother switch over to civil life

The releases from the Armed Forces create a reservoir of trained manpower which can profitably be made use of in various skills, are a national asset and should be utilised as such They should be merged in the mainstream of national life so that they continue to contribute their skills for national advantage

The problem before the Government is how best to help ex-servicemen in their resettlement and how profitably to utilise this reservoir of trained manpower for constructive and productive purposes The twin objectives of our resettlement programme, therefore, are to ensure a smooth change-over to civil life and maximum exploitation of the skill training and experience of Service personnel for national reconstruction

RE-EMPLOYMENT

Re-employment of ex-service personnel in civil jobs constitutes the most important means of resettlement The Central Government have

TABLE—C

Statewise No of war widows and disabled service personnel in respect of 1962, 1965and 1971 conflicts

State/ Union Territory	No of war widows	No of disabled
Andhra Pradesh	70	42
Assam	20	17
Bihar	159	70
Gujarat	6	7
Haryana	845	220
Himachal Pradesh	484	151
Jammu and Kashmir	308	92
Karnataka	52	48
Kerala	110	55
Madhya Pradesh	98	27
Maharashtra	419	189
Manipur	2	1
Meghalaya	4	2
Nagaland	—	—
Orissa	24	15
Punjab	1,052	510
Rajasthan	551	131
Tamil Nadu	134	54
Tripura	2	1
Uttar Pradesh	1,380	378
West Bengal	75	47
Arunachal Pradesh	—	—
Chandigarh	2	1
Delhi	79	18
Goa	1	—
Mizoram	5	2
Sikkim	1	—
Nepal	—	—
Pondicherry	—	1
Not Known	2	10
TOTAL	5,885	2,089

* No of married persons killed has been taken to represent number of war widows

Information is based on the information obtained from Service Headquarters and Central Rehabilitation Organization

reserved 10 per cent posts in Group 'C' and 20 per cent in Group 'D' for ex-service personnel Similarly, the Central public sector undertakings, including nationalised banks and LIC, have earmarked 17½ per cent and 27½ per cent posts for ex-servicemen in the two categories State Governments have made reservations in varying degree A few States have constituted 'Ex-servicemen Cells' for speedy placement of ex-servicemen and 'Special Selection Committees' for empanelment of ex-service personnel for civil jobs.

Ex-servicemen are also given relaxation in age and educational qualifications for re-employment in civil services The relaxation in age is to the extent of effective service plus three years for reserved vacancies in Group 'C' and 'D' For ex-servicemen with three years of service, no educational qualifications are necessary for Group 'D' posts

About 18,000 ex-servicemen, including more than 600 officers, have found employment through employment exchanges and also directly through the Directorate General of Resettlement every year In addition, a large number of Service personnel find employment in the private and unorganised sector in industry and agriculture

RESETTLEMENT ON LAND

The bulk of our Jawans come from rural areas with agricultural background. Resettlement on land, however, on a major scale is no longer feasible as land is increasingly becoming scarce Effort is, however, made to persuade State Governments to accord high priority to ex-servicemen for the allocation of surplus land

The Central Government has a land colonisation scheme in Great Nicobar Island where about 300 ex-servicemen and their families have been settled so far It is proposed to induct more families in future A comprehensive survey of

the problems of ex-servicemen settlers in Great Nicobar Islands has been recently carried out

All temporarily surplus military land is now reserved for exclusive use of ex-servicemen on lease for cultivation Ex-servicemen are encouraged to form cooperative societies for the allocation of land Secretaries of Zila Sainik Boards are authorised to sponsor the names of eligible ex-servicemen and cooperative societies

Ex-servicemen who wish to start mechanised cultivation are allotted tractors from defence quota on priority basis Cattle are also made available to them through military farms Ex-servicemen who wish to start dairy, poultry, agro-service centre or agro-industry are provided consultancy services Their cases are recommended to appropriate authorities for the grant of credit facilities and other inputs on preferential basis In coastal States, preferential treatment is given to ex-servicemen in exploitation of deep sea fishing

TOWARDS SELF-EMPLOYMENT

In the context of difficult employment situation in the country, ex-servicemen are encouraged to take up self-employment avenues for their resettlement The Central Ministries, the State Governments, the public and the private sector provide agencies and distributorships, industrial plots and sheds, raw material, finance, technical know-how and marketing facilities to ex-servicemen entrepreneurs

A large number of ex-servicemen are found avenues of self-employment by securing agencies of public sector undertakings in tea, fertilizers, cement, steel, salt, machine tools, cloth, bakery products, petroleum items, photo material, papers, transportation of scooters, milk booths, electronic goods, etc

In the field of transport, ex-servicemen are helped through provision of tractors, discarded vehicles, bus, taxi and truck routes including allocation of national permits for transportation of goods For those interested in starting small scale units, consultancy services are provided in preparing project reports Assistance is given in securing finances from banks and in marketing of products

RESETTLEMENT TRAINING

One of the serious bottlenecks in the way of ex-servicemen getting civil jobs is their lack of suitable training It is of the utmost importance that Service personnel are given resettlement training in the last one or two years of their Service with the Armed Forces A comprehensive scheme for pre-release training of all non-technical retiring Service personnel in the last year of their service is of crucial importance Within the existing resources resettlement training is provided every year to about 6 000 ex-service personnel including 550 officers in various fields

Courses for other ranks deal with subjects such as industrial security, television technology, physical training, fire fighting retreading of tyres and servicing of automobiles stenography and typing, catering, Life Insurance agency, technical training in ITI farm machinery, bee keeping, cattle management, paddy cultivation, animal husbandry, fruit and vegetable growing, poultry, dairy, etc

The training courses for officers include subjects such as export, industrial entrepreneurship, personnel management labour law, marketing, production planning industrial management, etc The University of Delhi, the Punjabi University Patiala, Indian Institute of Law, Small Industries Service Institutes and Productivity Councils run some of these courses

A number of universities also conduct correspondence courses where special concessions are offered to defence Service personnel A few pri-

vate industrial houses and Government institutions also provide 'On the Job Training' to ex-service personnel

Disabled ex-servicemen are provided vocational training while widows of Service personnel are given training at Training-cum-Production centres at Chhachhrauli and Rohtak in Haryana and Pauri Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh

A survey has been conducted recently through the Institute of Applied Manpower Research to identify existing and future employment opportunities in the country which match with the qualifications and experience of ex-servicemen The survey has indicated the nature and extent of training required for ex-service personnel

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

Dissemination of information in regard to benefits and concessions available to ex-servicemen and their families is of paramount importance Apart from projection of resettlement and welfare activities pertaining to ex-servicemen through different media of publicity, the Directorate General Resettlement, Ministry of Defence, has brought out a comprehensive Guide to Resettlement of Ex-servicemen both in English and Hindi The Guide incorporates all essential information in regard to concessions and facilities provided to ex-servicemen by Central and State Governments, public sector undertakings, local bodies and other organisations in the country

Information on resettlement and welfare is also given through the Armed Forces pictorial weekly *Sainik Samachar*, published by Directorate of Public Relations, Ministry of Defence

For disseminating information regarding facilities and concessions available to ex-servicemen in a particular State, the Directorate General Resettlement is bringing out publications on each State Such pamphlets on Rajasthan, U P and M P have been published The booklets on a few other States are under preparation

A film titled 'Still A Question' in English and 'Swal Abhi Bhi Hai' in Hindi prepared by Films Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, depicts various facets of resettlement activities

To provide information on training opportunities available to ex-service personnel, a set of charts have been prepared in English and Hindi which give at a glance information on training courses Also, a publication titled 'Resettlement Training for Defence Service Personnel' has been brought out It gives useful information on the availability of training courses in various trades and vocations for officers and men

WELFARE

The Kendriya Sainik Board under the chairmanship of the Defence Minister lays down general policy in regard to welfare of ex-servicemen, their families and the families of serving and deceased personnel. It controls and administers a number of welfare funds and coordinates and supervises the work of 29 Rajya and 215 Zila Sainik Boards spread all over the country

The welfare funds administered by the Kendriya Sainik Board are Flag Day Fund, Armed Forces Benevolent Fund, Armed Forces Reconstruction Fund, Special Fund for Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of Ex-servicemen, War Bereaved and Disabled Servicemen Special Relief Fund, Indian Soldiers', Sailors, and Airmen's Board Fund, Services Welfare Fund and Indian Gorkha Ex-servicemen Welfare Fund. There are also welfare funds for ex-servicemen and their families administered by the State Governments

Apart from providing assistance to destitute ex-servicemen and their dependents and in other deserving cases, the Kendriya Sainik Board provides assistance to a number of institutions and organisations such as the Indian Red Cross Society, Artificial Limb Centre, Pune St Dunston Blind School, Dehradun, Khukri Memorial Hostel Bombay, Paraplegic Homes at Kirkee and Mohali Manekshaw TB Sanatorium, Kunraghat, and Leprosy and TB Wings in military hospitals

The funds are also utilised for setting up welfare projects such as the production centre for the manufacture of bandages and surgical cotton at Ranikhet, training-cum-production centres at various places, construction of Sainik Rest Houses, running of training courses, grant of scholarships and stipends and putting up dwelling houses

To step up entrepreneurial activities among ex-servicemen, a subsidy in the rate of interest on bank loans is given from welfare funds For instance, the ex-serviceman is required to pay only 4 per cent interest if the loan amount is upto Rs 5,000 and 7 per cent if it is more than Rs 5,000 but less than Rs 25,000 The loan should be for small scale industry or for small business enterprise

For disabled Service personnel and widows of battle casualties and of those whose death is attributable to military service, interest on bank loans, irrespective of the amount, for house construction and for starting small scale industry or business enterprise over and above 7 per cent is re-imbursed from the welfare funds

A substantial amount of money is allotted to States for the augmentation of State Welfare funds, to the three Service Headquarters for the welfare of troops and to the Services Sports Control Board for the promotion of athletics among the Armed Forces personnel

BATTLE CASUALTIES

As a special dispensation to the families of those killed and those disabled as a result of injury sustained in the Indo-Pak conflict of 1971, liberalised pensionary awards have been sanctioned with effect from 1 February 1972 The awards, except where specifically indicated otherwise, will be admissible also in the case of casualties as under

(i) in the international wars of 1965 (including Kutch and Kargil operations), 1962 and 1947-48 (Kashmir operations) as well as the Goa and Hyderabad operation, and

(ii) (a) as a result of fighting in war-like operations or border skirmishes either with Pakistan on the cease-fire line or any other country,

(b) while fighting against armed hostile groups like Naga and Mizo rebels,

(c) during fighting in-service with peace-keeping Missions abroad, and

(d) during laying or clearance of mines, including enemy mines, as also mine-sweeping operations, between one month before the commencement and three months after the conclusion of the operations

The above awards being in the nature of special dispensation, will not be subject to alteration as a result of any revision of the pay and pension structure, as may be sanctioned in future However, where and for so long as awards admissible under the existing rules and orders happen to be more favourable than those sanctioned hereunder, the higher entitlements will be payable

The special pensionary awards provided in

the Scheme are indicated in the succeeding paragraphs

(a) Officers

(i) Upto the deemed date of retirement of the decreased, i e the age of 55 years in the case of Colonel and above, and 50 years for other commissioned officers (including Short Service Commissioned Officers), or for a period of 7 years, whichever is later, special family pension will be payable at the rate of 3/4ths of basic pay of rank held at the time of death Children and education allowances will not be payable in addition The period of 7 years will count from the date of the casuality in all cases

(ii) Thereafter, special family pension will be payable at the rate of the normal retiring pension of the rank held by the deceased at the time of death, reckoning service upto the deemed date of retirement For this purpose, paid acting rank will be counted, irrespective of the period for which it has been held Children allowance at the rate of Rs 100 per month per child upto the age of 23 years will be payable in addition, subject to the special family pension, together with the children allowance and education allowance for children, not exceeding 3/4ths of basic pay Where and for so long as free board and lodging are provided to a child, the rate of children allowance payable will be Rs 40 per month per child, or Rs 60 per month per child if the child is motherless

(b) JCOs and ORs

To the nominated heir of the deceased servicemen, special family pension will be payable, till death or disqualification, at the rate of the pay drawn by the deceased at the time of death For this purpose, pay will comprise basic pay, increments, rank/appointment pay, good service pay, dearness pay and home serving element Children allowance will not be payable in addition

To help widows earn their livelihood near the place of their residence, the Directorate General Resettlement organised a temporary vocational training centre at Bakntiawarpur near Delhi to train war widows in tailoring, cutting, embroidery and other crafts The duration of the course was one year During training, children below five years were kept in the training centre War widows were given an honorarium of Rs 100 per month, free accommodation, and subsidised messing and care of children So far 70 widows have completed their training The entire expenditure on training of war widows is met from a Special Fund for War Bereaved and Disabled It is planned to set up more such training centres in States where there is large concentration of widows of service personnel The Government of Haryana has already opened a modern Training-cum-Production Centre for 30 bereaved families at Chhichhroli in Ambala District A Production Centre has also been set up at Kasturba Seva Mandir at Rajpura for the widows who have completed training at Bakhtiawarpur The War Widows Association has set up a Production-cum-Training centre for war widows at Rohtak

DISABLED SERVICE PERSONNEL

Vocational training for disabled service personnel has been arranged at various industrial technical institutes in the States where seats have been reserved for them If their educational qualifications are not adequate for admission to these institutions, facilities are provided in institutions like Queen Mary's Technical School, Kirkee, Red Cross Home, Bangalore and St Dunston's Home for the Blind, Dehradun

The QMTS, Kirkee trains disabled in a number of grades, such as turner, machinist, TV

mechanic, watch repairer, etc During training period they receive stipend of Rs 75 per month from welfare funds Many State Governments give financial assistance at the rate of Rs 50 per month to the families of these disabled ex-servicemen At St Dunston's Home, Dehradun, blinded ex-servicemen are housed, trained and treated free of cost Training is given in trades which can be pursued after release from the home

If any ex-serviceman is so disabled that he cannot look after himself and the family is not in a position to take care of him, he is admitted to the Red Cross Home for Paraplegics established at Bangalore or to the Cheshire Homes The Bangalore Home is run by the Indian Red Cross, but practically all expenses are met out of Defence Budget or funds arranged by the Ministry of Defence

In order to provide a modern and properly organised centre where paraplegics can be accommodated and vocational training given, it has been decided to establish two paraplegic homes, one in the North at Mohali near Chandigarh and the other in the South at Kirkee The home in the North will have a capacity to accommodate 50 inmates in the first phase and ultimately upto 100 The paraplegics home in the South, which has already become functional, has a capacity of 32 in phase I In phase II, 28 more beds will be added to the home

Disabled servicemen are entitled to medical treatment in military hospitals as long as it is considered necessary If a patient requires any specialised treatment in civil hospitals, like All India Institute of Medical Sciences, Cancer Institute, etc treatment is arranged by the government In some cases, treatment abroad is also arranged Ex-servicemen amputees are fitted with artifical limbs at Artificial Limb Centre, Pune All expenses connected therewith, including the cost of limbs, are borne by the government Treatment is limited to disability accepted as attributable to or aggravated by military service and for which disability pension has been awarded

It was laid down that no one out of those disabled in the conflict of 1971 would be invalided out of service until his rehabilitation is complete Whilst in hospital, such disabled service personnel are entitled to pay, allowances and other benefits The period of sick leave of disabled service officers while undergoing medical treatment is treated as full pay sick leave upto a maximum period of 12 months less annual leave availed of during the year Further extension of full pay leave is considered in individual cases by the government on merit The entire period spent in a military hospital or recognised civil hospital by JCOs/ORs/NCs(E) is treated as on duty They are entitled to full pay and allowances

Retired service personnel who have to proceed to an Armed Forces hospital located at another station for medical attendance/treatment of a disability which has been accepted as attributable to or aggravated by service and for which a disability pension has been granted, are entitled to free conveyance to and from that station

Similarly, retired personnel ordered to proceed from his home to another station to appear before a medical board for assessment or reassessment of disability are entitled to free conveyance to and from that station If in the opinion of the medical board such a personnel should be examined by a specialist, free conveyance to and from the specialist's station or direct therefrom to the individual's home, as may be necessary is provided

Free limbs/eyes and surgical appliances supplied from service sources may be repaired or renewed at government expense after expiry of their normal life Ex-servicemen requiring such aid should apply to the OC of the nearest Armed Forces Hospital

Fifteen days special casual leave can be granted to re-employed ex-servicemen in defence installations/departments for visiting military hospitals for R S M B or for fitting of artificial limbs

A special pension of Rs 30 per month is now given to war blind ex-servicemen and to those whose blindness is attributable to service from ISS&A Board Fund The special pension is payable in addition to the disability pension Before 1968, the pension was fixed at Rs 10 per month In 1969, it was increased to Rs 15 per month and was further raised to Rs 30 per month w e f 1 1 1973

CONCLUSION

Resettlement of ex-servicemen is a national problem in the true sense of the term in which all can participate The governmental agencies, the public and private sector, political parties and the voluntary organisations can all play a significant role

The magnitude of the task is increasing every year, so also its complexities Recruitment to the Armed Forces in the past was largely from a few States and mainly from agricultural communities which could revert to farming after being released from the Services Also, the joint family system in vogue at that time came to their rescue in case of need The situation has now altogether changed The recruitment is now more broad-based and covers all States and communities The joint family system is no longer a potent force The problem is thus acquiring a new dimension and calls for additional effort both on the part of the government and of the community

The problem has to be approached and tackled at different levels and on various fronts For instance, it has to be ensured that reserved vacancies for ex-servicemen are fully utilised and if there are any difficulties in the way, they should be removed Also, since low educational qualification is a major hurdle in getting civil jobs, an effort is required to improve the educational qualifications of service personnel while they are still in service with the Armed Forces It is also necessary to involve in a big way the public and private sector in the 'On the Job Training' programme for ex-service personnel Pending any statutory reservations of vacancies in the private sector, the business houses need to be persuaded to earmark specified vacancies for ex-servicemen in their organisations

Since the resettlement training is the crux of the problem, necessary resources, training facilities and availability of retiring personnel for training courses in the last year of their service have to be organised on a massive scale The concept of training will have to include training not only for jobs but also for entrepreneurship for all those who wish to start small scale industries or other business enterprises To step up entrepreneurial activities amongst ex-servicemen on a large scale, it may be necessary to channelise assistance through an exclusive agency at the Central and State level

D S MEHTA

YOUTH WELFARE

All human societies have devoted considerable amount of their time and resources for the development of their youth This investment was considered necessary for their own orderly survival, for every generation had to make sure that the succeeding one would continue to pre-

serve and cherish the heritage it was handing down This could be assured only by instilling in the young people attitudes and values which the older generation accepted as important for themselves Appropriate institutional or organisational modalities were devised to provide for their transmission Over and above this need to preserve their heritage, most societies in the past had also to face the problem of survival Until the advent of modern medicine, infantile mortality was high and hence societies took care to protect the surviving young, especially the male ones

Indian society has not been an exception to this universal rule If anything, the rules it evolved to determine the patterns of social behaviour of its youth were such that ordinarily no young person could imagine a life that did not conform to the norms accepted by society The joint family and the caste system made sure that the younger generation neatly fitted into the traditional framework of social and economic relationships

The attainment of political independence in 1947 marks a definite stage in the progress of Indian Youth Independence unleashed certain economic, social and political forces which later on were to have a profound impact on the behaviour of Indian youth and the response of Indian society to meeting the new situations thus created It also marks the coming of age of India's urban youth, especially its university student youth, as potentially important political factors Already before independence, under the inspiration of Gandhi, Nehru and Subash Chandra Bose, large numbers of Indian youth had emerged on the political horizon of India Students played an important part during the freedom struggle Defiance of authority, boycotting of classes, organising of agitations, etc., were considered legitimate means of fighting for the country's freedom Urban youth, especially the student youth, relished this new role The national leadership encouraged them in this as the fulfilment of a patriotic duty It was assumed by them that once the country became free, the youth would leave the path of agitations and return to traditional disciplined ways This did not happen

Young people had relished their political clout and they did not want to give it up Strangely, political parties continued to count on student leadership. Student wings were organised by all of them and university and college union elections became occasions for trial of strength for exercising influence It is not as if the entire urban youth or student population were engaged in political activity Indeed, only a small number were active and vocal, and it is they who called the tune

After independence, expectations for a better life were aroused Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister, realised that people could not continue to live on dreams of a future unless they felt a stake in its making He wanted to make people live actors in the development drama that was unfolding itself He was unhappy with what was happening particularly in the student world and so wanted to wean them away from their growing tendency to agitate even for the most trivial things Nehru also realised that people's participation and self-discipline could not be promoted through government agencies alone Voluntarism had to be strengthened and actively promoted

The setting up of the Bharat Sevak Samaj as a national voluntary organisation to promote massive involvement of people in the development process was due to the support Nehru gave to it A youth wing called the Bharat Yuvak Samaj was also set up to mobilise youth energy in particular The work camp movement in the 1950s was an attempt to channelise the energy of youth into the task of nation-building and to give them a sense of participation. With his concern for students, he persuaded Dr. C D Deshmukh to look into the question In his

report Dr Deshmukh came up with the proposal to introduce some form of compulsory national service for all students One of the underlying assumptions in this suggestion was that by integrating classroom education with physical labour, students would get a better appreciation of the dignity of manual labour It was also hoped that this would wean students away from agitational activities

A development of this period which had an important bearing on youth welfare was the setting up of the National Cadet Corps (NCC) for university students. The NCC was administered by the Defence Ministry in colleges and universities. Those who successfully completed the programme were given preference in recruitment to the armed forces. It was hoped that in this manner the defence forces would be able to develop a better trained officer corps Secondly, it was also hoped that through the disciplined participation of large numbers of students in this type of organisation, the growing tendency among students to take the law into their hands could be curbed.

Another major youth programme initiated by the government at that time was the establishment of a large number of rural youth clubs The community development programme initiated in 1952 had laid great stress on mobilising youth as change agents in the village. Rural youth clubs (Yuvak Mandals or Yuvati Mandals) were expected to assist in spreading the message of modernisation in agriculture and rural life in general The clubs were encouraged to set up kitchen gardens and prizes were given to the most successful clubs Through them rural youth sports activities were also to be encouraged The official apparatus of the Community Development Department was entrusted with the responsibility of organising rural youth clubs. At its peak in the early 60s, about 1,85,000 such clubs existed in different parts of the country though the number of really effective and functioning clubs was smaller

Following the rural community development programme, an urban community development programme was also initiated for promoting community participation in development activities in urban areas This programme was administered by the Ministry of Health, and was to be implemented through municipal bodies There was provision for setting up youth clubs, but little headway was made, and not more than a score of youth clubs were started in the country

This period also witnessed the emergence of a few non-official youth and student organisations The Young Farmers Association of India was set up by a few enterprising young men. The organisation received considerable government backing The Youth Hostels Association of India also came into being as the Indian affiliate of the international movement to strengthen the spirit of adventure among youth and to promote national integration The YMCA, YWCA, the Scouts and Guide Movements and a few others which had already been in existence expanded their activities Many other youth and student organisations also came into being at national and sub-national level Almost all political parties set up youth wings Youth and student bodies based on religious affiliations also made their appearance

This was also a period when at the international level efforts were being made to establish international organisations of youth and students based on affiliations by national groups. This was being attempted by political groups, denominational groups and others The polarisation at the international level was reflected in India also However, these did not survive long, nor carry sufficient weight to be counted upon.

Inspite of the initial start it received, the youth movement never acquired the dynamism needed to become a major force in mobilising youth for constructive activities

The late 1960s once again showed a new awareness of the importance of youth In the

West young people had begun to revolt and echoes of these began to be heard in India also Concern was expressed by all sections of the population about the growing urban youth unrest Recognising this, the Government of India set up in 1969 a National Advisory Board on Youth The Ministry of Education was redesignated and called the Ministry of Education and Youth Services Several State Governments followed suit and set up State Youth Advisory Boards and Directorates of Youth Welfare In 1969 the government finally acted upon the Deshmukh Committee Report and organised the National Service Scheme (NSS) for university students even though the scheme as finally implemented was very different from that originally proposed As against the compusiory one year service proposed in the Report, it was made an optional programme for volunteers The Scheme seeks the voluntary participation of students in social service and national development activities It has expanded over the years both in terms of numbers of students involved and types of programmes In 1981-82, about 5 lakh students from about 3,400 colleges were involved in programmes such as public works, environmental improvement, health services, vocational training, uplift of weaker sections of society, relief and rehabilitation programmes, etc

The National Advisory Board had only a short span of life It met only once for its inauguration The Ministry's name was also changed to its original form Nevertheless, the government showed sensitivity to the needs of youth and consequently started several new programmes The most significant among these was the starting of the Nehru Yuvak Kendras in 1972 By 1981-82, 255 Kendras had been sanctioned, of these 192 have started functioning All districts are proposed to be covered by Kendras by the end of the Sixth Five Year Plan The main purpose of a Nehru Yuvak Kendra is to serve as a focal point in the district for developing activities for non-student youth, particularly in the rural areas The activities undertaken are youth leadership training camps, camps for community service, cultural and recreational services, vocational training, etc

On the non-official front, a significant step was the opening of the Vishwa Yuvak Kendra in 1969 as a national centre for the training of youth leaders and workers, for promoting an awareness of the need to develop youth organisations and youth services as well as research and documentation on matters related to youth

The year 1978 marked yet another important initiative by the government for promoting youth welfare, viz., the launching of the National Adult Education Programme (NAEP) It envisaged an education programme covering young illiterate youth to be implemented over a period of five years Non-official agencies were asigned an important role in implementing the programme

CURRENT PROGRAMMES

It is extremely difficult to present a comprehensive picture of all the youth programmes currently being implemented by numerous official and non-official agencies throughout the country. The data do not exist Even at the Central level, there is no single Ministry which is incharge of all the programmes The Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Labour and Employment, Health, Defence are some of the Ministries which have youth welfare programmes Most of the Centrally sponsored programmes are implemented through State Governments The following is a list of the more important Central programmes The list is largely based on data contained in a publication of the Union Education Ministry titled youth programmes in India published in 1977 (1) National Adult Education Programme, (2) Nehru Yuvak Kendras, (3) National Service Scheme, (4) National Service Volunteer

Scheme, (5) National Cadet Corps, (6) Scouts and Guides, (7) Yuvak Mandals, (8) Young Farmers Clubs and Farmers Youth Exchange Programmes within the country and with young farmers organisations abroad, (9) Training programmes for leaders of rural youth clubs, (10) Physical education, sports and games for school-going children and rural youth, (11) Promotion of sports and games through supporting national sports organisations and setting up of training centres, (12) Mountaineering, (13) Promotion of *yoga,* (14) Awards for outstanding sportsmen, (15) Workers education through Shramik Vidyapeeth, (16) Functional literacy programmes for rural women, (17) Library support programmes, (18) College and University Planning Forums, (19) National Integration Samitis and organisation of national integration camps for school students and teachers; (20) Exchange of youth delegations between States, (21) Work centres for training in skills; (22) Youth hostels and adventure programmes, (23) Correspondence courses for higher education, (24) Yuva Vani (youth programmes on the All India Radio) and youth programmes on the T V, (25) Navak Bhawans or student service centres, (26) Financial assistance to voluntary youth organisations

The Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) indicated that there were four major aspects of the youth to be considered in a coordinated manner, viz, development, mobilisation, organisation and utilisation to promote their involvement and participation in the nation building activities

The details of these aspects would need to be gone into, harmonised and a strategy evolved in the form of a National Youth Policy The guiding principles in this regard should be (a) to provide greater equality of opportunity to all among the youth, (b) to liberate their talent which is now frequently lost to society; (c) to ensure a higher average level of relevant basic skills and education through work and service, (c) to enable a smooth transition of the youth from childhood through adolescence to adulthood, as well from schools to the world of work and service, and (e) to channelise their energies, idealism and healthy aspirations towards developmental tasks, projects and programmes

REVIEW OF PAST APPROACHES

This brief sketch of the development of youth welfare pogrammes over the post-independence period will show that with only a few exceptions, the approach to youth welfare programmes was by and large neither consistent nor definite From the beginning, the programmes were reflex actions of policy makers to deal with problems as they arose Youth was seen as a problem to be tackled The NCC, the NSS, etc, were meant to take the young people away from the path of agitations to the path of constructive activities The rural youth clubs were considered also as productivity oriented What is significant is that most of these programmes envisaged a predominant place for government

It cannot be said that the approach of non-official agencies towards youth has been significantly different from that of the government An examination of available information shows three distinct lines of development Firstly, one finds that there have been only sporadic and *ad hoc* efforts by young people to organise themselves into youth groups for promoting youth activities True, one does come across occasional instances of a group of young enthusiasts setting up a local youth club and carrying on activities meant to benefit youth and the community at large More often than not, such efforts do not seem to survive long enough Secondly, it has been found that many older people, especially politicians have set up youth organisations branding them as 'social and cultural' organisations This has devalued youth leadership This is clearly a case of exploitation of youth by older people for their own ends

Unfortunately, sometimes young people themselves have been willing tools in the hands of these professional youth leaders Thirdly, several non-official youth service agencies which are sponsored and managed by older people have organised activities for youth The YMCA, the Ramakrishna Mission, Bharat Scouts and Guides, etc , are examples of such agencies They do a good job of providing meaningful services to youth Yet, in most of their programmes the involvement of youth will primarily be as beneficiaries of the organisations concerned Thus the paternalism which characterises government's approach to youth welfare is equally found in the approach of non-official agencies as well

There is, however, a new trend appearing on the horizon This is provided by the emerging youth action groups consisting of concerned and committed youth who have decided to come together, live in rural communities, organise people to enable them to assert themselves and to work with them for their uplift The use of youth power as an instrument of radical social and political transformation is the key factor in their work At present the number of such groups is small Yet, their presence is beginning to be noticed and this augurs well for the future

NEED TO REVIEW THE PRESENT APPROACH

While a greater concern for the welfare of youth that is being presently shown by our leaders is to be welcomed, it will be unrealistic to deny the fact that the present approach has not yielded much dividends Unrest among and alienation of youth are more in evidence today than ever before This being the case, it will be a mistake if those responsible for the future of the country do not take a second look at the present policies and programmes in so for as they relate to youth Some of the factors that make the need for such a review even more pressing are the following

One cannot ignore the statistical reality that a significant proportion of the country's population consists of youth in the age range of 15 to 30 Because of the explosion of knowledge and the impact of modernisation on the traditional Indian society, the attitudes and values of vast sections of the youth population are becoming significantly different from that of the older generation which still hold the levers of power There are also the related changes that are taking place in the structure of Indian society The age old caste and joint family systems are being severely attacked, releasing young people from the constraints imposed by them Marriages are taking place later while increasing numbers are migrating to urban areas away from the watchful eyes of their parents and elders These young people have different needs (education, employment, participation in decision making, etc) and failure to satisfy these create many problems One should also take into account the fact that due to the constitutional changes that have taken place since independence a substantial number of youth have also become politically important Not only are they eligible to vote in elections and thus tilt the fortunes of political parties but they are also entitled to hold elective offices from the lowest to the highest political positions in the country Therefore, the concerns which young people develop become matters of great political importance These concerns can get distorted on account of the tremendous growth of mass media as represented by cinema, newspapers, television, etc The political process also plays an important role in shaping the thinking of youth The impact of this political education of the masses, especially of the youth, is beginning to be felt

NEW PERSPECTIVES

What then should be our new perspectives ?

The first and foremost requirement is to move away from the strictly welfare approach that has characterised most of the youth programmes until now The country will have to learn to regard its young people not merely as those who deserve care and attention but also as people who are shaping its future It will be necessary to have a definite national youth policy

There are two facets to a youth policy—*a policy for youth* and *a policy of youth*— a policy of the rest of society towards creating the infrastructures required to enable its youth to grow up as healthy, enlightened and responsible citizens, and a policy of youth in its endeavour to create a new society based on its new values and aspirations Young people thus become not only objects of society's care and attention but also pathfinders to a new social and political order based on their own vision of what is right and just Once young people are viewed in this fashion, the present paternalistic approach is bound to yield place to a partnership approach which is what the direction of a national youth policy should be

Under a youth policy as outlined above, the first thing to be done will be to identify the real needs of youth While some of the needs like the need for education may be uniform throughout the country, many other needs will vary from place to place This tremendous diversity in needs and consequently in the problems of our youth population must be recognised as a fact of life and dealt with accordingly Accustomed as we have become to a central planning process, we tend to prepare national programmes for the welfare of youth on the basis of national assumptions which require to be implemented in accordance with the same rules and regulations throughout the country irrespective of the variations that exist It is absolutely essential to move away from this syndrome and accept the need for implementing locally identified and locally prepared plans reflecting the needs and problems of the youth of that given area What should be done is to have a coordinated approach under which resources available under various heads are dovetailed to produce a viable and effective local plan, the implementation of which will go a long way to secure for our youth better opportunities for growth and self-fulfilment The responsibility of the government to assure this is great, and only as it is agreed at all levels to give effect to such an approach, youth programmes will become effective Needless to say, non-official agencies too have a major role and they must learn to coordinate their efforts with those of the government

In regard to the second aspect of youth policy, viz, the policy of youth towards society, many more problems arise because we have not been used to being advised by youth as to how they would like the older generation to behave Therefore, it is necessary for society to adopt a conscious policy of encouraging young people to think for themselves and make their views heard Society must also provide opportunities to young people and their duly constituted organisations at all levels to grow and make their presence felt in a legitimate way This must be done even when young people appear to be challenging society to prove its credibility It is hard but therein lies wisdom and vision

P T KURIAKOSE

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